

120B/17

A NEW
HISTORY
OF
Ecclesiastical Writers:

Containing an ACCOUNT
Of the *Authors* of the several Books
of the OLD and NEW TESTAMENT;
Of the *LIVES* and *WRITINGS* of the
PRIMITIVE FATHERS;
An Abridgment and Catalogue of their *WORKS*;
Their Various Editions, and Censures Determining
the *GENUINE* and *SPURIOUS*.

Together with a
Judgment upon their Style and Doctrine.

ALSO,
A Compendious History of the **COUNCILS**;
With Chronological **TABLES** of the whole.

Written in *FRENCH*
By *Lewis Ellies du PIN*, Doctor of the *SORBON*,
And *Regius* Professor of Divinity at *Paris*.

VOLUME the FIRST,
Containing the AUTHORS that Flourished in the THREE First
AGES of the CHURCH.

The Second Edition, Corrected.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Abel Smalle* and *Tim. Child*, at the *Unicorn* at the West-
End of *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, MDCXCIII.



ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning this

TRANSLATION.

WHEN I first undertook to Revise this following Translation, I had no Thoughts of having my Name made so publick as it has been since upon this Occasion. Few Men, I suppose, will ascribe it to Vanity or Ambition, since the French Language is so very common among us, that it is not thought a part of Learning to understand it: For though Translating is not always the easiest Employment in which a Man may be busied, yet the Opinions of Men, by which most Things receive their Estimate, have set so much an higher Value upon Original Productions, than upon any, even the exactest Copies, that it is no Wonder if that has been for the most part concealed, which, when divulged, would have brought so little Credit.

But I am sensible that Apologies are tedious Things to those who are absolutely unconcerned: And it will be rather expected that I should acquaint the World with what they shall find in this Translation, than either why it was Revised by me, after the several Translators had finished their Parts; or why the Notice of its future Publication seemed to have been immediately given by my Order. And here indeed I ought to say, that the Book it self, with which the English Reader is presented, is a very valuable One. The Doctrines and Practices of the Primitive Church are represented with so much Candour and Sincerity, that those who are unacquainted with the Writings of the Fathers, need not fear being imposed upon. Our Author is indeed of the Communion of the Church of Rome, and accordingly he does not (as indeed he durst not) any where conceal his Own Opinion; but yet, as long as he never suffers the Sorbonist to break in upon the Historian, his Writings carry an Authority with them, greater than they could have done had they come from a Protestant. Truth, I confess, is the same, whoever speaks it; yet all Men grant, that it carries a more Convictive Force along with it, when extorted from those whose Ingenuity over-bears their Interest, than when it freely comes from Men that advance their Cause by telling it.

For this Reason I have taken as much Care as I could, that Monsieur Du Pin's Sense should be exactly preserved; and therefore, when he cites Authors whom, for Form sake, he was obliged to call Hereticks, if they are not named with Applause, it is not to be wonder'd at.

In

Advertisement concerning this Translation.

In some few places I have thought fit to interpose: But lest that might occasion any Confusion, the Paragraphs are all inclosed in Hooks; which will plainly distinguish whatever I say, from my Author's Words.

The great Use of Books of this kind is, to form an Idea in the Minds of those that read them; of that unaffected Piety and Zeal which inspired the Primitive Christians, and which at last subdued the whole Roman Empire, and made its Princes follow the Banner of the Cross of Christ with Joy and Pleasure. What a Thing that was, can be but imperfectly conceived from the Writings, and, God knows! much more imperfectly from the Practices of this degenerate Age. The Abridgments of the Books of these first Christians will be much more effectual to this Purpose, than a bare dry History could possibly have been; for they wrote about Things that their Hearts were full of: And Men who are at all Times ready to lay down their Lives in Defence of any Cause, will produce warmer and more moving Arguments to awaken their drowsy Brethren, than can possibly come from others that are less concerned, because in much less Danger.

If therefore the Reading of these Papers shall be a Means to incite those that are able, to draw from the Fountains in larger Quantities, having found these small Streams sufficiently inviting; and those that must take what they read upon Trust, to endeavour to live up to these great Patterns which are here proposed to their Imitation, I shall have my End; and shall think the Pains which I have taken in this Work, not only very well bestowed, but my self abundantly rewarded.

W. W.

THE

THE Author's PREFACE.

PART I.

The Reason of the Title. An Account of those Authors that have written upon the same Subject. A general View of the Design of this Work.

THE Name of *Bibliotheca*, or *Library*, is not only given to those Places that contain great Numbers of Books; but also to Collections that have been made by several Authors, and to those Books that treat of their Works. Thus Collections of the Works of several Fathers, are called *Bibliotheca Patrum*: A General History drawn out of vast Numbers of Historians, such as *Diodorus Siculus's Bibliotheca Historica*: A Book that treats of the Sacred Volumes of Scripture, such as *Sixtus Senensius's Bibliotheca Sancta*; or rather, *Bibliotheca Sacrorum Codicum*: A Treatise upon those Authors who have written concerning Matters of Religion, as this of ours is, *Bibliotheca Authorum Ecclesiasticorum*: And, in short, any Book that speaks indifferently of all sorts of Authors, and Writings, composed upon different Occasions, may be called a *Bibliotheca*.

This is not the first time that such sort of *Libraries* have been made: *Apollodorus*, an *Athenian*, a most learned Grammarian, that lived under the Reign of *Ptolemaeus Evergetes*, Two Hundred and Forty Years, or thereabouts, before the Nativity of Jesus Christ, composed a *Bibliotheca* of the Original of the Gods; that is to say, of the most ancient History, as it lies disguised under Fictions and Fables. In imitation of him, *Diodorus Siculus*, that lived in *Augustus's* Time, composed a *Bibliotheca* of General History; which was taken out of an infinite Number of Authors. To these, we must join those Authors that have written the Lives of Illustrious Persons; such as *Hermippus*, *Antigonus*, *Satyrus*, *Heracides*, *Aristoxenus*, and *Diogenes Laertius*, amongst the Greeks; and amongst the Latins, *Varro*, *Tully*, *Nepos*, *Santra*, *Hyginus*, and *Suetonius*; who have composed the Lives of the Philosophers, and other Authors.

To defend now to those Christians that have made Catalogues of their own Authors: Are not *Clemens Alexandrinus's Stromata* a *Bibliotheca* of the Opinions and Judgments of an incredible Number of Writers? May not the History of *Eusebius* be called a *Library of Ecclesiastical Authors*? since his whole Book is little else but an Account of their Lives, a Catalogue of their Works, and a Collection of several memorable Passages. But *St. Jerom* is the first of the Christians, that has expressly treated of Ecclesiastical Authors; which Book was translated into Greek by *Sophronius*. *Gennadius of Marseilles*, *Isidore of Sevil*, *Ildefonsus of Toledo*, continued it down to their own Times. *Honorius Bishop of Autun* made a small Abridgment of these four Authors. *Siebert of Gemblours*, and *Henry of Ghent*, continued their Books down to *St. Bernard's* Time. And Lastly, *Aubertus Miraeus*, who published these Authors under the Title of *Bibliotheca Ecclesiastica*, continued the History of these Ecclesiastical Writers down to our Times. *Tribemius*, who lived about Two Hundred Years ago, made a distinct Book upon the same Subject. We ought not to forget the *Roman Council*, held under Pope *Gelasius* the First, in the Year 494, in which there is a

Catalogue

Catalogue of the Sacred Books, and of Catholick and Apocryphal or Heretical Authors. Amongst the *Greeks*, the learned *Photius* composed an excellent *Bibliotheca*, in which he gives a short Summary of the Books that were read; and passes his own Judgment upon near Three Hundred Volumes of different Authors, that not only treat of Religion, but also of *History*, *Rhetoric*, *Philosophy*, *Grammar*, *Physick*, *Medicine*, and other profane Sciences. But never was more Industry and Labour bestowed upon all sorts of Books, and especially Ecclesiastical, than has been in these last Ages, wherein we have revived (if I may use the Expression) all manner of Learning and Knowledge, and carried Criticism to a Perfection and Height that it never arrived to before. The *Roman Catholics* and *Protestants* have seemed to rival each other in compiling of these *Bibliothecæ*. *Erasmus*, who caused some of the Fathers to be printed, writ several Prefaces and Annotations upon their Works, that contain abundance of judicious Reflections; and though he is sometimes over-hasty in rejecting some particular Books, yet however we must own that he opened the Way for those that followed him. Since him, most of those Persons that have obliged the World in publishing these Authors, have written their Lives, and made some Critical Observations upon their Works. But to confine my self at present, only to those that have written upon Ecclesiastical Authors, *Sixtus Senensis*, in his *Bibliotheca Sacra*, has not only treated of the Authors of the several Books of the Bible, but likewise of their Commentators too: And since there is scarce any Ecclesiastical Author to be found, who has not writ something or other about the Scripture, he was obliged to speak of most of the Fathers, and a great Number of other Ecclesiastical Writers. Cardinal *Baronius* also, whose principal Design was, to collect together every thing that had a relation to the History of the Church, in his Annals, has written the Lives of the greater part of the Ecclesiastical Writers, and mentioned their Books. *Bellarmino* writ a distinct Treatise of Ecclesiastical Authors, which reaches down to the Year 1500. wherein, after he had briefly taken notice of their Profession, and the Time when they lived, he makes a Catalogue of their Works, with some Criticisms upon them. This little Book is very valuable for the great Variety of Things contained in it, but yet it is very imperfect, and his Critical Remarks upon the Works of these Authors are not always exact. *Possivius*, in his great *Apparatus*, that is disposed in an Alphabetical Order, has supplied part of those things that are wanting in *Bellarmino's* Book. An *Italian Master of the Sacred Palace*, has made some useful Reflections and Notes upon several Books. *Halloisius* treats very largely of Ecclesiastical Authors, but speaks very little of the Writers of the first Ages. After him, Father *Labbe*, a Jesuit, composed a Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, as a Supplement to *Bellarmino*, but it is very imperfect; and he himself tells us, that it was only an Extract out of a great Universal Library, that he had been preparing a long time: But whether he never liv'd to finish it, or for whatever other Reason it was, it has not as yet seen the Light. I shall say nothing of those that have made Critical Animadversions upon these Authors since his Time, because they have only copied from other Critics that wrote before them, without adding any thing remarkable of their own. I shall likewise pass them over that have criticized upon some particular Books; as, *Sirmondus*, *Lamoy*, and *Morinus*, upon the Books attributed to St. *Dionysius the Areopagite*; because it will be time enough to take notice of them, when I shall treat of the Books upon which they have criticized.

But we ought by no means to omit those Books which the Protestants have written upon these Ecclesiastical Authors, because, though they are full of Errors, Fallhoods and Invections, and sometimes treat the Fathers with little Respect; and have besides, upon false Conjectures rejected several Books which they disliked, as not being agreeable to their own Opinions, and discovering their own Errors; though, I say, it must be owned, that almost all the Treatises written by them upon this Subject, abound with such Faults as ought to be abhorred by all Catholics; yet we must do them the Justice to confess, that for what has a Relation to the Critical Part, they have sometimes seen more clearly than the Catholics themselves, and have discovered some Things that we are obliged to acknowledge and approve. The *Centuriators* were the first amongst the Protestants that seriously attempted to write the Lives of Ecclesiastical Authors, and to make Critical Remarks upon them; and it must be owned, that their Books are very useful even to the Catholics themselves. *Comaratus Gesner's Bibliotheca*, Abridged by *Josias Simlerus* and *Frisius*, and augmented by some others, is no ill Dictionary of these Authors. *Perkins* and *Cook* have published an accurate Examen of Spurious Books; but they have done it rather upon the Faith of other People, than by their own proper Light. *Scultetus's* Work upon the Fathers of the four first Ages of the Church, is more considerable, not only for several

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Points of History and Criticism, that are there very succinctly set down; but also for the Analysis, or Abridgment of their Writings, which he has performed with great Exactness, but in a Scholastic Way, and consequently tedious. *Possivius's* Treatises upon the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians, Poets and Philosophers, amongst whom he has placed several Ecclesiastical Writers, are excellent Things in their kind, and shew a great deal of Learning. *Rivee* has taken the greatest pains, is the most exact, and has performed the part of a Critick best upon Spurious Works; but then his Book is not exempt from those Faults that are common to Protestants, as we have observed above. I shall not mention those that have spoken of the Ecclesiastical Authors by the bye; as, *Tossanus*, *Hottinger*, *Albertin*, *Marejus*, *Sandius*, and many others: As also those that have compiled particular Treatises upon some Books; as, *Blondel* upon the false Decretals of the Popes, and the Books of the *Sibyls*; *Duall* upon the Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles, and upon the Epistles of St. *Ignatius*; *Pearson*, and some other *English* Men, upon the same Letters; *Possivius* upon the Creeds; *Beveridge* upon the Apostolick Canons; *Alit* upon *Tertullian*; and several others.

There is not one of all these Books which we have mentioned, that comprehends all that might be said upon these Ecclesiastical Authors. Some of them contain nothing, in a manner, but their Names, and a Catalogue of their Works: Others only give a short Account of their Lives, and handle what relates to the Critical Part very succinctly. The greatest part of them wholly employ themselves in Examining the Spurious and Supposititious Books. *Photius* is the only Man amongst the Ancients, that has made an Abridgment, and passed his own Censure upon the Books he mentions; but then the Ecclesiastical Authors he treats of are few in Number; and besides, he passes over some of them very superficially, and slightly. *Scultetus* is the only Modern Writer, who has given the World an Epitome of the Doctrine of the Fathers; but then he speaks little or nothing of their Lives, and has made no Critical Reflections upon their Works: The perplexed manner wherein he treats of these Matters, renders him disagreeable to the Reader: And besides, he only concerns himself with the principal Authors of the four first Centuries. *Halloisius* has wrote upon fewer of these Authors; and his Work, which is of a prodigious Bulk, is by no means exact, and he is full of false and useless things. Having thus observed the Mistakes or Failures of all these Works, I undertook to make a *Bibliotheca* of Ecclesiastical Authors, more ample and perfect than those that have hitherto appeared in the World; and that I might the better succeed in my Design, I endeavoured to render it as like as was possible to what we commonly call a *Bibliothèque*, or *Library*. Thus, as we ordinarily range the Books in those places, according to the Order of their Matter and Time, I have likewise in this Work disposed the Ecclesiastical Authors according to the Order of Time; and it will be an easy matter to reduce them into a Method, according to their Subjects, by the Assistance of a Table at the End of every Volume. When we enter into any *Library*, the first thing we generally take notice of, are the Titles of the Books; and in this *Library* also, at the first opening of the Leaves, the Reader may see the Names of the Authors, and a Catalogue of their Works. But since it is not enough barely to consider the Titles of Books, so that we must of necessity read them over if we would be learned, I have not contented my self with making a Catalogue of their Treatises only, but I have drawn up an Abridgment or Summary of what is contained in them, observing at the same time what particular Opinions are to be found in their Writings. If in other *Libraries*, you often see the Pictures of Great Men and Famous Authors, either Painted upon Cloth, or Engraven upon Copper; here also you will see their Pictures drawn after a more lively and more Natural manner; not only in the History of their Lives, but also in the Judgment that we have given of their Style, their Spirit, and their Genius. Lastly, As in great *Libraries* Men are not content with having only one Edition of an Author, but endeavour if they can to procure all, or at least a great part of them; so in this, I have taken notice of all the different Editions of Authors, that came to my knowledge; and I have endeavoured to omit as few, as was possible. However this *Library* of mine, will contain more Volumes upon Ecclesiastical Matters, than any other Collection of Books can pretend to shew; because, it not only comprehends those that we now have; but likewise gives an account of those that are lost; the Number, whereof is exceeding great; and then it may boast of another advantage wholly peculiar to it; and that is, It helps to distinguish those Books that are forged, from those that truly belong to the Authors, whose Names they bear, which are confounded and mingled together in common *Libraries*. This is the design of my Undertaking, a small but very considerable part whereof I now present

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to the Publick; which only concerns the Three first Ages of the Church; with a Resolution to publish a Continuation of the other Ages (a good Part of which is already done) and so to bring it down to our own Times, if God gives me Abilities and Strength enough to finish so long a Work, and if the Reception it meets withal in the World satisfies me, that my Endeavours may be of some advantage to the Publick. I am not so vain as to flatter my self with having performed so great a Design, as perfectly as it ought to be, whatever Diligence, Pains or Exactness I have used in the Performance: But this at least, I may venture to assert, That of all the Books that have been written upon Ecclesiastical Authors, there is none that comprehends so many things. If I have failed in my undertaking, I have this to comfort my self, that I have drawn such an Idea of a Work as may employ the Learned a considerable time for the Publick Benefit; and if they will be pleased hereafter to acquaint me with the Faults which I may have possibly committed, or inform me of those things which I have let slip, and communicate to me part of their Observations, as well upon the Authors that are in this Volume, as upon those that I shall examine in the next; I hope this Work will be able to acquire some sort of Perfection, according to my hearty Wishes, for the common Benefit of Mankind, the Advancement of Learning, and the Advantage of Religion it self.

PART II.

Some Observations upon the Method. An Account of the Design of the Work. Rules of Criticism laid down.

IT being not sufficient barely to represent the general Design of this Work, as I have done in the First Part of the Preface, I found my self obliged to give some short Account of the Method I used in the Management of it. I usually begin with the Life of every Author, which I relate as succinctly, and in as few Words as possibly I can. For there being two ways of Writing the Life of any Person; one by taking in the Moral; the other by comprehending the Historical Part: I have applied my self wholly to the last, as being the most agreeable to my Design. In the first, I set down all the Actions of those Men, whose Lives I write, and then enlarge upon their Vertues; and make several Reflections upon their Behaviour and Conduct: In the Second, I only take notice of the principal Circumstances of their Life, passing over those Actions that are purely personal, and that have no Relation to the History of their Times, contenting my self with delivering Matters of Fact without a large Examination, whether they were well done or not. After this Manner, I have endeavoured to write the Life of those Authors of whom I have Occasion to speak, chiefly taking notice of those Circumstances that concern their Writings, and may serve either to illustrate them, or to make the Order, Subject, and Occasion of them known. For nothing is of more Use to make us understand the meaning of any Author, than the knowing when, and with what Temper he wrote, what Hereticks he opposed, what Opinion he designed to establish; and lastly, what Condition he was in at that Time. A Bishop, for Example, writes otherwise than a Lay-Man, an African otherwise than an Asiatick, and a Man under Persecution, talks in a different manner from one that is at ease. An Author that attacks the Heresie of his own Time, and besides, has personal Contests with his Adversaries, expresses himself in another strain, than a Man that writes against an Heresie that is extinct, and who has no other share in the Quarrel, or no other Motive of Writing than to defend the Truth: In a word, we speak and we write generally according to the different Motions and Passions, with which we are agitated; the Objects that most forcibly strike us, represent themselves in a lively manner to our Imaginations, and by that means determine our Tongues and Pens to that side. After *Tertullian* was provoked against the Church, he never wrote one single Book, wherein he does not fall upon it, and bring in the *Paraclete* of *Montanus*. *St. Cyprian* making it his Business to support his own Authority and the Discipline of the Church against those that attacked both, speaks always of the Unity of the Church, and of Publick Penance. *Origen*, who was full of the *Platonick* Philosophy, considers all the Principles of Christianity as they have a Relation to *Plato's* Doctrine.

St. Athanasius,

St. Athanasius, a sworn Enemy of the *Arians*, never took Pen in hand; but he fell upon them. *St. Austin* having the *Donatists* and *Pelagians* always in View in all his Writings, and even in his Homilies, talks perpetually of the Church and of Grace. 'Tis the same with all the rest, and if we examine the Matter narrowly, we shall find that all Men are made after the same sort, and agree as to this particular. We commonly know by a Man's Discourse what Books he reads, what Sciences he studies, what Religion he is of, what Profession he follows, whether his Circumstances in the World are happy or not, and whether he is well or ill received by great Men; so difficult a Matter is it to conceal our own Opinions, when they have once made a deep Impression within! We offer a Violence to our selves when we attempt to conceal them for any time, and sooner or later they escape from us, notwithstanding all our Endeavours to the contrary. And this shows what a considerable Advantage it is to us towards the better Understanding of any Author, to be perfectly instructed in the History of his Life, and to know what Country he was of, in what Times he lived, what was his Profession, his Genius and Inclination, what Hereticks he opposed, and what Interests he had to manage.

This very same Reason likewise makes us sensible, that it is not sufficient to know in general the Age wherein any Author wrote; but that we must also, if it is possible, find out the exact Time and Year in which he wrote every Treatise, and so observe the Order and Series of his Works; for besides, that a Man writes otherwise when he is Young, than when he is well in Years; it is a certain Truth, that the several Changes, that happen every day in the Course of worldly Affairs, and to every Person in particular, often make Men alter their Style. *Tertullian*, when he was engaged in the Sect of the *Montanists*, opposes what he had formerly established. *St. Cyprian* speaks of the Reconciliation of Penitents, according to the different Circumstances of the Times he lived in. *St. Austin*, when he writes against the *Pelagians*, speaks otherwise of God's Grace and of Free-Will, than he used to do before. *St. Athanasius* when he was under Persecution, wrote more violently than when he enjoy'd Tranquillity. In a word, since nothing is so changeable as the Mind of Man, and since every Accident, that influences it, is under continual Motion, it must necessarily follow, that an Author will write differently in different Times. It is therefore of infinite Use to observe, as we have done, the Chronology of any Writer's Works, if we can discover it either by Reasoning, or by Conjecture; and this was more easily done in Polemical Discourses, than Treatises of Morality. The Characters, that help us to know the Time and Order of their Works, are, 1. The Years of the Emperors, the Names of Consuls; or lastly, the Years when any particular *Epocha's* begin, as we find them any where set down. 2. The Names of Persons that are mentioned there. 3. The Citations of the Works of other Authors, or of the Author himself. 4. Conjectures drawn from the Style, the Matters that are treated of, and the manner wherein they are delivered. I do not explain these Characters, because they are so easy to be understood, and because they may be so often discovered by an infinite Number of Examples in the Book it self.

A Catalogue of the Works of these Authors was absolutely necessary: Sometimes I made it separately, and sometimes, as I had occasion to discourse of them in a Chronological Order. This Catalogue as well comprehends the Books that we have at present, as those that are lost, whose Titles have been preserved by the Ancients: but this has not been observed in the ordinary Catalogues, where they content themselves with setting down those Books only that are to be found in the Editions we now have. I have not suffered even those Authors to escape me, of whom we have not any entire Discourse remaining. I have made a Catalogue of their Treatises, where I could be fully informed of them by any of the Ancients, and I have taken Care to preserve the Fragments of some Writers that are still remaining, and to acquaint the Reader in what Authors and in what Places they are to be found. I have referred what I have to say of the Rules of Criticism to the End of the Preface, where I shall examine them more particularly.

One would imagine that a Summary or Abridgment of these Books would prove a long Work, and swell the Volume to a mighty great Bulk; yet I have reduced it into very narrow Bounds, and have suffered nothing that was of considerable Moment, to escape me. I have contrived to make it as little troublesome and tedious as was possible, by not always confining my self to the Formality of an exact Method, and without making a scrupulous *Analysis* of their Propositions and Reasonings.

I contented my self with delivering the Arguments of their Books in a few Words. When I met with any considerable things either for Doctrine, Morality, or Discipline, I carefully took notice of them, and I have also drawn out of several Books those Passa-

ges that appeared to be the most Beautiful, and those Thoughts that were the most Sublime: For the end which I always propoed to my self, was to give a true Character of the Author I treated of, and to omit nothing that was remarkable, and yet for the Reader's Ease, I have done it as short as I could.

After this Abridgment of their Work, I generally give my Judgment of the Style, and Genius, and Learning of the Author. I don't in the least question but that several Persons will be offended at the Liberty I have taken, and that even those who approve my Design in the main, will be of a different Opinion from me; for the Judgments of Mankind are so vastly divided in nothing as in the Censures they pass upon other Men. Every Man thinks he has sufficient Authority in himself to judge another, and indeed every Man judges after his own Way, led by his own Fancy or Humour, without any certain or steady Rules.

Hence it follows, that it is almost impossible to find two Persons that agree in their Opinions of a Third Person, and indeed this Reflection made me at first alter my design of drawing up the Characters of my Authors, foreseeing plainly, that I should hereby draw upon my self a great number of Adversaries. For though the Persons of whom I speak, have been long since dead, yet they have abundance either of Admirers, or Censurers, that will appear either for, or against them; so that whether I commend or blame them, it's all one, and I must expect to be censured and ill thought of. But afterwards, when I considered with my self, that since all the World give themselves the Liberty to judge the Ancients upon all occasions, just as they please, I thought that no Man ought to condemn me for doing the same, after I had carefully read them over, and particularly in a Book where the Subject and Design seem'd to require it; I resolv'd to do it however with Moderation, and yet with a convenient Freedom. I don't pretend to oblige any Man to follow my Judgment; neither do I flatter my self that I have always found out their true Characters; I only desire my Reader not to condemn me inconsiderately, or upon the Faith of another, without having so much as read or studied these Authors; and I likewise conjure him to rest satisfied, that in passing my Censures, I have used all imaginable Exactness and Application, knowing that a Man cannot be too circumspect when he offers to judge others, and especially those Persons that have left so great a Reputation behind them in the World, and to whom we owe so much Respect.

I conclude with a Catalogue of the several Editions of those Books, which I have examined with the utmost Care and Diligence. I am not certain that I have set down all, yet I am satisfied that I have mentioned the best, and given my Judgment of each in particular. So that any Man may see at first sight, which Edition is most used, and ought to be most valued.

At the End of these Three first Centuries, I have made an Abridgment of the Doctrine, Discipline, and Morality of those Times, that whatever is to be learnt in the Authors of those Ages, may be seen at one View. This Summary I have compos'd as faithfully and in as short a compass as I could; however I don't pretend to have taken notice of every thing that is to be found in the Authors of the Three first Ages upon these Subjects, since I only design'd to set down the Principal Points, that I might give my Reader a small Idea of them.

Lastly, There are several Tables at the end of each Volume, which will not be wholly useless. The first contains a Catalogue of the Authors, in a Chronological Order, where one may see the time of their Birth, and Death, and that wherein they flourished. The Second contains a Catalogue of the same Authors, in an Alphabetical Order. The Third, is a Catalogue of their Works: The Genuine, the Spurious, and those that are lost. The Fourth, is a Catalogue of their Works, according to the Matters contained, in them. And the last, is an ordinary Table of the things contained in the Body of the Book.

I have only now to acquaint my Reader, that at the end of each Author, I have added some Annotations, that are merely Critical, to make my Book as plain and easy as was possible. In these Notes you will find some Illustrations and Proofs of the things that I asserted in the Text. I was not willing to reserve them till the end of the Volume, because generally most Men do not look so far, and so never mind them; nor to charge the Margin with them; because they were too long to be placed there, and consequently would have interrupted the Series of the Discourse. But I have placed them at the end of each Author, where it is an easy Matter to consult them by observing the several Letters that will conduct the Reader, and yet not detain him too long from the Text. Those that are but indifferently skilled in these Matters, may, if they please, pass over these

Notes;

Notes; but I would desire those that have a Mind to examine carefully what I have writ'ten, to read them along with the Text, because I have often barely asserted several things in the Text, that are justified and proved by these Notes.

I shall leave the Reader to judge, whether this Book may be of any Advantage to the Publick, or no; but I think I ought to acquaint him, that the principal End I propoed to my self, was to excite those that shall peruse it, to read the Works of the Holy Fathers; and that whoever imagines himself dispens'd with from consulting the Originals by reading my Book, does manifestly pervert and abuse the Design of it. I published it with an Intention to give them a Taste, and not to make them lose their Appetite for the Fathers; and the Abridgment I have made of their Works, was only design'd to inflame those that love these things, to go and refresh themselves at the Fountain head. This Work may easily inspire Men with a Desire of reading the Fathers, since it gives them before-hand a general Idea of their Doctrine and Maxims; but here is not enough to save them the Labour of reading the Originals: And let a Work of this Nature be never so well written, yet we ought to read these things in their Originals, where only they are to be found in their Purity, and Natural Beauty. This I thought necessary to premise, before I set down the Necessity and the Rules of true Criticism, and the great Importance of them, which I am now going to explain.

Criticism is a kind of a Torch, that lights and conducts us in the obscure Tracks of Antiquity, by making us able to distinguish Truth from Falshood, History from Fable, and Antiquity from Novelty. 'Tis by this Means, that in our Times we have dis-engag'd our selves from an infinite Number of very common Errors, into which our Fathers fell for want of examining Things by the Rules of true Criticism. For 'tis a surprizing thing to consider how many spurious Books we find in Antiquity; nay, even in the first Ages of the Church. Several Reasons induced Men to impose Books upon the World, under other Men's Names. The first, and most general, is the Malice of Heretics; who, to give the greater Reputation to their Heresies, compos'd several Books, which they attributed to Persons of great Reputation; in which they studiously spread their own Errors, that so they might find a better Reception, under the Protection of these celebrated Names. And thus the first Heretics devis'd false Gospels, false Acts, and false Epistles of the Apostles, and their Disciples: And thus those that came after them published several spurious Books, as if they had been written by Orthodox Authors, that so they might insensibly convey their Errors into the Minds of their Readers, without their perceiving the Cheat.

The Second Reason that inclined People to forge Books under other Men's Names, is directly contrary to the first; being occasioned by the indiscreet Piety of some Persons, who thought they did the Church considerable Service, in forging Ecclesiastical or Profane Monuments in favour of Religion and the Truth. And this Reason prevail'd with some ancient Christians, to forge some Testimonies in behalf of the Christian Religion, under the Name of the *Sibyls*, *Mercarius Trismegistus*, and divers others; and likewise induced the Catholics to compose some Books, that they might refute the Heretics of their own Times with the greater Ease. And Lastly, The same Motive carried the Catholics so far, as to invent false Histories, false Miracles, and false Lives of the Saints, to nourish and keep up the Piety of the Faithful. Now, though the Design of these Persons seems to be commendable, yet we ought not, by any Means, to approve of the making use of these sorts of Artifices to defend the Truth; which is well enough supported by real Proofs, without the necessity of inventing any false ones. It would be a Shame to call Lying and Falshood to its Assistance, and we must never use such sort of Methods, which Truth and Sincerity will always condemn, whatever good Effects they may pretend to have.

The Third Reason of the Forgery of some Books, keeps a middle Way between those we have already mentioned; for there have been some Persons in the World, that have been guilty of this Imposture, without any other Design, than to divert themselves at the Expence of their Readers, and to try how nearly they could imitate the Style of other Men. Hence it is, that some Authors have compos'd Treatises under St. *Cyprian's*, St. *Ambrase's*, and St. *Austin's* Names. But it must be confess'd, that this Reason has not been near so common as the other two, and that it very rarely prevail'd, especially in the Primitive Times. Only in these latter Ages there have been some, who having Vanity enough to over-value their own Productions, have published them under the Name of ancient celebrated Authors; desiring rather (as the Abbot of *Billysiays*) to appear abroad, and be esteemed under other Men's Names; than to continue despis'd, and be buried in Darkness, by writing

writing in their own. And these are the Reasons that may have occasioned the Forgery of Books; Malice, Indiscreet Piety, and the Humours of Men.

But besides these Reasons that have advanced this Trade of Forgery, there are several others that have occasioned the setting Authors Names to several Books, which they never writ. The first, and the most general, is, the Fault of the Transcribers, or Printers, who have frequently set wrong Names in the Title-Pages of their Books. And this has happened several Ways; for either they did it to raise the Price of the Copy, or, because they found these Tracks at the End of some other Author, they therefore concluded too rashly that they were done by the same Hand; or through Ignorance and Negligence; or lastly, some not being able to find out the Name of the true Authors, upon the strength of a few feeble Conjectures, have supposed they had good Reason on their side to change it.

From hence therefore, one Book has often carried the Name of several Authors in Manuscript, and this has principally happen'd to Sermons; either because the Transcribers found it their Interest to publish them under the Names of Great Men, to make them more vendible; or because these Sermons, though of different Authors, by being often inserted into the Office of the Church, and divided into Lessons, were so interwoven and confounded one with another, that it was a difficult matter to distinguish them.

A second Reason of the giving to some Books the Name of wrong Authors, is, because sometimes Men have written Books by way of Dialogue, or otherwise, to which, in imitation of *Tully*, they have given the Names of those Persons whom they have introduced there as Speakers. After this manner *Vigilius Thapfenius* made five Books under the Name of *St. Ambrosius*; and perhaps too under the same Name he composed the Creed that is attributed to that Father: Whence it happened, that those that looked upon the Titles of these Books, attributed them to *St. Ambrosius*, without examining the Reasons why they carried his Name: As if we should attribute *Tully's* Books to *Laelius*, *Brutus*, or *Cato*.

Lastly, The Ambiguity of Titles, and the Resemblance of Names, have often contributed to the ascribing of Books to those to whom they did not belong. Two Authors were of the same Name, though perhaps they differed in every Circumstance beside; and this has given Occasion to several unwary or ignorant Readers, to attribute their Books to the wrong Persons. This has frequently happened; and, to give one remarkable Instance of it, the Resemblance of the Names of *Sixtus* the Philosopher, and *Sixtus* the Pope, caused the Sentences that were written by the former to be attributed to the latter.

Having thus discovered the Reasons why we find so many Books attributed to Authors who have no just Title to them, we ought to establish the Rules of true Criticism. 'Tis equally dangerous to be ignorant of them, as to take them the wrong Way, and misapply them; for if we do not know them, we may be easily imposed upon by false Monuments; and if we do not understand them aright, or if we abuse them by allowing our selves too great a Liberty, we may very often reject the Truth it self. This last Abuse has been frequent with many Critics of our Time, and particularly *Protestants*, who, upon very slight superficial Conjectures, have rejected several Books that are unquestionably ancient and genuine, because they contradict their Doctrine or Discipline. Wherefore we may, in the first place, set this down for a general Rule in these Matters, that we ought always to act fairly, and upon the Square; and that we must lay aside our Passions, or our Interests, and hearken only to our Reason, when we pass our Judgment upon Supposititious or Genuine Books. 'Tis very ill done to conclude that such a Book is spurious because it pinches us, and afterwards to search for Reasons why it may be thought so. We ought, on the contrary, when a Book does not please us, to use more than usual Circumspection to examine the Reasons that make us call it into question; since it is to be feared, that unless we take due Care, the Prejudices we have formed against it may cast a Mist before our Eyes, and make us mistake frivolous Conjectures for solid Reasons. We shall now examine the Proofs and Conjectures that a Man may have of a Book's being spurious, one by one, as they lie: They are either External, or Internal; and both one and the other may be convincing or probable.

The Internal Proofs are those that are drawn out of the Books themselves, which we apparently demonstrate to be supposititious, either by the Time there set down, or by some other Sign, or by the Opinions that are there maintained, or by the Style wherein it is written. Time is one of the most certain Proofs; for nothing more evidently shews that a Book cannot belong to that Time wherein it is pretended to have been written, than when we find in it some Marks of a later Date. These Marks, in the first place, are, False Dates; for

for 'tis an ordinary thing for Impostors, that are generally ignorant, to date a Book after the Death of the Author to whom they ascribe it, or of the Person to whom it is dedicated, or written; and even when they do fix the Time right, yet they often mistake in the Names of the Consuls, or in some other Circumstances: All which are invincible Proofs, that he that dated this Book did not live at that time. Secondly, Impostors very often speak of Men that lived long after the Death of those Persons to whom they attribute those spurious Discourses, or they relate the History of some Passages that happened afterwards, or they speak of Cities and People that were unknown at the time, when those Authors wrote; or lastly, they cite Authors that wrote and lived after those whom they make to mention them.

The Opinions or Things contained in a Book, do likewise discover the Forgery of it: 1. When we find some Opinions there, that were not maintained till a long time after the Author, whose Name it bears. 2. When we find some Terms made use of, to explain these Doctrines, which were not customary till after his Death. 3. When the Author opposes Errors, as extant in his own Time, that did not spring up till afterwards. 4. When he describes Ceremonies, Rites and Customs, that were not in use in his Time. 5. When we find some Opinions in these Spurious Discourses, that are contrary to those that are to be found in other Books, which unquestionably belong to that Author. 6. When he treats of Matters that were never spoken of in the Time when the real Author was alive. 7. When he relates Histories that are manifestly fabulous.

In short, Style is a sort of Touch-stone, that discovers the Truth or Falshood of Books; because it is impossible to imitate the Style of any Author so perfectly, as that there will not be a great deal of difference. By the Style, we are not only to understand the bare Words and Terms, which are easily imitated; but also the Turn of the Discourse, the manner of Writing, the Elocution, the Figures, and the Method: All which Particulars, it is a difficult matter so to counterfeit, as to prevent a Discovery. There are, for instance, certain Authors, whose Style is easily known, and which it is impossible to imitate; We ought not however always to reject a Book upon a slight difference of Style, without any other Proofs; because it often happens, that Authors write differently, in different Times: Neither ought we immediately to receive a Book as Genuine, upon the bare Resemblance of Style, when there are other Proofs of its being spurious; because it may so happen, that an ingenious Man may sometimes counterfeit the Style of an Author, especially in Discourses which are not very long: But the Difference and Resemblance of Style may be so remarkable sometimes, as to be a convincing Proof, either of Truth or Falshood.

The External Proofs are, in the first place, taken from ancient Manuscripts; in which, either we do not find the Name of an Author, or else we find that of another: The more ancient or correct they are, the more we ought to value them. Secondly, From the Testimony or Silence of ancient Authors; from their Testimony, I say, when they formally reject a Writing as Spurious, or when they attribute it to some other Author; or from their Silence, when they do not speak of it, though they have occasion to mention it: This Argument, which is commonly called a Negative one, is oftentimes of very great weight. When, for Example, we find, that several entire Books which are attributed to one of the Ancients, are unknown to all Antiquity: When all those Persons that have spoken of the Works of an Author, and besides, have made Catalogues of them, never mention such a particular Discourse: When a Book that would have been serviceable to the Catholics, has never been cited by them, who both might, and ought to have cited it, as having a fair Occasion to do it, 'tis extremely probable that it is supposititious. It is very certain, that this is enough to make any Book doubtful, if it was never cited by any of the Ancients; and in that Case, it must have very authentic Characters of Antiquity, before it ought to be received without Contradiction. And on the other hand, if there should be never so few Conjectures of its not being Genuine, yet these, together with the Silence of the Ancients, will be sufficient to oblige us to believe it to be a Forgery.

These are the Rules of Criticism, by which we distinguish False and Spurious Works from those that are Genuine. As I said before, some of these Rules are convincing, and some are only probable; the Internal Proofs are generally more certain than the External; and amongst these, the positive Testimony of Authors is the most presumptive and strong. But it may be said, that all of them are sometimes more, and sometimes less convincing and probable; and that the Sovereign Rule is, the Judgment of Equity and Prudence; according

according to which we ought to balance the Reasons of one Side and the other, and consider all the Conjectures that can be brought for or against it. For it often happens, that although every Conjecture, considered apart, does not seem to bear any considerable weight, yet when they are all joined together, they make the thing almost morally certain. I have brought no Examples to explain all these Rules that I have set down; for, besides that they are sufficiently clear and intelligible of themselves, it is impossible to read in any Pages of my Book, without finding them applied upon all Occasions.

Before I conclude my Preface, I am obliged to make some kind of Answer to those who have been pleased to declare, that they should have been better satisfied if I had wrote my Book in *Latin*. Some Persons have been of that Mind, because they have a greater Value for *Latin*, since it has lasted longer, and is more current in Foreign Countries: Others take it ill that I have published those things in *French*, which, as they pretend, ought only to be understood by Divines. These Men have told me, That they could not endure to see Women and ignorant People learn the most curious Parts of Divinity: And that it might prove of dangerous Consequence to instruct them throughly in the Doctrine of the Fathers.

As for the First, I shall take care to satisfy them, by translating my Book into *Latin* some time or other, if the Publick shall think it worth being preserved.

For the Others; As their Complaint is unreasonable, so I never saw any good Reasons to hinder my publishing it in *French*: For when the Fathers themselves wrote, they made use of a Language that was understood by all the World; and we live at present in an Age, wherein great Numbers of their Books have been translated with Applause. No Man therefore ought to take it ill, that I publish an Abridgment of their Doctrine to all the World: On the contrary, It were to be wished, that every Christian could be instructed in these Matters, that they might be the better confirmed in their Belief, when they see that this Doctrine has been always taught in the Church of *JESUS CHRIST*, who is the Pillar and Ground of the Truth.

THE

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BI-

A Preliminary Dissertation ABOUT THE AUTHORS OF THE BIBLE.

S E C T. I.

Of the Authors of the Books of the Old Testament.

OF all those (a) Paradoxes, that have been advanced in our Age, there is none, in my Judgment, more rash and dangerous than the Opinion of those, who have presumed to deny, that *Moses* was the Author of the *Pentateuch*: For what can be more rash than to deny Matters of Fact, that has been established by express Texts of Holy Scripture (b), by the Authority of Jesus Christ (c), by the Consent of all Nations (d), and by the Authentick Testimonies of the most Ancient Authors (e)? And what can be more dangerous, than to bid Defiance to Antiquity, and consequently destroy the Authority of those Books, which are, as it were, the very Foundations of our Religion (f)? And yet this they do, who dare affirm that the Books of the *Pentateuch* are not written by *Moses*, and endeavour to prove it by such weak Conjectures, that 'tis impossible for a Man of tolerable Sense to be convinced by them (g). For, allowing all that they alledge were true, (h) they could only prove, the same thing has happen'd to the Books of *Moses*, which has happen'd almost to all the Books of Ancient Authors, viz. That some few Words, Names and Terms have been altered or added to render the Narrative more intelligible to those that lived in the following Ages. For example: We find the Ancient Names of Cities are sometimes changed for those they received afterwards, because they would have been no longer known by their Ancient Appellations. There are likewise some short Explications inserted into these Sacred Books, to illustrate what was said by the Author: And, in short, some necessary Passages have been added to compleat the History. These things are common, and we find Examples of it in the Books of *Homer*, *Herodotus*, as if they did not belong to those Authors, and yet no Body is inclined for all this to reject the same thing of the Books of the *Pentateuch*, which have been more constantly assigned to *Moses*, than the Poems of the *Iliad*: or the *Odyssey* to *Homer*, or the Histories of *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* to those by whose Names they are known? Let us examine all the Reasons that are alledged against the Antiquity of the *Pentateuch*, since they imagine they are unanswerable, (which yet is very false, as we shall make appear in these following Discourses) and we shall see they only prove that some Names of Cities or Countries are changed, some few Words inserted to explain some Difficulties; and lastly, that the account of *Moses's* Death has been put in since, which was but necessary to finish the History of the *Pentateuch*: We ought therefore

therefore to affirm it for a certain Truth, That *Moses* was the Author of the first Five Books of the Bible, called the *Pentateuch*.

There are given to each of these Five Books, (which have their Names in Hebrew from the first Word in each Book) there are given 'em, I say, such Names as have a Relation to the Subject. The first is called *Genesis*, because it begins with the History of the Creation of the World. It contains besides that the Genealogy of the Patriarchs, the History of the Flood, a Catalogue of the Descendants of *Abraham* down to *Isaac*, the Life of *Abraham*, of *Isaac* and *Joseph*, and the History of the Pilgrimage of *Joseph* down to the Death of *Joseph*. So that this Book comprehends the History of 2365 Years, or thereabouts, following the account of the Years of the Patriarchs, as we find them in the Hebrew Text.

The Second is called *Exodus*, because the principal Subject of it is the Departure of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, and all that passed in the Wilderness under *Moses's* Conduct, for an Hundred forty five Years, viz. from the Death of *Joseph*, to the Building of the Tabernacle. We find there a Description of the Plagues wherewith *Egypt* was afflicted; an Abridgment of the Religion and Laws of the *Israelites*; together with the admirable Precepts of the Decalogue.

The third is called *Leviticus*, because it contains the Laws, the Ceremonies, and Sacrifices of the Religion of the *Jews*: All which has a particular Relation to the Levites, to whom God gave the charge of all those things that concern'd the Ceremonial part of that Religion.

The fourth is called *Numbers*, because it begins with the Numbering of the Children of *Israel* that came out of *Egypt*, and concludes with the Laws that were given the People of *Israel* during the Thirty nine Years of their sojourning in the Wilderness.

Deuteronomy, that is to say, the second Law, is so called, because it is, as it were, a Repetition of the first: For after *Moses* has described in a few Words the principal Actions of the *Israelites* in the Wilderness, he recites abundance of the Precepts of the Law.

(i) We doubt certainly know when these Books were composed by *Moses*, or which was first written: However, 'tis very certain, that *Deuteronomy* was written last, in the Fortieth Year of the Departure out of *Egypt*, and a little before the Death of *Moses*.

We can't so certainly tell who are the Authors of the other Books of the Bible: Some of 'em we only know by Conjecture, and others there are of which we have no manner of Knowledge.

It is not certain that the Book of (k) *Job* was written by himself; for as it is observed by the Author of the Abridgment of the Scripture attributed to St. *Ambrosius*, this Title is set at the Head of that Book, not so much to discover the Author, as to make the Subject of it known; because it treats of War, and other things that happen'd under the Conduct of *Job*, after the same manner as the Books of *Judges*, of *Kings*, of *Tobit*, of *Judith*, are so called, because they give an Account of the Lives and Actions of those whose Names they bear. But though 'tis commonly believed that this Book was written by *Job*, and this Opinion seems to be countenanced by some Words of the last Chapter, where it is said that *Job* wrote all these things in the Book of the Law: Nevertheless we must affirm, that 'tis certain, that *Theodore*, and some others among the Ancients, are not of this Opinion, and that we have Reasons strong enough to make us doubt whether he is the Author or no. However it is, 'tis a most unquestionable Truth, that this Book is ancient, and that if it is not *Job's*, it was written either by his particular Order, or a little after his Death. It carries the History of the People of *Israel* Seventeen Years beyond the Death of *Moses*, or thereabout.

We yet know less of the Author of the Book of *Judges*. Some with the *Talmudical* Doctors attribute it to *Samuel*, some to *Ezekiel*, others to *Ezrah*. In short, some Persons are of Opinion, that every Judge wrote his own Memoirs, which were afterward collected by *Samuel* or *Ezrah*. Be it as it will, the Book is certainly ancient, and (l) admit it was put into the condition we now find it by *Ezrah*, yet we cannot reasonably question its being composed from ancient Memoirs. It contains the History of what happen'd to the *Israelites* from the Death of *Job*, to that of *Samson*. We can't precisely tell what Number of Years it takes in, tho' 'tis commonly fixed to something above 390 Years.

The Book of *Ruth* is a kind of an Appendix to the Book of *Judges*; which is the reason why the *Jews* made but one Book of these two, and for the same reason 'tis commonly believed that one Author composed both. 'Tis certain that the History of *Ruth* comes up to the times of the Judges, but we don't know the time exactly. We may assign it to the time of *Samgar*, Eight and twenty Years, or thereabouts, after the Death of *Job*.

The two first Books of *Kings* are called by the Hebrews the Book of *Samuel*, which has occasioned the Opinion that they were in part written by that Prophet (m); that is to say, that he composed the Four and twenty first Chapters, and that the Prophets, *Gad* and *Nathan* afterwards completed the Work. This is the Opinion of the *Talmudists* and *Isidore*, and is founded upon these Words of the *Chronicles*, 1 Chron. 29. 29. Now the Acts of David the King, first and last, behold they are written in the Book of Samuel the Seer, and in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, and in the Book of Gad the Seer. *Theodor* and *Diadorus* of *Tarsus* seem to be of this Opinion, when they say, that it was the custom of all Prophets amongst the Hebrews to write down whatever happen'd in their time; and that upon this score it is, that the first Book of *Kings* is called the Prophetic of *Samuel*. Others pretend that these Books are of a later date, because we find some ways of speaking there which don't belong to that time, but perhaps they were added since; and it is very probable that both these Books are very ancient. However, 'tis certain that they were written before the *Chronicles*. The first of these two Books of *Kings* contains that which pass'd under the Government of *Eli* of *Samuel*, and under the Reign of *Saul*: The

That

The second; is the History of *David's* Government. The two last Books of *Kings*, contain the History of the Reign of *Salomon* Son of *David*, and afterwards the Reigns of the several Kings of *Israel*, and *Judah*, down to the Destruction of *Israel*, and the Captivity of *Judah*. We don't know who is the Author of these two Books. Some, as the *Talmudists* for instance, attribute them to *Jeremiah*, out of several Memoirs and Books of the Prophets, which are there frequently quoted. These Four Books of *Kings* contain the History of almost Six hundred Years.

The two Books of *Chronicles* are called *Paraleipomena* by the Greeks, because they contain some Circumstances that were omitted in the other Historical Books. The Hebrews call them *Diaries*, and St. *Jerome* *Chronicles*. 'Tis commonly believed that *Ezrah* wrote them, and that he drew this Abridgment partly from those Books of the Bible which we have, and partly from other Memoirs that he had at the time of his writing. St. *Jerome* thinks that this was the Book that is cited in the Book of *Kings*, under the Name of *The Book of the Sayings of the Kings of Judah*. But 'tis evident that it is not, and that the Book of *Chronicles* was written since that of *Kings*, as we prove by the last Words of that Book, where mention is made of the Deliverance of the *Jews* by *Cyrus*.

'Tis commonly believed that it was *Ezrah*, who composed the first Book of those that carry his Name; and indeed *Ezrah* speaks there in his own Person (n). *Huetius* pretends that the first Chapters of that Book were written by another Author, but his Conjecture is not strong enough to make us quit the common Opinion (o). The second Book belongs to *Nehemiah* without question (p), for he declares himself the Author of it in the beginning of the Book, and always speaks of himself in the first Person. The first of these two Books contains the History of the Deliverance of the *Jews* from their Captivity, and their Re-establishment in *Judea* from the first Year of *Cyrus*, to the twentieth of *Alexander* *Tricommus*, for 82 or 83 Years. And the second begins from the twentieth Year of the aforesaid *Alexander*, and reaches to the Reign of *Darius* his Son, surnamed the *Basard*, which comprehends the History of the *Jews* for thirty or one and thirty Years.

'Tis commonly believed, that *Tobit* and *Tobias* wrote their own History themselves (q): But this Opinion is very uncertain. 'Tis generally believed that this Book was at first writ in *Chaldee*, that St. *Jerome* translated it into *Latin*, and that this History was afterwards put into Hebrew. There are two different Hebrew Editions of it, one set out by *Munster*, and the other by *Fagius*. There is also an ancient Greek Edition, out of which the *Syriac* Version was composed. *Tobit* was one of the *Israelites* that were carried out of *Samaria* by King *Sabtanazer*.

The Author of the Book of *Judith* is yet less known, as *Isidore* has observed. Some believe it was written by *Eliachim*, or *Joachim* High Priest of the *Jews*, of whom mention is made in that Book: Others say it was *Job* the Son of *Jobedee*, the Companion of *Zorobabel*: Others in short, maintain that it was not written till the time of *Antiochus* Epiphanes, before the *Maccabees* time. 'Tis written in *Chaldee*, and that has made *Huetius* think that it was written during the *Babylonian* Captivity. St. *Jerome* translated it into *Latin*, rather following the Sense, as he tells us, than the bare Letter. The Greek Version which we have is very different from the *Latin*, and seems to be more literal. The time wherein the History mention'd in this Book did happen, is no less uncertain (r). Some place it before the Captivity, others after, and some have the boldness to say, That whatever is in this Book, is only a Parable and Allegory, that has nothing of Historical Truth in it.

The time, and the Author of the History of *Hester*, are also very uncertain (s). St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Austin*, and St. *Isidore*, attribute this Book to *Ezrah*. Others to *Joachim* High Priest of the *Jews*, Grand-Son of *Jobedee*. Most Men say that *Mordakai* wrote it (t), who is so often mentioned in it. The *Talmudists* attribute it to the Synagogue. The fix last Chapters, that are found in the Greek, are not in the Original Hebrew. *Origen*, in his Letter to *Africamus*, believes it was lost. *Gratius* pretends that these Chapters were composed by the Greek Prototypes. *Sixtus Senensis* says they were taken out of *Job* the *Belshazzar*, and some others, maintain, that there are two Hebrew Editions of this Book, one larger than the other, where these last Chapters are found, and the other the same with what we have. Some say the History of *Hester* happen'd under *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*; others place it under *Xerxes*; and lastly, there are some who place it under *Cixares* King of the *Medes*. The first Opinion seems to be most probable.

The time wherein *Job* lived, is yet more difficult to discover; and the Author of the Book, who has compiled his History, is no less unknown (u). Some, as *Origen*, St. *Gregory*, and *Suidas*, attribute it to *Job* himself: Others believe that *Moses* was the Author of it, or that he translated it into Hebrew. St. *Gregory* *Nacianzen* attributes it to *Salomon*; others to *Isaiah*, or to some one of the Prophets. All these Opinions are built but upon very slight Conjectures. Wherefore 'tis better, in my Opinion, to suspend Ones Judgment, than to assert any of the above-mentioned Opinions that are equally uncertain. But as the same time we must not fall into the opposite Error, by saying with the *Talmudists*, and some other Critics, that the History of *Job* is an entire continued Fiction (v). The Persons and Nations that are there called by their proper Names, the Testimonies of *Tobit*, of *Ezekiel*, and St. *James*, with the Opinions of the Ancient Fathers, ought to convince us that the Foundation of this History is real and true. But the manner wherein 'tis related, the Conversation that is held with the Devil, the Prolixity of the Discourses of *Job's* Friends, and of what *Job* himself delivered in his miserable estate, ought to make us acknowledge, that this History is mightily amplified and adorned with several feigned Circumstances, to render the Story more useful and agreeable. 'Tis commonly believed that *Job* lived before *Moses*, or at least in his time, and that the History related in this Book happen'd during the time when the *Israelites* were in the Desert, because there is not a Word spoken thereabout the

the Written Law. Some there are who make *Jab* to descend from *Nabor*, the Brother of *Abraham*, but (*72*) others from *Esaú*. The last Opinion seems to me to be the most probable, because 'tis supported by the Authority of a very ancient Addition, which is to be found at the end of the Greek Edition of the Book of *Job*.

Though the *Psalms* are commonly called *The Psalms of David*, or rather *The Book of the Psalms of David*; yet 'tis certain, as St. *Jerome* has observed in many places, that they are not all of 'em his (*a*), and that there are some of them which were written long after his Death. 'Tis therefore a Collection of Songs that was made by *Ezrah*. It is a difficult matter to say who are the Authors (*b*), and to distinguish those that were made by *David*, from those that were compiled by others. But whoever were the Author 'tis certain, as *Theodoret* has judiciously observed, that they were composed by Persons inspired by God, and that they are cited under that Character both in the Old and New Testament (*c*).

The Authors of the following Books are better known; the *Proverbs* or Parables belong to *Salomon*, whose Name is written in the beginning of that Book, *The Proverbs of Salomon the Son of David*. 'Tis observed in the 25th Chapter, that the following Parables are still *Salomon's*, but that they were collected by some Persons chosen by the King *Hezekiah*; These are also the *Proverbs of Salomon*, which the Men of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah* copied out. The 30th Chapter begins with these Words, *The Words of Agur the Son of Jakeh*, which shew that this Chapter is an Addition made to the *Proverbs of Salomon* by one *Agur*, as is easy to be proved, because this Chapter is entirely separated from the rest, and besides is written in another Style. In short, the last Chapter is entitled, *The Words of King Lemuel*. We ought therefore to conclude, from what has been said, that the 24 first Chapters are *Salomon's* Originally, that the five following ones are Extracts or Collections of his *Proverbs*, and that the two last Chapters were added afterwards.

The Book of *Ecclesiastes* is ascribed to *Salomon* by all Antiquity: And yet the *Talmudists* have made *Hezekiah* the Author of this Book, and *Gratius*, upon some slight Conjectures, pretends it was composed by *Zerubbabel*. It begins with these Words, *The Words of the Preacher, the Son of David, King of Jerusalem*. Which may be applied to *Hezekiah* as well as to *Salomon*: But what is said of that *Will-don* in several places, which was peculiar to him, and in the second Chapter of his Riches and Power, determines that we ought rather to understand it of *Salomon*.

The Song of Songs, that is to say, a Song by way of Excellence, is allowed to be *Salomon's* by the Consent of the Synagogue and the Church. The *Talmudists* attribute it to *Ezrah*, but without any Grounds.

The Book of *Wisdom* is commonly said to be *Salomon's* (*e*), but this Opinion is not very probable. For, 1. This Book is not to be found in the Hebrew. 2. It was never received into the Hebrew Canon. 3. 'Tis evident, as St. *Jerome* has observed, that the Style is extremely different from that of *Salomon*, and that it was composed by a Greek. The same St. *Jerome* observes, that it was commonly attributed to *Philo*, which we are to understand of an older *Philo* than him whose Works we have. However, it appears plainly, that it was composed by a Hellenist Jew, who had a mind to imitate the Books of *Salomon*, from whom he has borrowed abundance of Thoughts.

The Preface which is before the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, and the Fifth Chapter of that Book, inform us, that the Author thereof was a Jew, named *Jesui* the Son of *Syrach*, who composed it in Hebrew, and which was translated into Greek by his Grand-Son. St. *Jerome* tells us, he saw in his time an Hebrew Copy of it (*f*). Some of the Ancients attribute it to *Salomon* (*g*), perhaps because of the resemblance of the Subject, and the Thoughts, which is so great, that 'tis visible he design'd to imitate him, and that several Thoughts are taken from him.

The Books of the Prophets carry the Names of their Authors undisputed. *Isaiah* is the first and most excellent of the Prophets. He was the Son of *Amos*, whom we are by no means to mistake for the Prophet of the same Name (*h*). He prophesied from the end of the Reign of *Uzziah*, to the time of *Manasseh*, by whose Command, they say, he was cruelly slain, and slain alunder with a Wooden Saw (*i*). He himself collected into one Volume all those Prophecies which he delivered under *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Ahas* and *Hezekiah*, Kings of *Judah*. Besides these, he wrote a Book of the Actions of *Uzziah*, which is mention'd in the 2d of *Chron.* Chap. 26. Verse 22. Some Apocryphal Books are ascribed to him; amongst others, that famous one so often quoted by *Origen*; and another, intitled, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, which St. *Jerome*, and St. *Epiphanius* mention; and a later one likewise, called, *The Vision of Isaiah*. Some have pretended that this Book of *Isaiah* which we have, is only compiled out of the Works of *Isaiah*; but the Conjectures which they bring to prove it, are extremely frivolous (*k*).

Jeremiah, born in a Village near *Jerusalem*, of Sacerdotal Extraction, began to Prophesie about the end of the Reign of *Josiah*, when he was very young, and continued his Prophecies till after the Captivity of the Jews in *Babylon*. He was not carried away with the other Jews into that City; but tarrying in his own Country to lament its Destruction, he was afterwards taken Prisoner, and carried into *Egypt* along with his Disciple *Baruch*; where, as 'tis commonly believed, he was fated to Death. The Fathers think that he always lived in the state of Celibacy. We are told in the beginning of the 36 Chapter, that King *Jehoiachin* having burnt the Book of his Prophecies, this Prophet composed a new Volume larger and fronger than the former. He afterwards added those Prophecies, which he made till the *Babylonian* Captivity, and those which he delivered in *Egypt*. In the 50th and 51 Chapter he foretells all that was to come to pass in *Babylon*; and these he transmitted thither by *Serviah* the Son of *Neriah*. The 52d Chapter does not belong to him, for his Prophecies terminated at the end of the 51 Chapter, as appears by these Words, *Thus far are the Words of Jeremiah*. It was rather written by *Baruch*, or *Ezrah*, and contains an Account of taking of *Jerusalem*, and of what happen'd during the Captivity

tivity of the Jews in *Babylon*, after the Death of *Isaiah*. It serves to illustrate the Prophecies of *Jeremiah*, and particularly his Lamentations, which follow in order, and make another part of the Works of *Jeremiah*. In this last Book one sees the Ruine and Desolation of *Jerusalem* painted in lively Colours, and especially the Grief and Concern of the Prophet upon occasion of that mournful scene. It has a Preface in the Greek and Vulgar Latin, which is to be found neither in the Hebrew, nor in the Chaldee Paraphrase, nor in the Syriac, and seems plainly to have been added to explain the Argument of the Book. In short, these Lamentations end with a Prayer to God. The Style of *Jeremiah*, if we may be determined by St. *Jerome's* Testimony, is Simple in its Expressions, and Majestic in its Sense. But this Simplicity of Language does not appear to us at present. On the contrary, we find him Elevated and Sublime, both in his Sense, in the Turn, and the Majesty of his Expression.

The Prophecie of *Baruch*, who was the Disciple and Secretary of *Jeremiah*, formerly made up but one Book with that of this Prophet. *Tephebus* reports that *Baruch* was descended of an Illustrious Family, and that he perfectly understood the Language of his own Country. We are told in the first Chapter, Verse the first, That he wrote this Prophecie in *Babylon*, but we don't certainly know the time (*l*). The Hebrew Copy of *Baruch* is lost, though we need not doubt but it was written in that Tongue. There is a Letter in the Syriac, which by some is attributed to *Baruch*, but 'tis very clear that it is written by a Christian. The Epistle to the Captives of *Babylon*, which we find in *Baruch*, belongs to *Jeremiah*. The Author of the second Book of the *Maccabees* has mention'd it; it is exactly the Style of that Prophet, and contains nothing but what is very agreeable to the time in which it was written.

Ezekiel, the Son of *Buzi* the Priest, having been carried away into *Babylon* under *Jeconiah*, began to Prophesie in the fifth Year of the Captivity, and was slain, as 'tis commonly believed, by a Prince of that Nation, whom he reproved for his Adoration of Idols. His Prophecies are dark and obscure. St. *Jerome* says, his Style is neither very eloquent nor very mean, but between both.

Daniel, one of the Royal Family, was sent captive into *Babylon*, when he was but an Infant. The Jews don't reckon him amongst their Prophets: But the Christians, following the Authority of *Iesus* Christ, who gives him that Title in St. *Matthew*, Chap. 24. Vers. 15. look upon him under that Quality and Character: And indeed there is no dispute, but what he has wrote, deserves the name of Prophecy, as the Jews themselves are obliged to confess. But they don't give him the name of a Prophet, because he lived a Life extremely different from that of the other Prophets, and rather like one of the Great Men by *Immortality*. Besides, they think that he was an Eunuch, and there is a passage in his Book seems to confirm it (*m*). 'Tis certain, that the first Chapters of *Daniel's* Prophecies are undoubtedly his, though we have reason to doubt of the Antiquity and Truth of the two later, which contain the History of *Susanna*, and *Bel and the Dragon* (*n*). The four first Chapters in *Daniel* are written in Hebrew, the following ones, as far as the 15th Chapter, in Chaldee, and were afterwards translated into Hebrew. The last are written originally in Greek.

The Twelve lesser Prophets composed but one Book among the Hebrews. *Hosea* the Son of *Beeri* is the first (*o*). He prophesied in the Days of *Uzziah*, *Jotham*, *Ahas* and *Hezekiah*, Kings of *Judah*; and 'tis very plain, that he wrote this Prophecy, because he frequently speaks of himself in the first Person. There is one passage in his Book that appears very extraordinary, and that is, God's commanding him to take a Wife of Whoredoms, and Children of Whoredoms. But either this ought to be simply understood of a Vilion, as St. *Jerome* pretends, or we are to suppose that God did not command him to commit Adultery, but only to espouse a Prostitute, as St. *Basil* and St. *Aspin* have explained it. The Style of this Prophet is very pathetic, and full of short lively Sentences, as St. *Jerome* has observed.

The Prophet *Joel* follows *Hosea* (*p*) in St. *Jerome's* Edition; but we don't certainly know the time when he Prophesied (*q*). Some Persons believe that he is more ancient than *Amos*; others say that he did not write till after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes; and there are plausible Conjectures both of one side and the other. According to some he was of the Tribe of *Gad*, but others place him in the Tribe of *Reuben*.

Amos, a Herdsman of *Tikvah*, a Village two Leagues from *Bethlehem* to the South, was chosen of God to be a Prophet in the time of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Josiah* King of *Israel*, two Years before the Earthquake, which happen'd in the 24th or 25th Year of *Uzziah*.

The time of *Obadiah's* Prophecy is altogether unknown (*r*). St. *Jerome*, with the Jews, believes that this Prophet was he, that was Governor of the House of King *Ahas*, who is mentioned in the first Book of *Kings*, Chap. 18. Vers. 4. he that fed the Hundred Prophets. Others believe he is the same with that *Obadiah*, whom *Josiah* made Supervisor of the Building of the Temple, who is mentioned in the second Book of *Chronicles*, Chap. 34. Vers. 12. Most People make him Contemporary with *Holai*, *Amos* and *Joel*. Some after all, believe that he lived in the time of *Jeremiah*, after the taking of *Jerusalem*.

Jonah, the Son of the Prophet *Amittai* (*s*), of the City of *Gath*, near *Diocesarea*, of the Tribe of *Zabulon* in *Galilee*, Prophesied under King *Jeroboam*, *Uzziah* and *Azariah*. God sent him to the City of *Ninive* to Preach Repentance there, and his Book is an Account of his Message and Journey. He has written another Prophecy mention'd in the Book of *Kings*. This Book which we have, seems to be quoted by *Tobit* in the 14th Chapter, Verse the 4th, and is approved by our Saviour *Iesus* Christ himself.

The Prophet *Micah*, born at *Morasthi*, a Village of *Palestine* in the Tribe of *Judah*, Prophesied under the Reign of *Jotham*, *Ahas* and *Hezekiah*, after the Prophets of whom we have spoken already, but

but before *Jeremiah*, who cites him in the 26th Chapter. He is a different Person from him, who lived in the time of *Abel* and *Jehoshaphat*, and 'tis commonly believed that he died a Martyr.

We don't certainly know the Country of the Prophet *Nahum*: Nor have we any better Assurance of the Time wherein he lived. His mentioning the Destruction of *Ninive*, makes some think that he lived in the Time of *Sardanapalus*, under *Jesho* and *Jehoi*; which if it were so, he would be the most ancient of the Prophets. *Josephus* is of Opinion, that he lived in the Time of *Jotham*, and that he foretold the Ruine of *Ninive*, which happened many Years after the time of *Jotham*. St. *Jerome*, *Theodoret* and *Throphylact*, say he Prophesied after the Captivity of the *Israelites*; others say under *Hzekiah*, and some under *Manasse*. The most received Opinion is, that he Prophesied after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes by *Shalmanezzer*, before *Sennacherib's* Expedition against the Tribe of *Judah*, which is foretold in the first Chapter of his Prophecy.

Nor have we any better Information either of the Country or time of the Prophet *Habakkuk*. The *Jews* say that he Prophesied in the time of *Manasse*, or *Jehoiachim*, a little before the Captivity. St. *Epiphanius*, and the false *Epiphanius*, make him Contemporary with *Zedekiah* and *Jeremiah*. Others say he lived in *Josiah's* time. St. *Jerome* in *Daniel's*, confounding him with that *Habakkuk* who is mentioned by that Prophet. The most probable Opinion is, that he lived under the Reign of *Manasse*, whose iniquities he seems to decry in his first Chapt. Vers. 13, and 14, and before the Expedition of the *Chaldeans* against the *Jews*, which he foretells in the first Chapt. Vers. the 6th, as well as their Destruction Chapt. the 2d, Vers. the 3d.

The time wherein *Zephaniah* Prophesied, is exactly marked out to us in these Words at the beginning of his Prophecy. *The Word of the Lord came unto Zephaniah, the Son of Cushi, the Son of Gedaliah, the Son of Amariah, the Son of Hiskiah, in the days of Josiah the Son of Amos King of Judah.* We don't know from what Country he came. St. *Cyril* makes him to have been of Noble Extraction, because he mentions his Ancestors.

Haggai, and the two following Prophets, Prophesied not till after the return of the *Jews* from the Captivity of *Babylon*. It is said in the beginning of *Haggai's* Prophecy, that it was written in the second Year of *Darius* (11) the Son of *Hystaspes*, and the sixth Month.

Zachariah, the Son of *Barachiah*, Grand-Son of *Ido* (111), wrote his Prophecy in the same Year of *Darius*, two Months after the Prophet *Haggai*, as he himself has observed in the beginning of his Prophecy. He is a different Person from that *Zachariah*, of whom *Isaiah* speaks in his eighth Chapter (22), and of him that was slain by the Command of King *Joaah* between the Temple and the Altar, 2 Chron. 24. 20.

Malachi, whose Name in Hebrew signifies My Angel (115), Prophesied since *Haggai* and *Zachariah*, after the Rebuilding of the Temple. For the two former exhort the People to build the Temple, but he exhorts them to observe the Law, and offer their Sacrifices with purity; which does necessarily suppose that the Temple was already rebuilt. Besides this, the Disorders for which he reproves the *Jews*, are the very same with those which *Nehemiah* lays to their charge, which is a manifest Argument that they both lived in the same time. *Malachi* is the last of the Prophets; and as there was none other to succeed him till the coming of Jesus Christ, he concludes his Prophecy with an Exhortation to the *Jews* to observe the Law of *Moses*, and wait for the great and dreadful Day of the Lord, who should turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children to their Fathers. All which clearly and expressly flies before us St. *John Baptist*, and Jesus Christ.

The two Books of the *Maccabees* were not written by the same Person, as the sensible difference of the Style, of the Chronology, and the History sufficiently shew (22). We don't know who is the Author of the first; 'tis indeed very probable that it was Originally written in Hebrew, and afterwards translated into Greek and Latin. The second is an Abridgment or Epitome of *Jason*, who was one of the *Jews* of *Cyrene*, as it appears by the Preface of that Book, which begins Chapt. 2. Vers. 23. It is preceded by two Letters of the *Jews* at Jerusalem to the *Jews* inhabiting Egypt, added by the Author of this Abridgment, which he has made with a great deal of Liberty. These two Books are called The Books of the *Maccabees*, from the Name of *Judas* the Son of *Mattathias*, Sir-named *Maccabeus*, because he had placed in his Banner the first Hebrew Letters of the Words of a certain Sentence in *Exodus* (111) which being joyned together make that word. These two Books contain the History of the *Jews* under the Government of the *Greeks*, from the Reign of *Alexander* to that of *Demetrius Soter*, which comprehends the space of Forty Years, or thereabouts, and they conclude an Hundred and Thirty Years before the Coming of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

NOTES.

(a) There is no Paradox more dangerous than the Opinion of those who have presumed to deny that the Pentateuch was composed by *Moses*. I have already observed in the first Edition, that this Paradox was started by Rabbi *Aben Ezra*, because he is the first that raised these Objections, which have occasioned some Persons to believe,

that *Moses* was not the Author of the Pentateuch; and though he durst not openly declare his Opinion in this Matter, yet he expresses himself after such a Manner, that it will evidently appear that he was not heartily persuaded that the Pentateuch was written by *Moses*. For in his Explication of these Words in *Deuteronomy*, Behold what *Moses* said

said to the *Israelites* that were beyond Jordan, he not only makes use of this passage to shew that this Book was not *Moses's*, but he mutters up the most terrible Objections he could raise for this purpose. You will know the Truth, says he, if you comprehend the Mystery of the Twelve: *Moses wrote the Law: The Canaanites were then in the Land: In the Mountain of the Lord it shall be seen: Behold his Iron Bed: Words which allude to some passages in the Pentateuch, and which he uses to prove; that it was not written by *Moses*. And 'tis principally upon the Authority and Reasons of this Rabbi that *Hobbs*, *Pererius*, and *Spinosa*, established their Doctrine, when they publicly maintain'd that the Pentateuch was not written by *Moses*. To these Authors we may add Monsieur *Simon*, who has wrote a Book, called, *Critical History of the Old Testament*. I was not willing to name him in the first Edition of this Volume, though I took occasion then to confute his Reasons; but since he has been pleased to declare that he was the Person, whom I meant, in a Letter to Monsieur *Labbe* a Doctor of the Faculty, he ought not to reflect it as an Injury, if I attack him by name, and endeavour to shew, that his Hypothesis about the Books of *Moses* is as rash and dangerous as *Spinosa's*.*

Monsieur *Simon* lays down his Opinion in the first Chapter of the first Book of his Critical History, p. 3. of *Leer's* Edition. When we suppose that there have been such publick Scribes, we ascribe to them all the Historical part of the Pentateuch, and to *Moses* all that belongs to the Laws and Ordinances; and 'tis this which the Scripture calls the Law of *Moses*. And so one may say in this sense, that all the Pentateuch is really and truly written by *Moses*, because these persons that made the Collection lived in his time, and what they did was by his particular Direction. He says the very same thing in his 2d Chapt. p. 17. 'Tis therefore not improbable that there were in *Moses's* time such sort of Prophets, who were necessary to the State, because they preserved the most considerable Actions that passed in their Commonwealth. This being granted we shall distinguish in these five Books of the Law that which was written by *Moses*, from what was written by the Prophets and publick Scribes: We may attribute to *Moses* the Commandments and Ordinances which he gave the People, in lieu of which we may suppose these same publick Scribes to have been the Authors of the greatest part of this History. In the seventh Chapter, p. 50. he adds: As for what concerns the Books of *Moses*, such as they now are in the Collection which we have, the Additions that have been made to the ancient Acts hinder us from discerning what is truly his, and what has been added by those who succeeded him, or by the Authors of the last Collection. Besides, this Compilation being now and then Epitomized out of the ancient Memoirs, one cannot be assured, that the Genealogies there are set down in their full length and extent.

From these Principles of Monsieur *Simon*, it follows in the first place, that *Moses* is not the Author of the greatest part of the Pentateuch; for the Controversie here is not about some few Passages that are of small consequence, but even those that make up the Body and principal Part of the Pentateuch; *Moses* according to his Notions, being

only concerned about the Laws and Ordinances, has no share in any thing besides, and so the History of the Creation, and of the Deluge, in a word, all *Genesis*, and whatever has a relation to the Historical part, is taken away from *Moses*. It is to no purpose to say, as he has done already, p. 3. That one may say, that all the Pentateuch is *Moses's*, because they that made the Collection lived in his time, and did nothing but by his order. For would it not be a left to ascribe to *Moses* the Works of the publick Scribes of his time? If this were really true, a Man might ascribe all publick Registers to those Kings and Princes, in wholtime, and by whose order, they were compiled: But what is a great deal more surprizing, Monsieur *Simon*, or at least one of his Zealous Defenders, abandons this Hypothesis as not to be maintained, and acknowledges that there is no convincing proof to make us believe there were such publick Scribes divinely inspired in the time of *Moses*. This is taken notice of in a Marginal Note of the 17th Page of his Critical History, and the same Edition that we cited before. We find in truth, says the Author that Remark, this sort of publick Scribes in the time of the Kings among the Hebrews. . . . but we find no Foot-steps of them in the Books of *Moses*. The Author of the Answer to a Letter which Monsieur *Spanheim* wrote against F. *Simon* confutes the same thing. If you now demand of me, what is my Opinion concerning these publick Scribes? I answer, That it would be very hard to reject 'em totally. . . . In the mean time I don't altogether agree with him as to the time, wherein he pretends, that these Prophets were Established in the Jewish Commonwealth for the Reasons he brings, and indeed the greater part of his Authorities clearly suppose, that this happened after *Moses*. If this Letter was Monsieur *Simon's*, as the World was inclined to believe, he cannot possibly excuse himself from having dealt very treacherously in a matter of the highest consequence about Religion, since he has established the truth of the Pentateuch upon a supposition, which he himself acknowledges to be either false or uncertain. But suppose this Letter was not his, it shews at least, that those persons who are the most favourable to his Hypothesis, freely own 'tis impossible to prove there were any of these publick Scribes divinely inspired in *Moses's* time; and consequently that Monsieur *Simon*, who has grounded the validity of the Pentateuch upon this Hypothesis, has done it upon a very weak Foundation, even in the judgment of those Critics who stand up for the strength for him. Thus Monsieur *Simon* alleges this Conjecture as only a matter of probability. In the second place, Monsieur *Simon* has of himself ruined whatever he says of the Antiquity and Authority of the Pentateuch, by confidently asserting, as he has done in the third passage we quoted, that the Pentateuch, in the condition we find it in at present, is only an Abridgment of the ancient Acts that were made in the time of *Moses*, and that 'tis impossible to discern what is ancient, and what is not. Is not this formally to deny that *Moses* was the Author of the Pentateuch, and that the Books which we now have are not so ancient, as is pretended?

In a word, he establishes the Authority of the Books of Scripture upon the pretended Inspiration

of certain Scribes or Keepers of the publick Registers, whom he believes to have been from time to time among the Jews. Now nothing is more uncertain than the Existence or Inspiration of these publick Scribes, as we shall shew in the following Pages.

(b) *by express Texts of Holy Scripture.* It is very certain that *Moses* wrote the Law, and that in Scripture we are to understand the *Pentateuch* by the Law. *Exod. 24. v. 4. and 7. Moses wrote all the Words of the Law, and took the Book of the Covenant, and read it to the audience of the People.* *Deut. 31. v. 19, and 22. Moses therefore wrote this Book of the Law, and gave it to the Priests the Sons of Levi... and to all the Elders of Israel.* *Exodus, ch. 17. v. 14. God commanded Moses to write the Law, and give it to Joshua.* And in the Book of *Yeshuab, ch. 1. v. 7, and 8. God tells him, That the Volume of the Law which he received from Moses ought to be always in his mind. This Book of the Law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night: that thou mayst observe to do according to all the Law which Moses my Servant commanded thee.* Now tho' the Word Law may indeed be applied to one part of the *Pentateuch*, yet we ought to take notice, that it is generally taken in Scripture for the whole *Pentateuch*. And 'tis certain, that in the 31st Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where it is said, *Moses therefore wrote this Law, it is meant of all this Book, and the Passage of Joshua ought likewise to be understood of the whole Law.* To this may be added, that in the other Books of the *Old Testament*, they always consider the entire *Pentateuch* as the Book of *Moses*. In the first of *Kings, ch. 2. v. 3. David speaking to Salomon, tells him, That the Ceremonies, Precepts, and Laws of the Jews, were written in the Law of Moses; Keep the Charge of the Lord thy God to walk in his Ways, to keep his Statutes and Commandments, and his Judgments, and his Testimonies, as it is written in the Law of Moses.* It is therefore believed, that all the *Pentateuch* which contains these Ceremonies, Precepts, and Judgments, was the Law of *Moses*. All the Law is likewise attributed to *Moses* in the second Book of *Kings, ch. 21. and 23. v. 8. &c. To observe all the Law of Moses.* In the second Book of *Chronicles, ch. 23. v. 18. To offer the burnt-offerings of the Law as it is written in the Law of Moses.* Is not *Leviticus* therefore *Moses's Book*? That which is delivered in the 30th, 31st, and 35th Chapters of the same Book, is taken out of *Leviticus* and *Numbers*; are they not therefore the Books of *Moses*? In the 25th Chapter, *Deuteronomy* is cited as one of *Moses's Books*; *As it is written in the Law in the Book of Moses, the Father shall not die for the Children:* Which Words are to be found in the 24th Chapter of *Deuteronomy. Leviticus* quoted by *Baruch, ch. 2. as a Book that was written by Moses. As thou speakest by thy Servant Moses, in the day when thou didst command him to write thy Law, before the Children of Israel saying, If ye will not hear, &c.* Which words are in the 26th Chapter of *Leviticus, v. 14.* In the second Book of *Kings, ch. 22. and 23. as also in the second Book of *Chronicles, ch. 34. it is said, that Hilkiah found a Book of the Law of Moses's writing, perhaps, with his own hand, as these words**

seem to imitate, *Per manus Moysi.* This Book of the Law, according to *Josephus*, is all the *Pentateuch*, according to others *Deuteronomy*. However it is, yet it follows from hence at least, that *Deuteronomy* is his. Now *Deuteronomy* supposes, that the other Books of the Law were written, because it is as it were an Abridgment, and upon that account is called *Deuteronomy*, or *The Second Law*. In the ninth Chapter of *Daniel*, it is said, that the Curie, which is written in the Book of *Moses*, is fallen upon the Jews, and in the tenth Verse the words of *Deuteronomy* and *Exodus* are particularly cited. The Prophet *Malachi, ch. 4. exhorts the Jews to remember the Law of Moses. Regum, in the 7th Chapter of Tobit, says, He will give his Daughter in Marriage to Tobit, to obey the Law of Moses.* The Law of *Moses* is frequently repeated in the *Psalms*; the 77th, 104th, 105th, 135th *Psalms*, contain the History of the *Israelites*, which is plainly taken out of the *Pentateuch*. The Law of *Moses* is often cited in *Ezrah*; (*Ez. 9. 10. 23.*) the Passages cited in these places are to be found in the Books of the *Pentateuch*. In the 10th Chapter of *Nehemiah, v. 29. the Israelites oblige themselves by a new kind of an Oath, to keep the Law and Precepts of Moses.* Now among these Precepts, there are several that are taken out of the Books of the *Pentateuch*. In the second Book of *Maccabees, ch. 7. Eleazar faith, I will not obey the King's Commandment, but that of the Law, which was given unto Our Fathers by Moses.* Lastly, whatever is taken out of the *Pentateuch* in the *New Testament*, is always cited under the name of the Law of *Moses*. *St. James* in the 14th Chapter of the *Acts*, says, *The Jews read Moses every Sabbath day in their Synagogues; Moses of old time hath in every City them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day.* And *St. Paul*, in his Epistles, says, *I hat the Jews did not understand Moses, although they read him; Utque in bodiurnum diem cum legitur Moses.* Therefore they did not in the least doubt, that the *Pentateuch* was written by *Moses*, since they tell us, that those who read that Book, read *Moses*. All these Passages make it very evident in the first place, that *Moses* wrote the Law of the Jews. Secondly, that by the name of the Law, we ought to understand, the *Pentateuch*. Thirdly, that not only *Deuteronomy*, but also all the other Books of the *Pentateuch*, have been cited in Scripture for the Books and Law of *Moses*. Fourthly, That this has ever passed for a constant truth, of which no body doubted. Fifthly, That they not only believed *Moses* to be the Author of the things contained in these Books, but of the Books themselves, so that when they read them, one might say, they read *Moses*; as when we read the *Aeneid*, we say, we read *Virgil*.

(c) *By the Authority of Jesus Christ.* In *St. John, ch. 5. There is one one that ascendeth you, (saith our Saviour) even Moses in whom ye trust: For had you believed Moses, you would have believed me, for he wrote of me.* 'Tis plain therefore that *Moses* wrote, and that he wrote those Books, which the Jews read for his. Now who doubts that these Books were the *Pentateuch*. And indeed since our Saviour does always distinguish the Prophets from the Law of *Moses*, by the Law he can mean only

only the *Pentateuch*. In the first Chapter of *St. John, Philip faith to Nathaniel, We have found him, of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets did write.* There are many other places where our Saviour cites the Books of the *Pentateuch* under the name of the Law, and consequently we ought not to doubt, that he has assured us that these Books were written by *Moses*.

St. Luke, in the 24th Chapter of his Gospel, faith, That our Saviour beginning with *Moses*, and continuing with the Prophets, expounded to his Disciples, who were going to *Emmaus*, the Things that were said concerning himself in the Scriptures. Therefore *Moses* was the most ancient Author of the Jews, and the *Pentateuch* was acknowledged to be written by him, as they owned the Books of the Prophets to be written by the Prophets.

(d) *The Consent of all Nations.* 'Tis certain, that not only the Jews were always of opinion, that these Books were written by *Moses*, but also that all People have considered *Moses* as the Author of the Law and Religion of the Jews. 'Tis the unanimous Consent of all Nations, and all Men, no one ever questioning the Truth of it before these last Ages. *Hæcinius* maintains, that all Religions have borrowed their Theology out of the Books of *Moses*, whose Library they have purposely altered and disguised, to accommodate it the better to their Fables. He pretends, for Instance, that *Adonis* of the *Phœnicians*; that *Mercury, Osiris, Serapis, Amun*, and the other Gods of the *Aegyptians*; that *Zoroaster* of the *Persians*, and the Divinities of the *Western Nations*; that *Cadmus, Apollo, Priapus, Ascalanus, Prometheus*, and the other Gods of the *Grecians*; that *Janus, Faunus, Vertumnus, Evander* of the *Latins*; in a word, that all these Fabulous Deities, were taken out of the Books of *Moses*, but disguised according to the *Pagan* manner, and put into a new Dress. But these Conjectures being only Probabilities, and no more, cannot serve to demonstrate a Truth, which does not need such Supports, as being clearly established upon indisputable Principles.

(e) *And by the Authentick Testimonies of the most ancient Authors.* That is, a continued Tradition of Authors from the Times that came nearest to *Moses* down to ours; and as we cannot doubt that *Homer's* Poem is his, because all Writers that have appeared since his Age have attributed it to him; so neither can we reasonably doubt, that these Books were written by *Moses*. They commonly produce the Authority of *Sanchoniathon*, who, as they give out, lived before the *Trojan War*, and wrote the History of the *Phœnicians*; Translated afterwards into Greek by *Philo Byblus*, where he has borrowed several Passages out of the Books of *Moses*. But 'tis not certain that this Author is so ancient as they pretend. They likewise affirm, that *Homer* and *Hesiod* have taken many things out of him, and 'tis indeed extremely probable. The same thing has been observed of the *Philosophers*, as *Thales, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Socrates*, and *Plato*, but all this is said by Conjecture. We ought therefore to rely principally upon the Testimony of those

Authors, who tell us positively, that *Moses* was the Chief Leader and Law-giver of the Jews, such as *Manetho*, cited by *Josephus*, in his first Book against *Apion*, *Philostratus the Athenian*, whom the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, commonly said to be *St. Justin*, mentions; *Eupolemus*, cited by the same Author; *Eupolemus*, cited by *Alexander Polyhistor*, mentioned by *Eusebius*, *Apollonius Molo*, cited by *Josephus*; *Callist*, cited by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*; *Diadotus Siculus*, produced by the same Authors, and by *St. Cyril*, in his first Book against *Tyrian*, though in our Copies he does not make mention of *Moses*, but of *Mannæus*, who is the *Offis* of the *Aegyptians*; *Chærenon*, Author of the *Aegyptian History*, cited by *Josephus*; *Trogus Pompeius*, Epitomized by *Justin*, who makes *Moses* the Author of the Jewish Laws; *Nicolaus Damasceus*, cited by *Josephus*; *Mendejus*, cited by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, by *Tatian*, by *Eusebius*, and by *St. Cyril*. *Strabo*, who makes *Moses* the Author of the Religion and Laws of the Jews; *Apion*, who although an Enemy to the Jews, yet supposes that *Moses* gave 'em their Laws; *Juvénal*, who speaks of the Volumes of *Moses*, *Sat. 14. Tradidit arcano quodamque volumine Moses. Ptolomy of Alexandria*, who calls him the Legislator of the Jews; *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, and *Justin*, who have observed the same thing; *Numenius*, who has taken notice that *Plato* was a Grecizing *Moses*; *Longinus*, who commends the beginning of *Genesis*, and produces a Passage in it as an Example of Sublimeness, calling the Author in these words, *The wise Law-giver of the Jews*; *Porphyry* and *Julian*, who wrote against the Christian Religion, yet acknowledged that the Books of the *Pentateuch* were written by *Moses*. To these we may add several Authors, who have delivered Histories down to Posterity, that were undoubtedly taken out of the *Pentateuch*, such as *Hecataeus, Berossus, Abydenus, Manetho, Eupolemus, Alexander, Polyhistor, Aripanus, Demetrius* the Jew, and many others, cited by *Josephus* in his first Book against *Apion*, by the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, by *Clement Alexandrinus*, by *Eusebius* in his Books *De Præp. Evang.* I have not mentioned *Philo Byblus*, and the other Jews, because they all take it for granted that *Moses* is the Author of the Jewish Laws, meaning by these words, the five Books of the *Pentateuch*. The Samaritan *Pentateuch* affords us yet more convincing Proofs; for after the division of the People of *Israel*, which happened under *Rehoboam*, the Son of *Salomon*, the ten Tribes preferred the *Pentateuch* written in the Samaritan Character, which is the ancient Character of the *Hebrews*, from whence we may rationally conclude, that at that time they had the *Pentateuch* in the same condition, as it is in at present, which they constantly ascribe to *Moses*. One cannot with any tolerable pretence question the Antiquity of the Samaritan *Pentateuch*, since it is written in Characters, which were not in use after the *Babylonish Captivity*. The Version of the *Septuagint*, which is as old as very ancient, is likewise another Proof that the Books of the *Pentateuch* are written by *Moses*. In a word, all those who have spoken of the *Pentateuch*, whether Jews,

Christians, or Pagans, have taken this ground, that these Books were written by *Moses*. And certainly to establish a Tradition to oppose a well-grounded Conclusion to the Universal Consent of all Mankind.

(1.) And consequently *being the Foundation of our Religion*. One of the great Proofs of the Truth of our Religion, is its Antiquity, which is principally supported by the Antiquity of the Books of the Law. Now if they are not *Moses's*, and if they carry a false Name, what Proof can we give of their Antiquity? This is the ready way to give occasion to *Libertines* to Ridicule 'em, and confound 'em only as *Fabulous Books*, contempt at pleasure by the later Jews after the Captivity.

(2.) If what they allege is more true, yet they could only prove. I here are the Objections which *Rabbi Men-Ezra*, *Spinoza*, the Author of the Book of the *Prædilection*, *P. Simon*, and some others, propose against the Antiquity of the Books of *Moses*, and the Answers to them, from which we shall better discern their Weakness.

The first Objection is drawn from these words of *Deuteronomy*, *Rebeld the Words which Moses spoke before all the Congregation of Israel beyond Jordan*. This could not be written, say they, by *Moses*, who never passed the *Jordan*, no more than the *Children of Israel* did, while he was alive. Answer. The Hebrew word, *Kabulim* observes, may signify on this side as well as on the other side; *Egyptum*, *Babylon*, and all Persons that are conversant in *Hebrew* are of the same opinion. It literally signifies, *In transitu in transiitibus*. In their passage, being ready to pass. Thus this Objection that appeared so terrible at first sight, carries indeed no difficulty with it.

Second Objection. In the *Pentateuch*, *Moses* is always spoken of in the third Person. He is commended there in several places, as in *Numbers*, ch. 12. where he is called, *The meekest man upon earth*; as also in *Deuteronomy*, ch. 34. And there *was not a Prophet like him in Israel like unto Moses*. And it is credible that *Moses* would have thus commended himself. Answer. 'Tis ordinary for those who compose a History, where themselves are concerned, to speak of themselves in the third Person. *Cæsar* in his Commentaries always speaks of his own Affairs in the third Person. *Josephus* does the same thing in his History of the Wars of the Jews. St. *John* in his Gospel speaks likewise of himself in the third Person; *The Disciple*, says he, *whom Jesus loved*. And in another place, *If I will that he tarry, what is that to you?* St. *Matthew* relating his own Conversion, speaks of himself in the third Person, and some say, that St. *Paul* was one of the two Disciples, whom our Saviour met going towards *Emesus*. The Praises which *Moses* gives himself are not excessive. It was necessary that in his own Books he should take notice of the great Favours which God had conferred upon him, as well as conceal them of his own Misfortunes. *Josephus* and *Cæsar* often commend themselves after the same manner.

Third Objection. In the 12th Chapter of *Genesis* the Author has this remarkable Parenthesis, *And the Canaanites were then in the Land*. Which makes it evident, say they, that this was written

when the *Canaanites* were no longer in *Palestine*, otherwise this Advertisement had been impatient. Now 'tis plain, they were not chased out of that Land till a long time after *Moses's* death, and consequently he is not the Author of this Book. Answer. Since these words, *Canaanites were then in the Land*, bear this sense, it may be reasonably supposed, that this Parenthesis was inserted after *Moses's* time. This is an usual thing, and it often happens that these sorts of Explanations, which at first were written in the Margin, to illustrate the Text, afterwards were inserted into the Text by way of Parenthesis. But one may likewise say, that these words *Canaanites were then in the Land*, don't signify *olim erant in terra*, but *iam tunc erat in terra*, i.e. That *Moses* speaking of the passage of *Abraham* through the Land of *Sichem*, observes, that the *Canaanites* were then in the Land. Thus the sense is natural, and no ways forced.

Fourth Objection. In *Genesis*, ch. 22. v. 14. the Mountain *Moria* is called *The Mountain of the Lord*, who will provide; *Appellavitque Abraham nomen loci illius, Dominus ait*. Now, say they, it had not this Name, till after it was set apart to make a Temple there. Answer. But how do they know this? For is not the contrary expressly attested in that place of *Genesis*? And does it not appear, that this Mountain received the name of *The Lord* will provide, because of *Abraham's* Answer to his Son, *God will provide*?

Fifth Objection. In *Deuteronomy*, ch. 3. v. 10. and 11. where mention is made of *Q. King of Babel*, 'tis said, *That he alone was vanquisher of the Race of the Giants*. *Rebeld the Words which Moses spoke before all the Congregation of the Children of Ammon*. Nine Cubits was the length thereof, and four Cubits the breadth of it. They say, these words make it evident, that the Author of *Deuteronomy* was of a later standing than *Moses*. For in the first place, why should *Moses* speak of this *Bed*, to prove the Greatness of this Giant, since all the *Israelites* might have beheld it themselves? 'Tis more probable to say, That this was written by an Author, who lived in a time, when they had no knowledge of this King. Secondly, Why was not this *Bed* any longer in the Land of *Babel*, but in *Rabath* of the *Children of Ammon*? In short, say they, this *Bed* was not discovered till the time of *David*, who subdued the *Ammonites*, and took *Rabath*, as we find it related in the second Book of *Samuel*, ch. 12. v. 30. Answer. Supposing all this to be true, 'tis easily answered, by saying that, as for what has a relation to *Q's Bed*, it was added in a Parenthesis. But why might not *Moses* give an account of that *Bed*, to prove the Greatness of that Giant, even when he addressed himself to the *Israelites*, since perhaps he was writing this Relation some considerable time after the King was slain, and 'tis not to be imagined that all the *Israelites* had seen the *Bed*? But admit the *Matter* was not so, yet *Moses* might very well make use of this proof to make the *Matter of Fact* credible to Posterity. Thus the Historians of our Time, when they occasionally discourse of any extraordinary Thing, although it is never so well known to the World, yet they frequently say, *We have such and such Proofs of it*, the *Monks* are still kept in such a

place,

place, &c. As for what follows, that this *Iron Bed* was in the Land of *Babel*, and not in *Rabath*, this is all taken upon supposition, for why might not the *Ammonites* possess it in the time of *Moses*? Sixth Objection. The Author of the *Pentateuch*, say they, give such Names to several Cities and Countries as they had not, till a long time after the Death of *Moses*. In *Genesis*, ch. 14. 'tis said, *That Abraham purified the Kings, who had carried away his Nephew Lot*, as far as *Dan*. Now the Name of *Dan* was not given to this Country till a long time after, when six hundred Men of the Tribe of *Dan* took the City of *Lesh*, and, after they had taken it, gave it the Name of their Tribe. As we read in the Book of *Judges*, ch. 18. The same Author likewise speaks often of the City of *Hebron*, which was not so called, till after the Death of *Moses*, from *Hebron* the Son of *Caleb*, to whom *Joshua* gave it; formerly it was called *Kirjath-Arba*, as we are particularly informed in *Joshua*, ch. 14. v. 15. In *Deuteronomy*, ch. 3. v. 14. it is said, *That Jair the Son of Manasseh took all the Country of Argob unto the Coast of Geshur, and Maachathi, and called them after his own name Bullath-Havoth-Jair unto this day*. Answer. We may generally answer these Objections thus, by saying, That these Names were changed after *Moses's* time, to render the History more intelligible to those, to whom the ancient Names of those Cities and Countries that *Moses* used, would be altogether unknown. But the first Difficulty may be cleared otherwise, by saying, That the Name of *Dan* is more ancient than they pretend: That the River *Jordan* was so called, because it has its Original from two Springs *Jor* and *Dan*. So we may say there was another City of that Name called *Dan* or *Danna*, whereof mention is made in the 15th Chapter of *Joshua*, Verse the 49th, which was in the Tribe of *Judah*, in the Country of *Sodom*. To the second Instance we may return this answer, That it is not clearly said in the Book of *Joshua*, that *Hebron* gave his Name to the City of *Kirjath-Arba*, but only that the City of *Hebron* was formerly called by that Name. Which may be well enough understood of an ancient Name, which it had herebefore. The last Difficulty is not considerable, 'tis only in these Words, *Ughe in presentem diem*. Now *Moses* might use this Expression to demonstrate that Country more clearly, or perhaps it might be added after him.

Seventh Objection. The Author of the *Pentateuch* speaks of things that happened after the Death of *Moses*, in *Exodus*, Chap. 16. Verse 35. it is said that the Children of *Israel* did eat *Manna*, Forty Years, until they came to a Land inhabited; they did eat *Manna*, until they came to the Borders of the Land of *Canaan*. Now this could not be written by *Moses*, who died before the Forty Years were accomplished. After the same manner 'tis written in the 6th Chapter of *Genesis*, Verse 5. *Edom* were the Kings that reigned in the Land of *Edom*, before they reigned any King over the Children of *Israel*. Which words put it beyond controversy, that he who wrote this, was alive after the *Israelites* had Kings set over them. To this we may add, that after this Author has given us a Catalogue of the eight Kings of the *Edomites*,

he speaks of their Duke. Now they had not Dukes in the place of their Kings till a long time after, as we may observe in the first Book of the *Chronicles*, Chap. 1. Verse 12. *That the Sons of Elam dwell in Sennar, after they had slain him, and destroyed the ancient Inhabitants called Elamites, the Children of Israel did unto the Land of their possession*. Which passage, say they, seems to intimate, that the *Israelites* had subdued the *Edomites* when this was written. Answer. If all these places were to be taken in the sense that is given them, yet we might answer, that some of them have been since added, or that *Moses* sometimes spoke by a Prophetic Spirit. But we need not run to such Solutions. *Moses* might say, that the *Israelites* should eat *Manna* Forty Years, knowing, as he certainly did, that they were to tarry so long in the Desert, as it appears in the 14th Chapter of the Book of *Numbers*. Moreover, God had revealed to *Moses*, that the *Israelites* should afterwards have a King, as it is clearly foretold in the 17th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, Verse 18. *The eight Kings of the Edomites*; three mentioned, might have reigned from *Elam* to *Moses*; and the Dukes, of whom he speaks, did not succeed the Kings, but governed at the same time. Lastly, these Words, *As the Israelites did to the Land in their possession*, don't at all signify or intimate the Land of the *Edomites*, but the Land which was promised to the *Israelites*. And let not any one say, that the *Israelites* were not as yet in possession of the Land of Promise in *Moses's* time, since 'tis certain that some of the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, with a great part of that of *Manasseh*, had possessed themselves of the Country of the *Amorites*, and of the Men of *Babel*, after they had put 'em to the Sword.

Eighth Objection. The strongest Argument at first view is the Death and Burial of *Moses*, which is described at the end of *Deuteronomy*. To this there are two Answers. The first of those, who say with *Phips* and *Tophani*, That *Moses* wrote it himself by a Spirit of Prophecy. The second, which is the more common and solid of the two, That this Account was added either by *Joshua*, or by *Isaiah*, or lastly, by the Synagogue of the Jews, to make the History of the *Pentateuch* more perfect.

Ninth Objection. They say, That *Moses* is so far from being the Author of the *Pentateuch*, that the Author there cites Books that were compiled by *Moses*; as *The Book of the Covenant*, *Exod. 24. The Book of the Wars of the Lord*, *Numb. 21. 14.* in which there was likewise written the War against *Amalek*; which is mentioned in *Exodus*, Chap. 17. Verse 14. *The Book of the Law of the Lord* in *Deuteronomy*, Chap. 31. Verse 9. And lastly, a Song, which is related to, in the two and thirtieth Chapter of *Deuteronomy*. From whence they conclude, that the *Pentateuch* was composed out of the several Books of *Moses*. Answer. This Objection carries no force with it; for what should hinder *Moses* from citing the Books which he had formerly composed? Besides, should we grant that all these passages are to be understood of those Books that were written by *Moses*, it would not invalidate our Opinion. But this cannot

cannot certainly be proved. For in the first place, we don't know, whether there was any such Book, or no that was required. The *Battle of the Lord*, for the Hebrew Text, does not intimate that it was already written, but that it might be. Neither is it evident whether there is any Book mentioned. For the Hebrew Word may signify any manner of Narrative, and so the Words that are cited may thus signify, *As it will be related when the lines shall describe the Battle of the Lord*. Mr. Simon quarrels with this Interpretation, which, I say, these Words will naturally bear; but however, he does not demonstrate that they cannot be thus applied. Others understand this place of a certain Song, which they used to sing in honour of their Victories. It is not laid in *Exodus*, Chap. 17, that the War of Amalek was written in the Book of the Battles of the Lord, but only 'God commanded Moses to write it, and 'tis that which he did in that place. That passage in *Exodus*, Chap. 24, does not prove that Moses wrote a Book of the Covenant, but only that being come down from the Mountain he recited to the People the Laws which God had given him in the Mount Sinai, which are set down in the preceding Chapters. And this it is which is called in that place *The Book of the Covenant*. The Book of the Law, of which mention is made in *Deuteronomy*, is not different from *Deuteronomy* itself. And after all, it is not improbable that Moses referred to a Song, which he himself had composed.

Fourth Objection. There were (says Mr. Simon) amongst the Hebrews, Prophets inspired by God, who had a particular Charge given 'em to preserve in Writing the most important Actions that happened in that Government. 'Tis probable, there were several of these Prophets in the time of Moses, and then we may rationally suppose, that Moses, as a Legislator, wrote only the Edicts and Commandments which he gave to the People, and that he left the care of collecting and transmitting to Posterity the most considerable Passages of State to these above-mentioned Scribes or Prophets. *Answer.* This Supposition is founded upon very uncertain Conjectures, and precarious Principles. The Egyptians, say they, had such Scribes or Registers to write down their Sacred Transactions, and therefore there were such also amongst the Jews. A very fine Consequence this! 'Tis credible however, that Moses established such an Order of Men. But what Proof have they to support this tottering Supposition? Why, *Josephus* and *Eusebius* tell us, that amongst the Hebrews it was not lawful for every one to write their History, but only for the Prophets who were inspired by God. All this may be very true; but then *Josephus* and *Eusebius* understand by these Prophets no other Persons but Moses, and those after him, who wrote the Books of the Old Testament down to the Reign of *Alexander*. We must pass the same Judgment of *Theodoret*, say they, and the other Fathers: Now this in my Opinion, is to make 'em speak things they never thought of, and not to understand them aright. As for what they add farther concerning these Prophets, whom they have invented with an Authority to add or diminish from the Books of

Scripture, this is still more improbable than the other. They barely tell us instead of proving it, that in the Books of *Kings* several other Memoirs are quoted, from whence they draw this Conclusion, that all the Books of the Bible, which have come down to our Hands, are only Abridgments and Summaries of the ancient Acts. But does it follow from hence, that all the other Books of the Bible were used after this rate? Does it follow, that they added to, or retrenched from them, after they were once made? Or lastly, that they were composed by these Prophets? They would have it proceed from this Reason, that there are so many Contradictions in the Books of the Holy Scripture. They say that this is the Reason of the Differences between the *Chronicles* and other Historical Treatises of the Bible, of that variety of false Conjectures that ruin the Authority of the Scriptures; and what is yet more material, that 'tis not impossible to reconcile these seeming Contradictions. To this purpose they amass together a great quantity of other Conjectures of this Nature, very subtly invented, but weak and ill-grounded, and yet upon the strength of these, they make the Authority of the Bible to depend, after they have endeavoured to undermine the solid Foundations which bear it up. Thus by pretending to advance Criticism, they forsake the Rules of true Judgment, and follow the Fantastick Chimera's of their own Imaginations. There is no weight in what they have invented themselves, or what they have found ready invented to their Hands by some Rabbies; and yet at the same time they scruple and doubt of several things that are clearer and better established.

Although I did not name Mr. Simon in my first Edition, yet he very well perceived that this reproach was addressed to himself. The manner wherein he answered me, sufficiently shewed, that he was sensibly touched, however this his Carriage does not in the least justify him. For instead of demonstrating by solid Reasons, that the Reproaches I fasten'd upon him, were undeserv'd and ill-grounded, he has filled his Letter with nothing but Contumelies and scornful Reflections, which shew how heinously he resented the Liberty I took in examining his Hypothesis; and this all sensible Men observed as soon as ever his Letter appear'd in publick. But now to make it evident to the whole World, that I have Reason on my side, viz. that Mr. Simon is in the wrong for quarrelling with me upon this occasion, I shall only call my Eyes on the Preface of his Work, where he sets down the Principles of his Work at length: *The World will observe (says he) that having considered nothing in this Essay, but the Principles of those who have a mind to know the Grounds of the Holy Scriptures, I have inserted abundance of Principles, very useful to resolve the most weighty Difficulties of the Bible, and at the same time to answer those Objections which are usually made against these Holy Books.* These Principles are reducible to three Heads: The first is, That there were always amongst the Hebrews a sort of Prophets, or Publick Registers, Divinely inspired, who made what Alterations or Additions they thought fit in the Books of the Old Testament. The second is, That they heretofore wrote their Books upon

little

little Leaves, which they row'd one over another round a small piece of Wood, without stitching them together; whence it happen'd sometimes, that not taking sufficient care to preserve the order of these ancient Leaves or Volumes, the things themselves treated of, have sometimes been misplaced. The third is, That there is a great deal of Reason to believe, that those Persons who joyn'd these old Memoirs together, to keep up the Body of these Canonical Books which are now remaining, made no scruple at all to cut off several Synonymous Terms, which were found in their Copies, and were perhaps inserted only for a fuller Illustration. These are the great and admirable Principles of Mr. Simon, his publick Registers, his Rolls, and Synonyma's. Here is, according to him, a way to resolve the most perplexed Difficulties of the Bible, and to defend its Authority against the Disciples of *Spinoza*. Here is an infallible Expedient whereby we may confound the Socinians and Protestants, and invincibly prove the Inspiration of the Holy Books. And lastly, here is a never-failing Sledge to silence all the Objections that can be urged against the Scripture. I am of Opinion that Mr. Simon will find very few People who will be inclined to subscribe to the Usefulness of these Principles. But this is not the Business I design to examine, 'tis their Solidity I desire to see, upon which he values himself so exceedingly. For if it be made evident, that these Principles are only established upon weak frivolous Conjectures, then adieu to them. Let us therefore examine all the Proofs that Mr. Simon has brought together in his *Critical History*, and other Books.

The first of his Principles, is that about the Scribes or Registers that were divinely inspired. But he gives us no Proofs of this matter in his Preface; it seems that was not the proper place. In the first Chapter of his Critique, which is a sort of a second Preface, he contents himself with saying, That he gives the name of Prophets to the Authors of the Books of the Bible, and with repeating what he said before in his Preface concerning the great advantage of these publick Scribes; as if it were enough for him barely to assert these things, without giving himself the trouble of proving them. But in the second Chapter he endeavours to make this whole matter evident, and therefore let us consider by what Reasons he offers to do it. In the first place he observes, that the Jewish State acknowledged no other Chief or Head, but God. From this Principle he concludes, that God himself gave 'em Laws by the Ministry of Moses, and of the other Prophets who succeeded him. This Conclusion is undeniable, but it was not necessary to prove it by a Principle more obscure than the Conclusion that is drawn from thence. But we are not concerned to know, whether there were any of these Prophets amongst the Hebrews, for that is a constantly received Truth; but 'tis our business to know, In the first place, Whether there were in all Ages amongst the Jews those Scribes or Registers whom he talks of, who look'd after the Records and Histories of the Affairs of that Nation. Secondly, Whether they were

divinely inspired. Thirdly, Whether they are the Authors of the Books of the Bible. 'Tis Mr. Simon's business to prove these three Propositions, and not barely to tell us in general, that there were Prophets amongst the Jews. The second Remark made by Mr. Simon is this, That in all well-regulated Kingdoms, and especially in the Eastern Nations, they had always certain Persons, who took care to see, that the most important Occurrences of State were preserved in Writing. I thought indeed that Mr. Simon would have concluded from this Observation, that they had such Persons likewise amongst the Jews. He disowns this Consequence, and therefore this can only pass for a Comparison, and so we must look for other Arguments to shew there were such publick Scribes amongst the Jews. It carries a great deal of Probability with it, continues he, that Moses, upon the first establishment of that State, set up this sort of Scribes, whom we may call Publick or Divine ones, to distinguish 'em from particular Writers, who usually engage to write the History of their own Times from no Motives but those of Interest. However 'tis not certain that Moses ever did institute these Scribes, 'tis a mere Conjecture and nothing else. But how does Mr. Simon endeavour to prove it? He gives us two Reasons in a Parenthesis; the first is, *Because Moses was bred up in the Egyptian Court, where they had Priests, to whom they gave the name of Scribes or Registers, of Sacred Writers.* As if it were necessary, or indeed probable, that Moses would appoint amongst the Children of Israel whatever he saw practised by the Egyptians. He ought to have produced some Reason, or at least some Conjecture, to prove that Moses imitated them in this; But Mr. Simon omits to do it. The second Reason, which he alleges to prove that Moses established this sort of Scribes amongst the Jews, is; *Because he was a perfect Law-giver; as if it were necessary for a perfect Law-giver to institute such a Custom.* Was not *Lycorgus* a perfect Law-giver? And yet, by the acknowledgement of Mr. Simon himself, he did not appoint any of these publick Scribes in his Commonwealth. But for what purpose I wonder should Moses set 'em up amongst the Jews, when he himself had written their Laws and History. Besides, could Mr. Simon understandly prove, that there were these publick Scribes in the time of Moses, yet it would not follow from thence, that they were the Authors of the Pentateuch. And thus we see, that all Mr. Simon's admirable Conjectures to shew, that the Books of the Pentateuch were written by the Scribes divinely inspired, fall to the ground, without doing what they were produced for.

Let us now see, if he is more fortunate in his Citations. The first is from *Josephus*, who tells us, That amongst the Jews it was not lawful for every one to write their Annals, but that this Province was only reserved for the Prophets, who knew remote and future Things by Divine Inspiration, and committed to Writing all the remarkable Passages of their time. Now Mr. Simon answers, That *Josephus* by the Prophets understands no more than Moses, and those that wrote the Books of the Old Testament after him. Mr. Simon answers, That the Reasons of *Josephus* are

his general on the subject by *John a Reformation*. But this is a mistake; there has been no such thing as a Reformation; the last meeting of the Synod was in 1644, and it will evidently appear, that in this place he only speaks of those Books that were composed by the *Prophets* of the Old Testament. The *Worshipfully Translated* are those which are so useful for every body, either as to write history, there is no controversy as to all our histories. They are the *Prophets* who write, either about ancient things that happened a long time ago, and which they have by Divine Inspiration, or about things that happened in their own time, and those they say them in order as they were Translated. We have no millions of Books that contradict one another, and only serve to perplex the Reader. We have only twenty two which contain the History of all times, and to which we refer our Belief with a great deal of Justice. Of these Books there are five in Moses. From Moses down to Antiochus King of Syria, who lived after Xerxes, the *Prophets* in thirteen Books wrote the History of their Times. The four following contain History in Praise of God, and several Moral Precepts. In short, from Antiochus down to our own Times we have our History very well written, but these Books are not of the same Authority with the former, because there has not been a continued and regular Succession of Prophets. Nothing in the whole World can be more directly opposite to Mr. Simon's Hypothesis than this passage of *Josephus*. Mr. Simon supposes, that in Moses's time there were public Scribes, who cited the Memoirs from whence they composed the *Pentateuch*; and *Josephus* expressly tells us, that these five first Books were written by *Moses*. Mr. Simon supposes, that the following Books are only Abridgments of those ancient Memoirs, that were from time to time written by the public Scribes, and afterwards collected together by others of the same Character; and *Josephus* supposes, they were written in the same manner as we now find 'em, by the Prophets that lived upon the spot when these things, which they have delivered, were transacted. Mr. Simon would needs have it, that in the Jewish Nation there were always such Scribes divinely inspired; and *Josephus* plainly tells us, that the Succession of Prophets failed after *Antiochus*. Now what can be more irreconcilable than all this? Besides, 'tis observable, that *Josephus's* Prophecies are different from Mr. Simon's public Scribes. They were not Men intrusted with the Registers, and appointed to write History: But Prophets, whom from time to time we find amongst the Jews, who took care to transmit the Passages of their time to Posterity; and their Books are not at all different from those, which the Jews acknowledged for Canonical in the time of *Josephus*. From all which it necessarily follows, that this passage confirms my Hypothesis, and utterly destroys Mr. Simon's. For we maintain with *Josephus* against Mr. Simon, That *Moses* is the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and that the other Authentick Books of the Old Testament were written by Men divinely inspired, or by Prophets who lived near the times wherein those Occurrences happened which they delivered, though we do not certainly know their Names: 'Tis to these

Books and not to the *Pentateuch*, that we are to apply the Words of St. Gregory upon Job, which Mr. Simon manifestly perverts and abuses in his first Chapter, *Scribae hoc scriptis suisque personarum auctoritate, cum tamem Antior Libri Spiritus Sanctus testatur creatorum*. For this Father speaks this only with relation to the Book of Job, whose Author is unknown to us.

The second Author, that Mr. Simon alleges in his *Critical History* to prove these Scribes divinely inspired, is *Eusebius*: *Eusebius*, says he, confirms this Opinion, when he takes notice, that amongst the Jews it was not allowed for all sorts of People to pass their Judgment upon those Men that were inspired by the Holy Spirit to write Holy Books. He quotes in the Margin, *Eusebius de Preparatione Evangelicæ*, that is to say, a great Book in Folio; I have diligently hunted after this passage there, but have not been to happy as to meet with it. But let the matter be how it will, I don't see what Assistance it brings to Mr. Simon's Hypothesis: The Jews had Writers that were divinely inspired; Who questions it? As also, That it did not belong to all the World to judge who they were, that were thus divinely inspired; but this Province was reserved for those Persons, who had the same Inspiration themselves. Well then, suppose it were so, does it therefore follow that the Books of *Moses* were composed by the Keepers of Registers? Does it follow that those who were appointed to write History, and that too of the public Memoirs, were divinely inspired? Or rather, That all the Books of Scripture which we now have, are but so many Abridgments extracted out of their Memoirs. As for what remains, Mr. Simon could not have cited any Author more contrary to his own Hypothesis, than *Eusebius*, and that even in this very Book *De Preparatione Evangelicæ*. For one of the great Principles, which he there establishes in several places, is the Authority and Antiquity of the Books of *Moses*, which he always supposes to have been written by that Prophet in the same manner as we have 'em at present. The Truth of this Assertion he confirms by three three Propositions, which he lays down in the beginning of the 14th Book. The first, That *Moses* is ancienter than any Greek Author. The second, That he has written what he had learned of his Ancestors. The third, That the Jews have neither added nor diminished from the Writings which he left them. And now I'll leave the World to judge whether these Principles of *Eusebius* agree with those of Mr. Simon.

The third Author cited by Mr. Simon is *Theodoret*. It must be confessed, that this Father owns, (as well as several other Authors have done) that the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were composed from very ancient Memoirs. But this is not the point in Question. We confess, we are not assured of the Authors of those Books, are not assured, they are a Collection drawn out of old Memoirs. But we demand of Mr. Simon, whether it follows from hence, that the *Pentateuch*, and other Books of the Bible, are of the same Nature. This is a thing which *Theodoret* would beware of saying, because he owns *Moses* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*. 'Tis

with

with this Assertion he begins his Preface to the Books of *Kings*, from whence Mr. Simon has drawn these passages which he quotes. After having explained the Books of *Moses*, &c. To these three Authors has Mr. Simon in his Letter to Monsieur L'Abbe, added the Author of the *Synopsis*, attributed to St. *Abramius*. This Author follows the Opinion of *Josephus*, and after having observed that the five first Books of the Bible do without dispute belong to *Moses*, he says, that all the following Books are not written by those whose Names they bear, but that they were composed by *Prophets* who lived from time to time. Lastly he observes, when he is speaking concerning the *Chronicles*, that one finds several Historical Books of the *Prophets* quoted there. And what does all this make for Mr. Simon's Hypothesis? Have not we said the very same thing? Does not all the World agree as to this particular? Had Mr. Simon kept himself here, no Body would have fell upon him.

The last Author, whom Mr. Simon cites to justify his Hypothesis, is the Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. This Author in the place transcribed by Mr. Simon, tells us, that there were some Prophets who wrote their own Prophecies themselves, as David the Book of Psalms, and Daniel his Prophecy; and that there were others who did not write themselves, but that they had their Books in the Temple, who wrote down, as it were in a Journal, the Words of each Prophet. "That the Books of *Kings* were thus composed by parts, that under Saul's Reign they wrote whatever passed in his time, and so likewise in David's time, and the other Kings; That the *Chronicles* are but a Collection of Registers, and several Papers of their Kings; That *Moses* wrote the *Pentateuch*; That *Joshua* is the Author of the Book which bears his Name; That the Book of Judges was written by the Scribes in the Temple from time to time, as well as that of Ruth; That *Salomon* composed the Proverbs, the Canticles, and Ecclesiastes. This Author's Hypothesis is extremely different from that of Mr. Simon.

1. He supposes, for a certain truth, that *Moses* was the Author of the *Pentateuch*; and does not attribute his Works to the public Scribes or Abbreviators. 2. He does not say, that these public Scribes were inspired by God, or that they wrote the History of themselves. He supposes the Prophets dictated that to them as well as their Prophecies. 3. He believes that the Books of *Kings* and *Judges* were the very Originals from the Prophets, which were joined together. Instead of which Mr. Simon believes, that these Books are Abridgments. I won't lose so much time as to answer the Rabbi, and other Authors of that Stamp, whom Mr. Simon has muffled up in his last Letter. 'Tis visible there's not one single Author he quotes that is of the same opinion with himself. For, in the first place, they all of 'em acknowledge, that the Books of the *Pentateuch* ought not to be attributed to Scribes, or to Prophets divinely inspired, but to *Moses* himself. Secondly, they say, That the following Books were written by Persons divinely inspired, to whom they gave the name of Prophets, but they don't tell us, that these Prophets were Supervisors of the Registers, or public

Scribes. Thirdly, they acknowledge, That there were ancient Memoirs, or ancient Histories, often quoted in the Books of *Kings*, and the *Chronicles*. No Body doubts this, I have frequently observed it, and have made a Catalogue of the Books that are quoted in the *Old Testament*. But it does not follow from hence, that all the Books of the Bible are Extracted from these Memoirs, and Compiled a long time after. Mr. Simon has given these public Scribes authority to change, to enlarge, and abridge these Sacred Books as they see convenient. To prove this, he quotes Don Isaac Abarbanel, a Learned Spanish Jew, as if we were obliged to take all for Gospel that these Rabbis have been pleased to deliver. He joys *Prophetae* and *Theodores* to this Jew, as Men that have observed, that the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were drawn out of several other Historical Books. Not to displease Mr. Simon, he has mightily altered the Point, for this is not the Question under debate. We agree with him, that the Authors of the Books of *Kings*, and the *Chronicles*, compiled their Histories out of Memoirs and particular Historians whom they found, as *Livy* and *Metzar* made use of the ancient Historians to compose their Histories: But for all this, we dare not say, they have changed or diminished the ancient Histories, that always continued in the same condition they were in, nor that they had a Privilege to take all this, much less that they have made any considerable Alterations or Additions to the Books of *Moses*. Mr. Simon at last brings in a very dangerous Maxim, though he covers it under a specious appearance of Usefulness: It would be dangerous, says he, to pretend to Correct one Book of Scripture by another, because they don't agree altogether themselves. 'Tis very truly said, that we ought not to Correct one Book of Scripture by another: But it is not true, that two Books of the Scripture don't altogether agree with each other. There is not any real Contradiction between the Books of the Bible; if there are any apparent ones, the fault does not lie in the Authors, but in our want of understanding them. 'Tis a piece of extraordinary Rashness and Presumption to suppose with Mr. Simon, that there are real Contradictions in the Books of the Bible, that the Author of the *Chronicles* has reported Matter of Fact otherwise than it is in other places, or that the Genealogies and Chronology of the Scriptures are faulty, and the like: I know, says Mr. Simon, that it is expressly forbidden in Deuteronomy to add or diminish a Title from the Word of God. Here then there is an express Text against Mr. Simon's Hypothesis. Now to answer this Passage, he ought to alledge some other place of Scripture, which restrains and limits this Prohibition to private Persons, or gives Permission to the Prophets and public Scribes to do the contrary. But Mr. Simon thinks it enough to quote the Author of the Book *Cæsi*, who is of the same opinion, but by a peculiar Misfortune that attends him, we find, that a certain Commentator towards the bottom of the Page, where this Book is quoted, observes, That the Author of the Book *Cæsi* does not speak of the Scripture in that place, but only of the Explication of the Commandments, which depended upon the Judges of the Sanedrim.

Sandwich: who had power to deprive of them according to the circumstances of Time and emergent Occasions. What has become then of Mr. Simon's Answer? It stood only upon the Authority of the Author of the Book *Chimera*; and now we see, that this very Author will not be brought to say, what he would have him say. Notably, Mr. Simon expresses the Common Opinion of the Fathers, who believe that the Collection of the Old Testament, (such as it now is, as composed by Ezra, which confirms, likewise, what I am now maintaining, in Ezra could not correct, and yet these Books, which, according to them, had been corrupted during the time of the Captivity, but in the Quality and Character of a Prophet and publick Scribe, and therefore he is called a Scribe in the way of Excellence in the Bible. I would willingly know what necessity there was, that Ezra should restore the Holy Scripture in quality of Publick Scribe, or Master of the Rolls. Is it not infinitely more probable to imagine he did it, because he was commanded to restore the Religion and Laws of the Jews in their ancient Purity, as being their Chief and High Priest. (Whenever he is called a Scribe in Scripture, it is not in Mr. Simon's sense, but because he was well skilled and knowing in the Law of the Lord.) He need only give us selves the trouble to read this passage, *Ezra vi. 6. Ezra went up from Babylon, and he was a ready scribe in the Law of Moses, which the Lord God of Israel had given.* That is to say, he perfectly understood the Law, the Word Scripture being taken in the same sense in *Jeremiah ch. 8. v. 8.* And it does not signify any thing else in the *New Testament*, where this Name is given to all the Doctors of the Law.

The second Principle of Mr. Simon depends upon the changing of the Rolls or Volumes in which these Sacred Books are written. I said before, that this Conjecture is only pleasant because it is new, and that it was a Chimera, that had nothing at all to do with the Argument in hand. Mr. Simon answers me immediately, That what I call a Chimera, was every ancient opinion, and likewise taken notice of by the most ancient Critics. It was therefore his business to look after his Proofs. But I have no Exceptions to make to the Antiquity of Rolls; (for 'tis very plain that they formerly wrote upon Leaves which they rolled together) but only to the ill use he makes of 'em. He ought to have shown by convincing Instances, that these Rolls frequently occasioned Transpositions, and he ought likewise to have applied this Conjecture to some Examples in Scripture which had suffered by this disorder. But this I defy him to do after all his attempts, he dares not undertake any thing of that nature, but contents himself to say in general terms, That it may be so. I said also, That this Conjecture had nothing to do with the subject, because if we supposed, that some little confusion might accidentally happen in the rolling of these Leaves, yet the Abridgers might easily rectify 'em, as I have in order. To this Mr. Simon replies, that 'tis no miracle to talk of the Abridgers, because these Leaves were disordered long after the Collection of the Arguments. I did indeed believe Mr. Simon had spoken of the Leaves of the Originals or Memoirs, out of which,

as he pretends, they made an Abridgment of the Bible, and I am full of opinion, that he is thus to be understood, where he says, p. 35. *I much doubt whether we are to attribute to Moses and the publick Scribes, that lived in his times, the disorder and confusion which we find in several places of the Pentateuch: There is great probability for us to believe, that as they wrote their Books then upon little Rolls, or single Leaves, which they rolled one upon another, the order of these Leaves has been changed. Now it was very probable, that this then had a relation to Moses; and the publick Scribes: But since Mr. Simon is willing to have it understood of the Times that followed these Abridgements, he ought to inform us, that the little Order which we find, as he pretends, in the Pentateuch, proceeded from the changing of these Rolls. But this can never be able to do, and I challenge him to apply this Conjecture to the Examples which he produces; as one may readily rectify a printed Sheet of Paper which was transposed in binding a Book. Hence it follows, that this second Principle of Mr. Simon is so very far from being well grounded, that 'tis indeed wholly pitiful. As for what concerns his third Principle, which is the Repetition of the Synonymous Terms, from whence he pretends to conclude, that the Books of the Bible are composed from several ancient Memoirs, 'tis a false and frivolous Conjecture; for there is much greater reason for a Man to believe, that these Repetitions came from one Author, who wrote these Things as Memoirs at first, than from an Epitomizer, who has weaved one continued History without making any repetition of the same Things, or the same Words: Besides, that these Repetitions which Mr. Simon produces as Examples, are not absolutely needful, but serve either to illustrate what has been said, or else to Corroborate some Circumstance or other, or lastly, to give more Force and Efficacy to what is written. 'Tis no unusual thing to meet with Repetitions of that nature in most Authors, and principally in those, that write the History of their own times with an air of Simplicity and Unaffectedness.*

Eleventh Objection. 'Tis pretended that the Repetitions, which we meet with in the *Pentateuch*, were not in all probability made by Moses, but rather by them, who made a Collection of the Holy Books, and have joyned together several Precepts or Explanations of the same Words. There are abundance of these Repetitions which they produce. They say moreover, that there are many Repetitions of the same thing differently related, and this makes it appear, that this History is drawn from several different Memoirs. They add, That we cannot rationally attribute them to Moses, because of the little Order or Regularity we find them in. They produce upon this occasion a Conjecture that is pleasant enough, because new. There is reason to imagine, say they, that as they wrote their Books in those times upon Rolls, or separate Leaves, which they rolled one upon another, the order of the Leaves has been changed and inverted. And so they pretend, that the diversity of Style, which is to be found in the Books of the *Pentateuch*, is a satisfactory Proof, to shew that the same Writer was not the Author. Answer. All these Objections

are extremely weak and impertinent, and rather destroy, than contribute any thing to the Hypothesis they are produced to establish. For can any Man in the World believe, that an Author, who had abridged any History, would to often repeat the same things, that he would preserve no order, and not write in the same style throughout. On the contrary, Don't all Abbreviators make it their business to make their Relations so remote and distant, in a time when such Voyages were very rare, and attended with abundance of Difficulties. But I would willingly understand what should hinder Moses from knowing, that this Country was watered with the River *Pison*, and how was it possible for him to give a description of the place, unless he had given the most publick and commonly known Marks. We see plainly, that some Countries, though never so remote, are yet known well enough for those excellent and precious Commodities that are found there, which are to be met with no where else, and which are transported from thence to other places. 'Tis not necessary for a Man, to go to *Parthia*, to be informed, that the Gold of that Country is very fine, and in great plenty; or to make a Voyage to the *Indies*, to know that Pearls and precious Stones, are found there; nor is there any more strength in the second Reason, which supposeth, that the exactness wherewith this Author describes the erecting of the Cities of *Mesopotamia* and *Allyria*, v. 18. of the 10th Chapter of *Genesis*, is a clear indication, that the Writer thereof had been in that Country. For is it necessary that an Historian should have been in all the places he mentions? On the other hand, Was there ever any Historian in the World that has seen all the Countries which he gives an account of?

These are this Author's private Guesses: We have already answered those which have been started by *Hobbs*, *Spinosa*, and Mr. *Simon*, as well as himself, but don't think it worth the while to throw away any time in refuting those extravagant Whimsies he makes so much noise about, to prove that the *Pentateuch* was written by a Samaritan Priest. They are weak and pitiful that they deserve no body's Consideration, and indeed if such Reasonings were to be allowed, I don't know one single Book in the World which might not upon good Grounds be taken away from the true Author, and bestowed upon another. From hence we may see, of what ill consequence it is to give ones Imagination too large a Scope, and mistake bare Conjectures for eternal Truths.

[*It would only prove, that the same thing has happened to the Books of Moses, which has almost happened to all the ancient Authors, viz. That some few Words, Names, and Terms, have been added or altered to render the Narrative more intelligible.*] If one examines all these Objections that I have already answered, he will be convinced they prove no more, and that one might have answered almost all of them by this very Remark. Mr. *Simon*, who cannot contradict me in this Point, is mighty desirous to set upon me another way, by objecting, that in my Preface, and other places of my Book, I have laid down Rules which seem to prove from these Additions, that the *Pentateuch* is a supposititious Work: For it seems I had

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affirmed in the last part of my Preface. *That impostors, for the sake of gain, relate Matters of Fact that happened after the Death of those whom they speak of, and they give an Account of Cities and People that were not known in the time of those Authors whose Names they assume.* From whence Mr. Simon draws this Conjecture, that since I own there are several such Additions in the *Pentateuch*, a Disciple of Spinoza may thence conclude, that according to my Rule 'tis a supposititious Work. To this I answer, that this Objection of Mr. Simon shews, that he has not to great a share of good Sense, and closeness of Arguing, as he has of Rabbinical Learning. For if he had only considered the General Remark which I made in my Preface about the Rules of Criticism there laid together, he could not have been guilty of so manifest a Solecism as this. I desire him to mind these Words a little: *A Man may say, that all these Rules which I have here laid down, are convincing and probable in different degrees, but that the Sovereign and Principal Rule is the Judgment of Equity and Prudence, which instructs us to balance the Reasons of this and t'other side, in distinctly considering the Conjectures that are made of both sides.* Now this is the General Rule of Rational Criticism, and we abuse all the rest if we don't chiefly make use of this. Let us now apply it to the present Question. There are in the *Pentateuch* some Terms, and Names of Cities, and other Passages that could not come from *Moses*; must we therefore hastily conclude that it was not written by *Moses*, because 'tis a certain sign that a Book is spurious, when one finds such Occurrences in it, as have happen'd after the Death of the Author to whom it is attributed, and because we meet with some Names of Cities and People that were not known in his time? Or on the other hand, Does it follow, because the *Pentateuch* was writ by *Moses*, notwithstanding some Additions which are there to be found, does it I say thence follow, that the above-mentioned Rule is false? These two Consequences are very indifferently drawn, but the Rule is still good, and the Books of the *Pentateuch* may yet be written by *Moses*. The Rule is good, but we ought to make a good use of it. When there are no certain Proofs of the Antiquity of a Book, and besides there are other Conjectures to incline us to doubt of it, we may in pursuance to this Rule, conclude it spurious. But when it is past Dispute that such a Book is written by such an Author, and there is an infinite number of evident Arguments to demonstrate the truth of it; then we are necessarily to conclude, that these Words, and Terms, and Names, were afterwards added. After all, where there are Reasons on one side, as well as on the other, we ought carefully to balance them, to weigh one against the other, and at last to determine the matter on that side, where the greatest appearance of probability lies. These are the true Rules of Criticism, which it seems Mr. Simon is ignorant of, or at least does not rightly examine, otherwise he could never have forgot himself so far, as to accuse me wrongfully for giving favourable Rules to the Disciples of Spinoza. The fault is by no means to be imputed to these Rules, which almost every Critick has given before me, but 'tis his way of

Arguing, and drawing of Inferences that has been favourable to the Spinozists. His Conjectures, and Objections, and in short his Hypothesis, has served to confirm those Persons in their Errors, besides that several places of his Book give the greatest Blow imaginable to the Authority of the Holy Scripture; When he asks me, *What answer I will return to those who prove that the Pentateuch was not written by Moses, shall use my own Reasons to show that the Liturgy of St. James, as 'tis commonly received by the Oriental Nations, was not made by him?* I will answer him, that there are not the same Reasons to induce a Man to believe that St. James was the Author of that Liturgy, which goes under his Name, as that the Books of *Moses* were written by him: That this was never affirmed in any of the Epistles of the Apostles, that the Ancients never speak of it, that this Liturgy does not agree with the Discipline that was in use in St. James's time. Whereas the Scripture informs me that *Moses* was Author of the *Pentateuch*, and Jesus Christ and his Apostles have assured me of the truth of it, and all the ancient Writers have testified so much, besides the Universal Agreement of all People in this matter. 'Tis therefore a manifest Injustice and Calumny in Mr. Simon to accuse me for designing to destroy the Books of *Moses*, under a pretence of defending them against the Spinozists.

Nor does Mr. Simon reason better in applying what I have said with regard to the Book of *Joshua*, to the Books of the *Pentateuch*; 'tis but comparing the Arguments I brought to prove that the Books of the *Pentateuch* belonged to *Moses*, with those that are commonly produced to prove that the Book of *Joshua* was written by *Joshua*, and any Man will soon perceive the mighty difference between one and the other, and that the Reasons that are alledged in favour of *Moses*, are infinitely stronger than those that are urged to prove that *Joshua* composed the Book that bears his Name. No Man ever yet doubted that the *Pentateuch* was written by *Moses*, but 'tis not the same case with the Book of *Joshua*. Mr. Simon supposeth there is as much evidence for one, as the other; in order to prove this, he imagines that all those formal places of Scripture that are produced to shew that *Moses* was Author of the *Pentateuch*, reduce themselves to this Head, *viz.* That *Moses* wrote the Law; and he pretends there is the same reason to affirm, that *Joshua* added the Book of his History to the Books of the Law. But if any one will give himself the trouble to consider the passages that are to be found in the Notes (b) and (c), he will be perswaded that they are very positive as well as numerous, and don't lie in so narrow a compass as before they are brought in behalf of *Joshua*: Besides, 'tis but reading the 24th Chapter of the Book of *Joshua*, where we find this last passage, and we shall see that it may be very well understood of the Moral and Ceremonial Precepts that are mentioned in that place. From hence it evidently appears, that there's a vast difference between the Reasons that prove *Moses* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and those that seem to intimate that *Joshua* composed the Book which contains this History; and that a Man without incurring the guilt of rashness, may doubt whether

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he is the Author of that Book; but that he cannot doubt whether *Moses* wrote the *Pentateuch*, without being guilty of that crime to the highest degree. At the same time I will not absolutely deny that *Joshua* was Author of the Book that carries his Name; I have only observed, that it is not absolutely certain, and 'tis an easy matter to take notice, that I rather incline to that party which assigns it to *Joshua*.

(i) We don't certainly know when these Books were written by *Moses*. I Some say that *Genesis* was written by *Moses*, after the departure out of Egypt; so *Pererius* and *Tena*. 'Tis most probable, that all of them were written after the departure out of Egypt, and particularly that *Genesis* was composed after the Promulgation of the Law. This is the Opinion of *Eusebius* and the Ancients, and indeed we find in *Genesis* several Allusions to the Law; as for example, in Chap. 2. there is mention made of the Law of the Sabbath; and in the 7th and 8th Chapters of clean and unclean Beasts: Which are sufficient Intimations that *Moses* wrote those things, when his Thoughts were full of the Law then newly made. *Deuteronomy* is the last, for besides that it is a Repetition of what we find in the Law, it plainly tells us, that *Moses* spake those things to the People of Israel when they were ready to go over Jordan. To this we may add, that he relates whatever happen'd towards the end of his Life; and lastly, that the Account of his Death is inserted there, as being his last Work.

(k) Though 'tis commonly believed that this Book was written by *Joshua*. Most of the Modern Writers are of this Opinion, as was also *Isidore* in the 6th Book of his *Origines*, *Junilius*, and *Dorobus*, *Tabluis*, *Abulenjis*, *Driedo*, and *Bellarmino* say the same, as do likewise the *Talmudists Babara*, c. 1. This Opinion is chiefly supported by these Words in the last Chapter, Ver. the 26th, where it is said, that *Joshua* wrote all these things in the Book of the Law of God. However, this passage may have a relation only to what is written in this Chapter, else perhaps *Joshua* might have written another Book, of which this was an Abridgment. 'Tis said in *Ecclesiasticus*, Chap. 46. that *Joshua* was the Successor of *Moses* in Prophecies; But this does not prove that he wrote anything. *Theodoret* assures us, that the Book of *Joshua* is nothing else but an Extract out of the Book of *Joshua*, which is mentioned in the 10th Chapter, Ver. the 13th.

The Reasons that are brought to prove that this Book was not written by *Joshua*, are generally these. In the first place, if they it is observed there in the 10th Chapter, Ver. 13, that the Book of *Joshua*, where the Wars of *Joshua* were written, is quoted, therefore the Book of *Joshua* is later. 2. We meet there this fashion of speaking, *Uque in presentem diem, uno this day*, frequently repeated: As for instance, when it's said in the 4th Chap. Ver. 9. *That the twelve Stones which Joshua took out of the midst of Jordan, continue there unto this day.* And in the 5th Chap. Ver. 9. *The name of the place is called Gilead, unto this day.* 3. The taking of the City of *Lachish* is related Chap. 10. Ver. 35. 'tho' it happen'd not till after the Death of *Joshua*.

ab, as we may see, *Judges*, Chap. 18. Ver. 29. So likewise, Chap. 11. Ver. 14, and the following, there is an account of *Caleb* and his Daughters, which passage did not fall out till after the Death of *Joshua*, as it is written in the first Chapter of the Book of *Judges*. In the same Chapter, Ver. 28, there is mention made of the Land of *Cabul*, which received this Name from *Hiram* King of Tyre, as we may find it in the 9th Chapter of the first Book of *Kings*. Lastly, in the 9th Chapter, Ver. 23, and the last, it is said, *That Joshua made the Gibeonites Drawers of Waters and Flowers of Wood in the House of his God*, which is probably to be understood of the Temple, that was not built long after the death of *Joshua*. These Arguments are not wholly unanswerable. First, We don't know what manner of Book the Book of *Joshua* was; 'tis not said that all the Wars of *Joshua* were set down there, but only the relation of the Sun's standing still. Some think that *Genesis* is there called the Book of *Joshua*, where, as they pretend, this memorable Event was foretold. Others believe 'tis the *Pentateuch*; *Grotius* says it was a Song composed upon that occasion. *Huetius* supposes that it is a Book of Morality. Lastly, others imagine it to have been a Book of Annals. If this last Opinion were the only true one, yet it by no means follows, that *Joshua* was not Author of that Book where these Annals are quoted. Secondly, Supposing that *Joshua* wrote this Book towards the end of his Life, as is most reasonable to think he did, when he had occasion to speak of those things that happen'd at the beginning of his Ministry, he might very well make use of that Expression, *Uque in presentem diem, uno this day*, even as St. Matthew himself, who wrote a little after the Death of our Blessed Saviour, tells us, that the Field *Aeldama* was called The Field of Blood unto this day. These, and the following Objections, may be answered, by saying, that these things have been added since, and particularly the taking of the City of *Lachish* by the *Danites*: Or at least we may say that the City of *Lachish*, mentioned in *Joshua*, is a different place from *Lachish* in the Book of *Judges*. The second Objection may be answered by saying, That whatever is said concerning *Orthoniel* and *Abila* in the Book of *Judges*, is only a Recapitulation of what happened in the time of *Joshua*. The Land of *Cabul*, mentioned in *Joshua*, is different from that in the Book of *Kings*: *Josephus* has distinguished them; one is a Country, the other a Village. The House of God, mentioned in the Ninth Chapter, may be understood well enough of the Tabernacle and Ark, which was in the time of *Joshua*.

(j) Be it as it will, the Book of *Judges* is ancient. To prove that this Book was not composed till after the Captivity, they commonly instance in these words in Chap. 18. Ver. 30, 31. *Untill the day of the Captivity of the Land, and in these, In those days there was no King in Israel.* Words, if they, which demonstrate that this Book was written after the Captivity, and in the time when they had Kings in Israel. But the Captivity spoken of in this place, is not that of *Babylon*, but the Captivity that happened in the

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the time of *Heli*, when the Ark was taken by the *Philistines*; and the Idol of *Nebo* was destroyed, as it is observed in this place of the Book of *Judges*. And as for these words, *In those days there was no King in Israel*, they don't necessarily suppose that there were any when this Author lived, and perhaps they were added by *Ezrah*.

(m) Which has made Men think, that the Book of *Samuel* were written by *that Prophet*.] This Opinion is not certain, because Chap. 9. Ver. 9. it is said, *That he that is now called a Prophet, was before-time called a Seer*, which *Samuel* could not say. In the fifth Chapter, Ver. the fifth, the Author of this Book, relating the History of the taking of the Ark, tells us, that the Priests of *Dagon* did not tread upon the Threshold of *Dagon* unto this day. But this might well enough be said by *Samuel*, because that happened when he was young; and he wrote not this Book till towards the end of his Life.

(n) *Ezrah* speaks there in the first Person.] He speaks of himself in the first Person, *Ezrah*, Chap. 7. Ver. 27, and 28. *God hath extended his Mercy towards me before the King, and I, &c.* And Chap. 9. Ver. 5. *I fell upon my Knees, and spread out my Hands*.

(o) The Conjecture of *Euctius* is not so strong as to make us quit the common Opinion.] He says, that the Author of the six first Chapters was at *Jerusalem* in the time of *Darius*, as it appears by these words in the fifth Chapter, *ad quod respondimus eis quæ essent nomina*. Now *Ezrah* came not to that City till after *Darius's* Reign under that of *Artaxerxes*, as is easily proved by the beginning of the seventh Chapter. But 'tis no hard matter to refute this Conjecture, by observing that when *Ezrah* said, *Respondimus eis*, he only spoke in the Name of the *Jews*; and 'tis an usual thing with the Historians of any Nation to cry, *We did such or such a thing*, although the Historian had no share in the doing it.

(p) The second Book is constantly attributed to *Nehemiah*.] He begins thus, *The Words of Nehemiah*; and after the same manner, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Timæus*, &c. begin their Works, not to mention the Prophets. The Author of *Ecclesiasticus* speaks of the Actions of *Nehemiah*, Chap. 40. and the Author of the second Book of the *Maccabees* commends his Writings.

(q) 'Tis commonly believed, that *Tobit* and *Tobias* wrote their own History.] This Opinion is principally founded upon the Angels commanding them in the 12th Chapter, Ver. 20. *Narrate omnia mirabilia vestra*. In the Greek Interpreter it is *γέγραται*, that is, *wrote all his wonderful Works*. Secondly, because in the Greek and Hebrew Editions they speak of themselves in the first Person.

(r) The time wherein the History of *Judith* happened is no less uncertain.] Some say this History happened before the Captivity, and prove it, first, because it is said in this Book, that it happened a little after the City of *Ecbatana* was built by *Artaxerxes* King of the *Medes*. Now that City, according to *Enchiridion* and *Hierodotus*, was built by *Dejoces*, who lived a long time before the Captivity. Secondly, King *Nebuchadnezzar*, who sent *Holofernes* into *Judæa*, reigned in *Ninive*, which

City was destroyed before the Captivity of *Babylon*. Thirdly, This *Nebuchadnezzar*, they tell us, is *Samschadims*, Grandson of *Sennacherib*, and Son of *Assuradon* King of the *Babylonians*, who gave the Name of *Nebuchadnezzar* to their King. Fourthly, They say that *Eliachim*, or *Joachim*, was High-Priest under *Manasse*, as we may see in the 22d Chapter of *Malab*. Those who are of the contrary Opinion, return the following Answers to these Conjectures. To the first they reply, That *Ecbatana* was several times rebuilt. To the second, That *Ninive* was restored to its ancient Splendor by the Kings of *Persia*. To the third, That the Name of *Nebuchadnezzar* was common to the Kings of *Babylon* and *Assyria*. To the fourth, That *Eliachim*, of whom mention is made in *Isaiah*, and in the second Book of *Kings*, Chap. 18. was not High-Priest. The Reasons which they allege for this Opinion are as follows: First, That this History happened at a time when there were no Kings at *Jerusalem*, and the High-Priests had the whole Authority in their Hands: Now this was not before the Captivity. Secondly, We read that there was one *Eliachim*, or *Joachim*, High-Priest after the Captivity. Thirdly, *Abiur*, Prince of the *Edomites*, being ask'd by *Holofernes*, Chap. 5. Ver. 3. Who the People of *Israel* were? He tells him, That they were lately carried away Captives into a strange Land, but now possessed the City *Jerusalem*. *Et plurimi eorum captivi addidit sunt in terram non suam, nuper autem reversi ad Domum Deum suum, ex dispersione quæ dispersi erant adducti sunt, & ascendunt Montem hunc omnia, & iterum possident Jerusalem*. And in the Greek it is added, *Καὶ ἐν ταῖς τοῖς ὅλοις ἀποβῆναι εἰς τὴν πόλιν*. *Et Templum Dei eorum factum est in Jerusalem*. Words that shew, that this passage ought to be understood of the Captivity, and Destruction of the Temple. Lastly, They add, that it is said in the 16th Chapter, that *Judith*, who lived an Hundred and five Years, saw no more War in *Israel*; and in the 8th Chapter, that when she went to find out *Holofernes*, she was young and beautiful. Hence they say it evidently follows, that this History did not happen during the Reign of *Manasse*, because from the War which *Pharaoh Necho* made in the time of King *Josiah*, it was but Forty five or Forty six Years to the Captivity, so that by this account the must have been sixty-four Years old, when she went to meet *Holofernes*, which is by no means probable. These Reasons, I confess, are not unanswerable; but however, this Opinion seems to me to be most agreeable to Truth. The greatest part of the Protestant Critics, as *Luther*, *Clayreus*, *bernalus*, *Scaliger*, and *Grotius*, believe that this History is a Fiction, or Allegory, which *Grotius* has very handsomely explained, but this is a rash Opinion, and ought not to be followed.

(s) The time and Author of the History of *Hester* are still uncertain.] *Scaliger*, assures us that it happened under *Xerxes*. First he says, that the Name of *Ahasuerus*, in Greek, *Ἀχαιμάνης*, resembles that of *Xerxes*: That *Xerxes's* Queen, whose Name is *Ameistris* according to *Herodotus*, is the same with *Hester*: That the Feast whereof mention

mention is made in this Book is that which is related by the same Historian, which *Xerxes* made before his Expedition against *Greece*. This Opinion is easily confuted, because from hence it would follow, that *Hester* was very old when he was married to *Xerxes*, and that her Uncle *Mordacai* was an Hundred and sixty Years old; for being one of those who were carried away Captives into *Babylon* in the time of King *Jeconiah*, when he was Ten Years old, if we thence add the Seventy Years of Captivity, and the Years of the Kings of *Persia* after *Cyrus*, it will by the least Computation make up an Hundred and fifty Years. Secondly, *Ameistris* was married to *Xerxes* a long time before his Expedition into *Greece*, as it appears by the joint Testimonies of *Herodotus* and *Ctesias*. The Father of *Ameistris* was *Onophris* a *Persian*, and no *Jew*. In short, that Queen was ill-natured and cruel. The Opinion of those, who place this History under *Artaxerxes*, is confuted by the same reason that is urged against the former; for 'tis precisely said in the second Chapter, Ver. 6. that *Mordacai* was of the Number of those, who were carried away by the King of *Babylon* along with *Jeconiah*. The third Opinion of those, who believe it is *Cyaxares*, is no less improbable. For first of all, the King who is mentioned in that Book, is called King of the *Persians*, and not of the *Medes*. Secondly, It is said that he Ruled from *India* to *Ethiopia*; now the *Medes* were never so powerful. Thirdly, *Ahasuerus* commonly resided in the City of *Susa*, which, as *Solinus*, *Diodorus*, and *Plutarch* testify, was the place of residence of the Kings of *Persia*, and not of the *Median* Kings. Lastly, It could not happen under *Cyaxares* the Father of *Astyages*, as the Authors of this Opinion are agreed. As for *Cyaxares*, who is supposed to be the Son of *Astyages*, he is altogether unknown to *Herodotus*, and other ancient Historians. None mention him but *Xenophon*, and all the World knows he is no exact Historian in his *Cyropædia*. So that after all, the Opinion of those who believe that *Ahasuerus* was the same with *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes*, as it is by far the most probable, so it carries no difficulty with it. The first Reason alleged against the other Opinions, makes it evident that it could not be any of the *Persian* Kings after *Darius*; and as for what is said of him in this Book, that he Ruled from *India* to *Ethiopia*, it excludes all the Kings before *Cambyses*, and at the same time excludes *Cambyses* himself, who never conquered *Egypt*, and consequently belongs to none but *Darius*. It is said there, that *Ahasuerus* resided in the City of *Susa*, which agrees very well with *Darius*, the Son of *Histaspes*, because, as *Ælian* has observed, that King built himself a Palace in that City; and besides, *Herodotus* adds, that he kept his Treasure there. The same Historian tells us, that he passionately loved one of his Wives, whom he calls *Artystone*, and that he put a Diamond upon her Head. This passage suits mightily with the History of *Hester*, and the Name too bears some Conformity, for *Hester* is likewise called *Hadaßa*. King *Ahasuerus* made all the Isles of the Sea Tributary to him. Now according to *Thucydides*, *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes* conquer-

ed them, as it is also observed by *Plato* in his *Menæxenus*, and after him none of the *Persian* Kings brought them under their Command. They Object, That *Ahasuerus* was descended of the *Persian* Kings, as it appears in the 16th Chapter; whereas *Darius* was the Son of *Histaspes*, who was no King. But *Herodotus* assures us, that he was of the Royal Family. They likewise tell us, that it is written in the same Chapter that *Haman* would have translated the Empire to the *Macedonians*. Now, say they, the *Macedonians* were not known till a long while after the time of *Darius*. Some People say, that *Haman* was no *Macedonian*; and that in stead of *Macedon*, we ought to read *Auassatur*, because he was of the Race of *Agæ*, but this Conjecture is not solid. Answer, The History of *Hester* could not happen after this King, as we have already shewn, and the contrary Opinion is very weak. It was Natural for *Haman*, who was a *Macedonian*, to endeavour to Translate the Empire to his own Nation, which was very Famous and Powerful at this time, as *Justin* has informed us. Lastly, they say, That *Ahasuerus* is also called *Artaxerxes* in the 16th Chapter; Now there were but three Kings of that Name, viz. one *Sirmamed Longimanus*, another *Memnon*, and the last *Ochus*. *Ahasuerus* therefore was one of these three. Answer, *Artaxerxes* is a Name that might perhaps be given to all the Kings of *Persia*, as *Cæsar* to all the Roman Emperors.

(t) The greatest part make *Mordacai* the Author of it. It seems that *Mordacai* was the Author of this Book, by chap. 9. ver. 20. and 23. and by chap. 12. ver. 4. where it is said, That he wrote down all that happened: In the Septuagint, chap. 9. *Hester* is joined to *Mordacai*, which made *Serrarius*, and some others, believe, that *Hester* and *Mordacai* composed it together. Those that pretend it was done by the Synagogue, draw their Conjecture from hence, because the Original and Ceremonies of the Feast of the Jews, called *Purim*, are there largely described; upon which occasion the Book seems to have been written.

(u) The Author of the Book, that recounts the History of *Job*, is no less uncertain. Those that attribute it to *Job* ground their Opinion chiefly upon this, that he twice wives in the 19th and 31st Chapters, that his Words were written down: But 'tis easy to observe, that he does not here speak of an ordinary Book, and that 'tis only a Figure, to shew how well he was satisfied of the Truth of them. *Quæ mihi tribuit ut scribantur: Sermones mei: Quæ mihi det ex exarantur in libro Stylo ferreo, & plumbi laminæ, vel certis culpanis in filice*: Those that make *Moses* the Translator of it, as particularly the Author of one of the Commentaries upon *Job*, commonly ascribed to *Origen*, does say, That he Translated it out of the Arabic or Syriack. The Talmudists and Rabbins make *Moses* the Author of it; and this is likewise the Opinion of the Author of the second Commentary upon *Job*, attributed to *Origen*, of *Methodius* in *Plotinus*, of *Polychronius*, of *Julianus Halicarnassensis* in the *Cæcæna*, and of *Nicetas* upon *Job*. St. *Jerome* also seems to be of the same Judgment: The only

Reason they alledge to support this Opinion, is the resemblance of the Style, but for my part, I profess I cannot find it out. The Style of the Book of Job is Figurative, Poetical, Obscure, and full of Sentences. One finds there an infinite number of Arabick or Syriack Terms, and 'tis extremely different from the Style of the *Pentateuch*. *Origen* rejects this Opinion, *Tom. 5. in Johannem*, where he formally denies that *Moses* wrote any other Books besides the *Pentateuch*. *St. Gregory*, who attributes it to *Salomon*, brings nothing to prove this conjecture of his. Those that ascribe it to *Jeremiah*, justify themselves by the Conformity of the Style, and the Syriack Words that occur so frequently there. *Codexrus* makes an *Eodemith* Prophet Author of it, but upon very frivolous idle Surmises. Some attribute it to the Captive Jews in *Babylon*, without any Foundation, so that we can say nothing of the Author of this Book, but that he is altogether unknown.

(x) Who say that the History of Job is wholly feigned.] This is the Opinion of the Talmudists, of Maimonides, and several Rabbins; but *Ezekiel*, ch. 14. v. 14, *Tobit*, ch. 2. v. 12. and *St. James* in his Epistle, speaks of him as a Man that really was. The proper Names of Job, of his Friends, of his Country, of the Number of his Children, serve to shew that it is a true History. *St. Cyprian* in his Treatise of *Patience*, *St. Jerome* in his Ep. 103, *St. Basil*, Homily the 4th, *St. Austin* in his Sermon 103, and all the Fathers, speak of him after this manner. 'Tis alleged against this Opinion, that the proper Names of this Book have Mythick Significations; That Job signifies a Man in Grief; Uz, Counsel; Zophar, one that is Watchful; Eliphaz, the Law of God; Elihu, God himself. To this it is answered, That most Hebrew Names have such sort of Significations. All the other Objections only prove, That this History is delivered Poetically. This is really true in this History, that there was a certain great Person named Job, who was reduced to the extremity of Misery, by the loss of his Goods, and his children, heightned by a very severe fit of Sickness; that he supported himself under all these Afflictions with incredible Patience; and at last was restored to a prosperous Condition. Upon the Occasion of this remarkable Event, some one or other composed the Book of Job, the Discourses of his Friends, the Answers of Job, &c.

(y) Some Persons make Job to have descended from Nahor the Brother of Abraham.) This is the Opinion of *Bellarmino*, who makes him the Grandson of *Nahor*, and older than *Moses*. He concludes, that 'tis probable he lived long, and that he lived not in *Moses's* time, but he produces no Authorities to back this Opinion. Amongst the Grand-Children of *Esfau* there is one called *Jobab*, which Name is easily formed into that of *Job*. Hence it is, that some People believe he was one of the Descendants of *Esfau*, and an *Edomite*. This is particularly observed in the Greek Addition, which is without question very ancient, since *Theodoret* has acknowledged it. *Grotius* believes, that in chap. 26. vers. 12. there is mention made of the

Drowning of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, but that is not certain. *Capellio* assures us, that in chap. 28. vers. 28. there is a passage taken out of *Deut. chap. 4. vers. 56.* but these two passages are different. The first is, *Ecce timer Dominus est sapientia*. The Second is, *Hec est enim vera Sapientia & Intellectus*. *Grotius* adds, That this Book was written after *David* and *Salomon*, but before *Ezekiel*, pretending, that as it is quoted by that Prophet, so there are several passages in it drawn out of the *Psalms*, and the Books of *Salomon*; but this is not evident, and it should rather seem, that *David* and *Salomon* borrowed some of their Thoughts out of Job, although it is not necessary either to say one or the other.

(a) 'Tis certain, as St. Jerome has observed, that all the *Psalms* were not written by *David*.] *St. Jerome*, Epist. ad Cyr. *Scimus errare eo qui Psalmos omnes David arbitrans, & non eorum, quorum nominibus inscripti sunt.* Epist. ad Sophrum. *Psalmus eorum testemur Autorem, qui testatur in titulis; sicut Alph, Idithum, filiorum Chore. Emon Esraite, Moysi, Salomonis, & reliquorum quoque Esdras uno volumine comprehendit.* This is also the Opinion of *Origen*, of *St. Hilary*, and the Author of the Abridgment attributed to *St. Athanasius*. *St. Augustine* in his Exposition of the second Psalm seems to be of that opinion: But in his Book of *Herefies*, Herefie the 26th, he takes the other opinion to be the more probable of the two. *Theodoret* also is doubtful in the matter, as he testifies in his Preface upon the *Psalms*. Some others of the Fathers seem to have been persuaded, that they were all composed by *David*, as *St. Chrysostome*, *Euthymius*, *Cassiodorus*, and particularly *Philastrius*, who in *Herefie* the 126th reckons all those for Heretics that doubt the truth of it. Nevertheless it is very certain, that they were not all written by *David*; for in the first place, there are some of them that bear other names; and secondly, some passages are to be found there, which happened after *David's* death, as in *Psalm* the 137th, where mention is made of the Captivity of the Jews in *Babylon*. One may observe the same thing in *Psalm* the 64th and 124th.

(b) It is difficult to name the Authors of them.] *St. Jerome* pretends, that these *Psalms* belong to those whose names they carry; but this is not certain. 'Tis believed, that the fifty next immediately after that that carries for its Title the return of *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, were written by those Prophets. The Author of the Abridgment, commonly attributed to *St. Athanasius*, believes, that all the *Psalms* entitled to *David*, *ipsi David*, are nevertheless done by some other hand. Our Blessed Saviour cites the hundred and tenth *Dixit Dominus*, which is found to have that Title, under the name of *David*, *Matt. 22. v. 42.* The hundred and thirty seventh Psalm carries the name of *David* and *Jeremiah*, *Ps. David & Jeremia*, which makes it apparently thus to be understood. A Psalm of *Jeremiah* composed in imitation of *David*. The 64th Psalm, in the Vulgar Translation, bears the name of *Isaac* and of *Ezekiel*; the 70th that of the Sons of *Jonadab*,

and the chief Captives. The Jews make *Salomon* the Author of the 92d, and of several others: *Origen* says, that the 90th was composed by *Moses*, whose name it bears; and the Jews tell us, he made it upon the occasion of a Sedition that happened amongst the Children of *Israel*, upon the return of those that were sent to discover the Land of Promise. *St. Jerome* is of the same opinion. The ten following *Psalms* are also attributed to *Moses*, not only by the Jews, but even by *St. Hilary* and *Jerome*. This cannot possibly hold true of the 99th, where mention is made of *Samuel*. Some of the Rabbins attribute the 92d to *Adam*, as the Talmudists do some to several of the ancient Patriarchs: There is a Greek Psalm, which is not of this number of the 150 attributed to *David* but written by some Hellenist who has borrowed it out of *David*, *Isaiah*, and *Ezekiel*.

(c) They have been cited in Books inspired by God both in the Old and New Testament.] The 105th, the 96th, and the 136th *Psalms* are to be found in the 16th Chapter of the First Book of *Chronicles*, and in the 7th of the Second Book it is said, that the Priests did sing the *Psalms* which *David* had composed for the Lord, singing, *For his mercy endureth for ever*. This is the 136th Psalm, which is yet to be found quoted in Chapters 5, and 20, of the same Book, in the 3d of *Ezrah*, in the 13th of *Judith*, in the 33d of *Jeremiah*, and the 3d of *Daniel*, [according to their Computation, who esteem the Song of the Three Children to be part of the Canonical Scripture.] In *Ecclesiasticus*, ch. 47. v. 9, it is said, that *David* praised God with all his heart, and set fingers before the Altar, *In quorum flos dulces fecit modos*. I have not leisure to speak of those many passages in the Prophets which allude to several places in the *Psalms*. In the Second of *Maccabees*, ch. 2. v. 13, there is mention made of the *Psalms* of *David*; *St. Matthew*, ch. 13. v. 35. and 27. v. 35. recites the Prophecies about our Blessed Saviour, contained in the *Psalms*. *Jesus Christ* himself cites the Psalm *Dixit Dominus*, &c. under the name of *David*; and in *St. Luke*, ch. 24. it is said, that all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of *Moses*, and in the Prophets, and in the *Psalms* concerning him: The Acts and the Epistles of the Apostles, are full of Citations out of the *Psalms*.

(d) *Grotius* has pretended upon slight conjectures it was composed by *Zorobabel*.] This Opinion is not supported by any solid Reason. He says, that the Shepherd mentioned towards the end of the last Chapter is *Zorobabel*, and his Son *Abiud*, but he brings no Proof to recommend this Opinion. They commonly object, when they would prove that this Book was not written by *Salomon*, that there are abundance of Chaldee words to be found in it, that are only to be met in *Daniel*, *Ezrah*, &c. but perhaps these words might be in fashion amongst the Jews towards the end of *Salomon's* Reign, or it may be they were added since. One might also object this passage of ch. 2. v. 8. *Os regis efusa*, which makes it credible that it is not a King that speaks; but we ought to read *observa*, as it is in the *Septuagint*. [It looks also a little strange that *Salomon* should so often say, that he did so or so, above all that were before him in *Jerusalem* (*Eccle. i. 16. 2. 7. 9.*) since his Father

David was the first King that ever Reigned in *Jerusalem*.]

(e) *This Book of Wisdom is commonly attributed to Salomon*.] It is *St. Cyprian's* opinion in his Book of Morality, of *St. Augustine's* in his second Book of the Christian Doctrine, ch. 8. The ancient Versions, the Rabbins, *Origen*, *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *St. Cyprian*, have likewise attributed it to *Salomon*. The most ancient Fathers call the Proverbs, the Wisdom of *Salomon*.

(f) *St. Jerome* says, he saw in his time an Hebrew Copy.] *Munster* and *Fagius* still make mention of an Hebrew Copy of this Book: *Buxtorf* tells us, he saw one that was Printed at Constantinople, but is probable, that that Text was made upon the Greek.

(g) Some of the Ancients have attributed this Work to *Salomon*.] *St. Cyprian* and *St. Ambrose* have cited it under his name. *St. Hilary* testifies, that several Persons in his time attributed it to him. This opinion is impossible to be maintained, not only because we know who is the Author, but also because in ch. 47, there is mention made of the Prophets that lived after *Salomon*, *Ezekiel*, *St. Jerome*, the Author of the Abridgment attributed to *Athanasius*, *St. Epiphanius*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Austin*, *Celsus* of *Aries*, and many others, have acknowledged the true Author of it, who was *Jesus* the Son of *Syrach*. *St. Jerome* says, he lived under the High-Priest *Simon* the Son of *Onias* the Second, and that he wrote this Book after the Version of the *Septuagint*, or at least, that he lived in their time: And first he proves it by the Preface of his Grandson, who says he collected these Books of his Grandfather in the time of *Ptolomy Evergetes*, who immediately succeeded *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. Secondly, because he commends the High-Priest *Simon* the Just, Son of *Onias* the Fifth, ch. 50, and afterwards, the Translator praises *Jesus* the Son of *Syrach*, as one that lived in the time of that High-Priest: Thirdly, because, ch. 2. he seems to speak of the Persecution, which the Jews suffered under *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, and in the first year of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, *Eusebius* believes, that *Joseph* the Son of *Syrach* is the same with a certain Jew named *Ben Sira*, who has written the Proverbs in Hebrew, but this opinion does not appear to be well grounded.

(h) The Son of one Amos, whom we must not confound with the Prophet that bears this name.] The name of the Prophet is *Amos*, and that of the Father of *Isaiah* is *Amos*. The first was a Shepherd, the second was of Royal Extraction. The first lived in the time of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, the later is more ancient. *St. Jerome* in cap. 1. *Isaie*, *St. Austin* in the 18th Book of *Contrae Dei*, ch. 27. *St. Cyril* in his Preface upon *Amos* and others, have distinguished between these two. *Clement Alexandrinus*, l. 1. *Sirach*, the Author of the Life and Death of the Prophets, attributed to *St. Epiphanius*, and the Rabbins, have confounded them. *St. Jerome* tells us, that the Father of *Isaiah* was Father in Law to *Manasse*.

(i) By whose command, they say, he was cruelly put to death, and *Isaiah* asunder with a Wooden Saw.] This is a common Tradition amongst the Jews, and is confirmed by the Testimonies of *Tertullian*, *St. Jerome*, and *St. Basil*.

(k) The

about the Authors of the Bible.

Imitation; Others say he was the Son of the latter, according to the Law, but 'tis far more probable that he was his Grandson; as 'tis observed in our vulgar Translation. St. Jerome is mistaken in confounding this *Ido* with him; that was sent to Jerusalem in the time of Jeroboam; since there were 240 years from Jeroboam to Darius, a time too long to allow between Grandfather and Grandson.

(x x) He is different from Zechariah, mentioned by Isaiah. By Chronology it appears, that this was not the Prophet, no more than he who is mentioned in the *Chronicles*, and died in the time of Josiah. The first was the Son of Barachiah, the Second of Jehoiada. That which has occasion'd this difficulty, is the saying of our Saviour, in St. Matthew, chap. 25. That Zechariah the Son of Barachiah was slain between the Temple and the Altar; which agrees with what is related in the *Chronicles*, with Zechariah the Son of Jehoiada; and this introduced St. Jerome to mistake that our Blessed Saviour spoke of him, and that we ought to Read, as we find it in the Gospel of the *Nazarene*, the Son of Jehoiada, and not of Barachiah. *Origen* on the contrary, and several others, understand this place of the Prophet, who, they say, was slain after the same manner. They have this Text of the Gospel on their side; and besides, our Saviour speaks of a Prophet, which cannot be understood of the Son of Jehoiada.

(y y) Malachi, whose Name in the Hebrew, signifies, My Angel. And this has made *Origen* and *Tertullian* believe, that he was an Angel Incarnate. He is called an Angel by the greatest part of the Fathers, and in the Version of the Septuagint, but he was Angel by Office and not by Nature, as he himself calls the Priests Angels. Some Persons, as *Jonathan* the Chaldee Paraphrast, St. Jerome, and several Jews believed, that it was an Appellative Name which *Ezrah* assumed, and that he was Author of this Book, but this Opinion is established upon very weak Conjectures; and besides, *Ezrah* is no where in Scripture called a Prophet. St. Jerome proves his Opinion in the first place, because Malachi and *Ezrah* lived at the same time; Se-

condly, Because what is in Malachi is very like what we find in *Ezrah*; And lastly, Because in chap. 2. vers. 7. he seems to point at *Ezrah* by these Words, *Perisus sacerdotis confitens Scelerum, &c.* But these Conjectures are light and frivolous. For the first only proves that Malachi and *Ezrah* lived at the same time, not that they were one and the same: The second is not true, and if it were, it would prove just nothing. The Words quoted in the third ought to be understood of *Levi*, and all the Priests of the Law. He adds, that in *Ecclesiasticus*, chap. 49. where mention is made of all the Prophets, the Name of Malachi is not to be found. To this it is answered, That we ought not to be surpris'd, because he is not Named there, since in the same place there is no mention made of Daniel, and several others.

(z z) The difference of the Style, of the Chronology, and of the History make it appear. The first Book of *Maccabees* was written by an Hebrew, the second by a Greek; the second begins the History a great deal higher than the first. One follows the Jewish Account, the other that of *Alexandria*, which begins Six Months after. Some Persons attribute the first to *Josephus*, others to *Philo*, others to the Synagogue, and others to the *Maccabees*. The Phrase of the first is Jewish; and St. Jerome tells us, he had the Hebrew Copy of it. It was Intituled, *The Scepter of the Rebels against the Lord*, or rather, *The Scepter of the Prince of the Children of God*. The second was Written by *Jafon*, as it is observed in the Preface. *Huetius* believes, that the third and fourth Chapter, as well as the two last, don't belong to *Jafon*, because it is said in chap. 2. vers. 20. that he wrote down all that passed under *Antiochus* and *Eupator*, but then the remainder, which is the end and the beginning of that History, ought to be understood.

(aaa) From a Sentence in Exodus. This Sentence is in Hebrew, *Mi Camacha Be Elm Yehovah: Who is like to the Lord amongst the Powers?* Now taking the first Letters of each Word we make *Maccabee*: Others give a different Etymology of this Name, but this is the most probable.

SECT. II.

The Canon of the Books of the Old Testament, of Books Doubtful, Apocryphal, and Lost, that belonged to the Old Testament.

WE call the Books of the Bible Canonical Books, because they are received into the Canon, or the Catalogue of Books, that we look upon as Sacred (a). Opposite to these are those Books, we usually call Apocryphal (b), which are not acknowledged as Divine, but rejected as spurious. The first Canon or Catalogue of the Holy Books was made by the Jews; 'tis certain they had one, but 'tis not so certainly known who it was that made it. Some Persons reckon upon three of them, made at different times by the Sanhedrim, or the great Synagogue of the Jews (c); But 'tis a great deal more probable, that they never had more than one Canon (d), or one Collection of the Holy Books of the Old Testament, that was made by *Ezrah* after the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and was afterwards approved

proved and received by the whole Nation of the Jews, as containing all the Holy Books. *Josephus* speaking of this business, in his first Book against *Apion*, says; 'There is nothing in the World that can boast of a higher degree of certainty, than the Writings Authorized amongst us, for they are not subject to the least Contrariety, because we only receive and approve of those Prophets, who wrote them many years ago, according to the pure Truth, by the Inspiration of the Spirit of God. We are not therefore allowed to see great numbers of Books that contradict one another. We have only Twenty two that comprehend every thing of moment that has happen'd to our Nation, from the beginning of the World till now, and those we are obliged firmly to believe. Five of them are Written by *Moses*, that give a faithful Relation of all Events, even to his own Death, for about the space of Three Thousand years; and contain the Genealogy of the Descendants of *Adam*. The Prophets, that succeeded this admirable Legislator, in Thirteen other Books, have Written all the memorable Passages that fell out, from his Death until the Reign of *Alexander*, the Son of *Serxes*, King of the *Persians*. The other Four Books contain Hymns, and Songs, compos'd in the Praise of God, with abundance of Precepts, and Moral Instructions, for the regulating of our Manners. We have also every thing Recorded that has happen'd since *Alexander* down to our own Times; but because we have not had, as heretofore, a Succession of Prophets, therefore we don't receive them with the same Belief as we do the Sacred Books, concerning which I have discours'd already: and for which we preserve so great a Veneration, that no One ever had the boldness to take away; or add, or change, the most inconsiderable thing in them. We consider them as Sacred Books, and so we call them; we make solemn Profession inviolably to observe what they Command us, and to die with Joy if there be occasion, thereby to preserve them. *Origen*, St. Jerome, the Author of the Abridgment attributed to St. *Athanasius*, St. *Epiphanius*, and several other Christian Writers do testify, That the Jews received but Twenty two Books into the Canon of their Holy Volumes. The Division that St. Jerome has made of them, who distributes them into three Classes, is as follows. The first comprehends the Five Books of *Moses*, which is called The Law; The second contains those Books, that he calls the Books of the Prophets, which are nine in number; namely, the Book of *Josaphat*, the Book of *Judges*, to which, says St. Jerome, they use to join the Book of *Ruth*; the Book of *Samuel*, which we call the first and second Book of *Kings*; the Book of *Kings*, which contain the two last. These Books are followed by three great Prophets, viz. *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, which are three different Books, and by the twelve minor Prophets, which make up but one Book. The third Class comprehends those Books that are usually called, the *Hagiographa*, or Holy Scriptures; the first of which is the Book of *Job*; the second the *Psalms* of *David*; the three following are the Books of *Solomon*, which are, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*; the sixth is *Daniel*, the seventh the *Chronicles*, the eighth *Ezrah*, which is divided into two Books by the Greeks and Latins, and the last is the Book of *Esther*. Thus, says St. Jerome, all the Books of the Old Testament; amongst the Jews, just make up the number of Twenty two, five whereof were Written by *Moses*, eight by the Prophets, and nine are the *Hagiographa*. Some Persons make them Twenty four in number, by separating *Ruth*, and the *Lamentations* of the Prophet *Jeremy*, and placing them amongst the *Hagiographa*: This Prologue to the Bible, continues he, may serve as a Preface to all those Books, that we have Translated out of the Hebrew; and we ought to understand, that whatsoever Book is not to be found in this number is Apocryphal. From hence it follows, that the Book of *Wisdom*, commonly attributed to *Solomon*, the *Ecclesiasticus* of *Jesús* the Son of *Sirach*, *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the *Psalter*, don't belong to the Canon no more than the two Books of *Maccabees* do; one of which was originally Written in Hebrew, and the other in Greek; as the style sufficiently shews. Thus we see how St. Jerome has clearly explained the Canon of the Scriptures, as they are received by the Jews; yet we have reason to doubt, whether he has been very exact in this Catalogue, since in some particulars it does not agree with *Josephus*. For although they are agreed about the number of the Books, yet they notoriously differ in the manner of distributing them. *Josephus* places all the Historical Books, to the number of Thirteen, amongst the Prophets, adding to St. Jerome's nine, *Daniel*, the *Chronicles*, *Ezrah*, and *Job*. And consequently he sets only those in the third rank that are purely Moral Treatises, as the *Psalms* of *David*, and the Three Books of *Solomon*. But besides this difference, we may probably suppose, that *Josephus* has not reckoned the Book of *Esther* in the number of the Canonical Books. For he is of opinion, that they were all written before the Reign of *Alexander*, but as for the History of *Esther*, he believed it fell under the Reign of that King, as we may see in his Antiquities: 'Tis therefore very likely, that he never considered that Book as Canonical, but that to make up the number of the 13 Books of the Prophets, he reckoned the Book of *Ruth* separately from that of the *Kings*. 'Tis in pursuance of this Canon, that *Melito*, and the Author of the *Abridgment of the Scriptures*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*, reject the Book of *Esther*, and separate the Book of *Ruth* from that of the *Kings*. Some Persons pretend, that he has not owned the Book of *Job*, because he makes no mention of that History, but we ought not to wonder, that he passes it by, since it has no relation to the Nation of the Jews, and he only designed to speak of them in his Antiquities. Others imagine, that he acknowledged *Ecclesiasticus* for a Canonical Book, because he has cited a passage out of it in his second Book against *Apion*. But it is visible, as *Pithæus* has remarked, that this Citation, which is not to be found in the ancient Version of *Rufinus*, has been since inserted into the Text of *Josephus* (e).

The ancient Christians have followed the Jewish Canon in the Books of the Old Testament. There are none quoted in the New Testament (f), but those that were received into the Canon of the Jews, and the greatest part of these (g) are frequently cited there. The first Catalogues of the Canonical Books

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Books made by the Ecclesiastick Greek and Latin Authors, comprehend no more, but at the same time we ought to affirm, that even those Books, that have been since added to the Canon, have been often quoted by the Ancients, and indeed sometimes under the name of Scripture.

The first Catalogue, we find of the Books of Scripture amongst the Christians, is that of *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, set down by *Eusebius* in the 4th Book of his History, chap. 26. It is entirely conformable to that of the *Jews*, and contains but twenty two Books, in which number *Ezra* is not reckon'd, and the Book of *Ruth* is distinguished from that of the *Judges*. *Origen* also in a certain passage drawn out of the Exposition of the first *Psalms*, and produced by *Eusebius* in his 6th Book, chap. 25, reckons twenty two Books of the Old Testament, but he places the Book of *Ezra* in this number, and joins the Book of *Ruth* with that of *Judges*. The Council of *Laodicea*, which was the first Synod that determined the number of the Canonical Books, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem* in his fourth Catechetick Lecture, *St. Hilary* in his Preface to the *Psalms*, the last Canon lately ascribed to the Apostles, *Amphilochius* cited by *Balsamon*, *Anastasius Sinaita* upon the *Hexameron*, lib. 7. *St. John Damascene* in his fourth Book of *Orthodox Faith*, the Author of the *Abridgement of Scripture*, and of the *Festival Letter*, attributed to *St. Athanasius*, the Author of the Book of the *Hierarchy*, attributed to *St. Dionysius*, and the *Nicephori*, follow the Catalogue of *Melito*. *Gregory Nazianzen* is of the same opinion in his thirty third Poem, where he distributes the Books of Scripture into the three Classes, viz. Historical, Poetical, and Prophetical (*b*). He reckons up twelve Historical Books, namely, the five Books of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the two Books of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and *Ezra*; the five Poetical Books are *Job*, *Daniel*, and the three Books of *Salomon*; and there are likewise five Prophetical Books, viz. the four Great, and the twelve Minor Prophets. *Leontius* in his Book of *Sects* follows this Catalogue and distribution, only he reckons the Book of *Psalms* by it self. *St. Epiphanius*, in his *Eight Hæresies*, counts twenty seven Canonical Books of the Old Testament; nevertheless, he adds nothing to *Origen's* Canon, but he separates the Book of *Ruth* from that of *Judges*, and divides into two the Book of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and the Book of *Ezra*. Several of the Latins reckon twenty four Books, whether it be that they add *Judith* and *Tobit*, as *St. Hilary* has observed of some in his time, or whether they separate *Ruth*, and the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*, as *St. Jerome* has observed. *Victorinus* upon the *Apocalypse*, *St. Ambrose* upon the same Book, attributed to *St. Austin*, and several others, reckon twenty four Books of the Old Testament, and say, they are represented by the twenty four Elders in the *Revelations*. The first Catalogue of the Books of the Holy Scriptures, where they are added some Books to the Jewish Canon, is that of the third Council of *Carthage* held *Anno Domini* 397, when the Books of *Judith*, *Tobit*, the *Wisdom of Salomon*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the two Books of the *Maccabees* were reckoned in the number of Canonical Books. There is at the end of this Canon a Postil that is very remarkable: *Let the Church beyond the Sea be consulted (to confirm, or) before this Canon is confirmed. De confirmando isto Canone Ecclesia Transmarina Consultatur*. This Catalogue of Canonical Books is confirmed by the Authority of Pope *Innocent* the First, in an Epistle to *Exuperius*, and by that of a Roman Council held under *Gelasius*, A. D. 494 (*i*), and is followed in the Decree of *Eugenius* to the *Armenians*, and by the holy Council of *Trent*. All these Catalogues serve to acquaint us in general, what were the Books that were always believed to be certainly Canonical, and which they are, whose Authority have been questioned by Antiquity. But nevertheless we ought to speak of them particularly, for although they were not received in the first Ages by all Churches, nor reckoned by all Authors in the Canon of the Books of the Bible, yet they were frequently cited by the Ancients, and sometimes too as Books of Scripture, and for this reason were afterwards admitted into the Canon along with the first.

The Book of *Ezra*, according to some, was in the Jewish Canon, but others say, it was not reckoned at all. It is placed in the Canon, as we have already observed, by *Origen*, by the Council of *Laodicea*, by *St. Jerome*, by *St. Epiphanius*, by *St. Hilary*, by *St. Cyril*, not to mention the Council of *Carthage*, or the Decisions of Pope *Innocent* and *Gelasius*. *Tepheus*, *Melito*, *St. Athanasius*, and the Author of the *Abridgement of the Scripture*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Leontius*, the Author of the Book of the *Hierarchy*, and *Nicephorus*, reject it. The Action of *Ezra* is commended by *Clement Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and by *Clement Alexandrinus*, lib. 1. *pedag.* and *l. 5. Strom.* which makes it appear, that this Book was known and esteemed by the first Christians. The six last Chapters of this Book are not to be found in the *Hebrew*. *Origen* is of opinion, that it was formerly extant in that Language, and has been since lost. But it is very evident, that they are taken out of several places, and that they contain some Pieces that were probably collected by the *Hebrew Jews*. And for this reason *Dionysius Carthusianus*, *Nicolas de Lira*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, and afterwards *Sixtus Senensis*, and several of the Moderns, turn them out of the Canon of the Holy Books.

The Book of *Baruch* is not to be found by name in the Jewish Canon, but perhaps it was joined together with *Jeremiah*. *Melito*, *Origen*, *St. Hilary*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *St. Epiphanius*, don't make any mention of it, confounding it perhaps with *Jeremiah*, but *St. Jerome* expressly rejects it out of the Canon in his Preface to *Jeremiah*. On the contrary, the Council of *Laodicea*, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, *St. Athanasius* in his *Festival Letter*, and the Author of the *Abridgement*, annex it to *Jeremiah*, along with the *Lamentations* of that Prophet. It is cited under the name of *Jeremiah*, and as a Book of Scripture by *Clement Alexandrinus*, lib. 1. *pedag.* ch. 2. by *St. Cyprian* in the Fourth Book of his Testimonies to *Quirinus*, ch. 6. by *Eusebius* in his Books of *Demonstration*; by *St. Basil* in his Fourth Book against *Ennechius*; by *St. Ambrose* in his First Book of Penance, as also in his First

Book

Book of *Orthodox Faith*, ch. 2. by *St. Austin*, lib. 18. de *Civ. Dei*; by *St. Chrysostom* in his Homily of the *Trinity*, and by many other Church-Writers that are more modern. It is not necessary to take notice, that it was received by the Council of *Carthage*, by Pope *Innocent*, by the Roman Council under *Gelasius*, by the Decree of *Eugenius*, and by the Canon of the Council of *Trent*.

The Book of *Tobit* is rejected in all the ancient Catalogues of the Books of the Bible, and not received into the number of the Canonical Books. *Origen* in his 27th Homily upon the *Numbers* says, it is one of those Books that were read to the *Catechumens*, but that it is not Canonical (*k*). *St. Jerome*, who frequently rejects it as an Apocryphal Book, that was neither to be found in the Jewish or Christian Canon, yet gave himself the trouble to translate it, speaks of it very advantageously in his Preface, and calls it a sacred Volume in his Hundred and fortieth Epistle. *Rufinus* in his Exposition of the Creed expressly rejects it as an Apocryphal Book. But besides that it is received by the Council of *Carthage*, and by Pope *Innocent* and *Gelasius*, it appears, that in *Irenæus's* time it was reckoned amongst the Books of the Prophets, because this Author, *l. 1. ch. 34* has observed, that the *Græcians*, who distributed the Prophets into several Classes, and attributed them to their pretended Constitutions, align the Prophets *Haggai* and *Tobit* to *Eli*. This Book is often cited by *St. Cyprian*, who likewise calls it Holy Scripture in his Book of *Alms and Good Works*. It is also cited by *St. Hilary* upon the 129th *Psalms*, where he makes use of the Authority of this Book to prove the Intercession of Angels. The same Father making a Catalogue of the Canonical Books, observes, that several Persons made the number of them twenty four, by adding the Books of *Tobit* and *Judith*. *St. Ambrose* explained it throughout as a Book of Scripture, and cited it in his *Hexameron*, and so has *St. Chrysostom* in his 13th Homily to the People of *Antioch*, and the Author of the *Apoclick Constitutions* in the 8th Book, chap. 45.

The Book of *Judith* is not only rejected in all the ancient Catalogues of the Canonical Books, but it is also frequently mentioned by the Ancients, though *Clement Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, *l. 4. Strom.* *Tertullian* in his Book of *Momgamy*, and in his first Book against *Marcion*, commend the Heroick Action of *Judith*, which makes it evident, that they had all of them an esteem for that Book. *St. Jerome*, after having several times rejected it as an Apocryphal Book, and observed in his Preface before it, that we ought not to prove any contested Doctrines out of it, adds, that we read, that the Council of *Nice*, reckoned it in the number of the Holy Scriptures; *Sed quia hunc librum Synodus Nicæna in numero Sanctorum Scripturarum legitur computasse*. We ought to believe, that *St. Jerome* reported this passage upon the Faith of another, there being not the least appearance of its truth. For besides, that we find nothing like it in the Creed, in the Canons, and Letters of the Council of *Nice*, and that it is highly probable, there are no other Acts of that Assembly, is it to be imagined, that if they had made a Canon concerning the Sacred Books, not so much as one Man, that assisted in that affair, would make mention of it? Is it to be thought, that *St. Athanasius*, *St. Epiphanius*, *St. Cyril*, who could not be ignorant of the Decisions of the Council of *Nice*, would have rejected the Book of *Judith* as Apocryphal, if it had been reckoned amongst the Canonical Volumes by the Authority of a Council they so highly revered? In short, would *St. Hilary* have contented himself with saying, that some Persons added this Book to the Canon, and not rather have openly declared, when he was speaking of the Canonical Books, that the Church received it? *St. Jerome* himself, if he had been assured of this business, would he have rejected this Book so often, and not alleged this Catalogue of the Council of *Nice*, which ought to have been the infallible rule for him to follow? We must therefore say, that this Father received this Information from another. But if the Council of *Nice* reckoned not this Book of *Judith* in the number of Canonical Books, yet the Latine Church has since done it by the Council of *Carthage*, by the Mouth of *Innocent* the First, by the Roman Council under *Gelasius*, and by the Council of *Trent*, which followed the Decree of *Eugenius*.

The Book of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* (*l*), in the ancient Catalogues are placed in the number of those Books that are very profitable, but not Canonical; Nevertheless, these Books are cited by *St. Barnabas*, by *Clement Romanus*, by *Tertullian* in his third Book against *Marcion*, and in his Book of *Preparationes*, by *Clement Alexandrinus*, and according to some by *St. Basil*, by *St. Ambrose*, by *St. Jerome*, and *St. Austin*; but it does not follow, that all these acknowledged them for Canonical. On the contrary, *Origen*, *St. Jerome*, and *St. Hilary*, ranked them amongst the Apocryphal Books; And *St. (m) Basil* plainly says, in the Preface to his Commentary upon the *Proverbs*, That there are but three Books of *Salomon*, and he sufficiently shews in several other places, that he did not own the Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* for Canonical Books. *Philastrius* and *Rufinus* reject them as well as *St. Hilary*, who has written a Letter about them to *St. Austin*. *Theodoret* is of the same Opinion in his Preface to the *Canticles*. One cannot say that of *St. Cyprian*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Austin*, who seem to own them for Canonical, as it has been determined by the Council of *Carthage*, by *Innocent* the First, by the Roman Council under *Gelasius*, by the Decree of *Eugenius*, and by the Council of *Trent*.

To conclude, the two Books of *Maccabees* are not entered into the Canon of the Books of the Holy Scripture in the Catalogues of *Melito*, of *Origen*, of the Council of *Laodicea*, of *St. Cyril*, of *St. Hilary*, of *St. Athanasius*, of *St. Jerome*, and others whom we have Named. In *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, which are opposed to the Canonical Books, in these words, *That which we have hitherto reported of the *Annals* of the *Jews*, is drawn out of the Holy Scripture; that which follows is taken out of the Books of the *Maccabees*, *Josephus*, and *Africanus*. *Tertullian* in his Book against the *Jews*, relates the History of*

the *Maccabees*, but yet he does not cite the Books of the *Maccabees* as Books of Scripture. St. *Cyprian* quotes them very often under that Character, and so does St. *Ambrose*, and St. *Chrysostome*. St. *Jerome* himself, who rejects them in several places, cites them sometimes as Books of Scripture. St. *Austin* quotes them in his Book of the *concern which we ought to have for the Dead*, to prove that we may offer Sacrifice for the Deceased; and he assures us, *l. 18. de Civit. Dei*, that although these Books were never received as Canonical by the Jews, yet they were acknowledged for such by the Church. But in his first Book against *Gaudentius*, taking occasion to speak of the action of *Raxius*, who killed himself, he thus delivers his Thoughts about the Books of the *Maccabees*: *The Jews don't receive these Books of the Maccabees as they do the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms; but the Church receives them, and they are not unprofitable, provided one reads and understands them with some sort of Moderation, and they deserve esteem particularly for the History of the Seven Maccabees*. In the last Canon attributed to the Apostles, we find the three Books of *Maccabees* reckoned amongst the Canonical Books, but there is reason to believe, that this passage has been added, because they are not acknowledged for Canonical Books by *Niciphorus*, *Johannes Damascenus*, and several others, who have owned the Authority of the Apostolical Canons. They are received by the third Council of *Carthage*, and by Innocent the First. There is but one of them approved by the Roman Council under *Gelasius*. It is a very surprising thing, that after all these Authorities, St. *Gregory the Great* should thus speak of them in the Nineteenth Book of his *Morals*: *We don't without Reason*, says he, *produce Testimonies drawn out of those Books that are not Canonical, since they have been Published for the Edification of the Church*. We ought to make the same Reflection upon all the rest of the Greek and Latin Ecclesiastical Writers, whom we have cited, and who since the Decisions of the Councils of *Carthage* and *Rome*, and the Declaration of *Innocent* the First, reckon but Twenty two or Twenty four Canonical Books of the Old Testament. Which makes it evident, that these Definitions have not been followed by all Authors, and all Churches, till at last it was intirely determined by the Council of *Trent*.

I shall not speak of the Histories of *Sufanna* and *Bel*, that are in *Daniel*, and have been rejected as false, or as Apocryphal, by several of the ancients, since I have already discoursed largely about them.

Besides these Books, that were at last received into the Canon of the Books of the Old Testament, there are many others, that either were not admitted into the Jewish Canon, although they were more Ancient, or that having been composed since, have been deem'd and cited by some Christian Authors, but never found any place in the Canon, or those lastly that were supposititiously obtruded upon the World by Hereticks, and by consequence were always rejected.

In the first place there are several Books cited in the Old Testament, that have been totally lost long since, and are not Named in the Jewish Canon. The first of these Books, as they commonly pretend, is the Book of the *Battles of the Lord*, that is cited in the 21st Chapter of *Numbers*, vers. 24. But it is not certain, as we have elsewhere observed, that there is any mention made of a Book in this place: we ought to pass the same Judgment upon the Book of the Covenant, that is mentioned, as they assert, in *Exodus*, chap. 24. but is in reality nothing else, but the Body of the Laws, which *Moses* received from God, and delivered to the People. Neither is there any greater certainty, that the Book of *Jasher*, cited by *Joshua*, chap. 10. vers. 13. and in the second Book of *Samuel*, chap. 11. vers. 18. was an Historical Book, although I confess there is some reason to believe it was. But one cannot hardly doubt, that the Books of *Nathan*, of *Gad*, of *Shemaiah*, of *Ido*, of *Ahijah* and *Jehu*, cited frequently in the Books of the *Chronicles*, were Memoirs composed in all probability by these Prophets. We must say the same thing of the Book of the Sayings and Acts of the Kings of *Israel*, oftentimes cited in the *Kings*, which is different from the *Chronicles*, as we have already observed. To these must be added the Book of *Samuel*, cited in the first Book of *Chronicles*, and the last Chapter. The Discourses of *Hofai*, [or of the Seers] that are mentioned in the second Book of *Chronicles*, chap. 33. vers. 19. The History of *Deziah*, written by the Prophet *Isaiah*, and cited in the second Book of *Chronicles*, chap. 26. vers. 22. The Three Thousand Parables written by *Solomon*, as it is said in the first of *Kings*, chap. 4. vers. 32. The Five Thousand, or rather the Thousand and Five Songs, with the several Volumes concerning all manner of Plants and Animals, that were likewise composed by *Solomon*, as we are informed in the same place. The Descriptions of *Jeremiah*, that are mentioned in the second Book of *Maccabees*, chap. 2. vers. 1. The Prophecy of *Jonas* that is lost. The Memoirs of *Johannes Hircanus*, [mentioned 1 *Maccab.* 16. 23, 24.] and the Books of *Jafan*, that are mentioned in the second Book of *Maccabees*.

'Tis usually Askd, Whether these Books cited in the Old Testament were Canonical or no? This Question in my Opinion is asked to no purpose, since we have not any remainders of them at present; but however, certain it is, that they are not Canonical in the same Sense as we usually take the Word; that is to say, they were never received into the Canon, either of the Jewish or Christian Church; and no body knows whether they ought to have been admitted there, in case they had been still preserved. Neither can we positively tell, whether they were written by the Inspiration of God, or were the mere Works of Men; only the latter Opinion seems to be more probable. In the first place, because the greater part of them having been composed before *Ezrah*, he had without question reckoned them in the Jewish Canon, if he had looked upon them to be Divine Books. Secondly, because we must otherwise be obliged to say, that the Church has lost a great part of the Book of God. Thirdly, because the Apostles never cited any other Books than what we now have, as Books of Scripture. Fourthly, because the Fathers are all agreed, that these Books were Apocryphal,

phal, and place the Book of *Enoch*, cited by St. *Jude*, in the same rank. This is the Opinion of *Origen*, of St. *Jerome*, St. *Austin*, and indeed of all the Fathers except *Tertullian*. For although *Theodoret*, and some other Greek Fathers, give the Title of Prophets to the Authors of these Books, that are cited in Scripture; yet it does not follow from thence, that they composed these ancient Memoirs by the Inspiration of God. It is not necessary, that all the Writings and Discourses of a Prophet should be Inspired by Heaven. Upon this account, St. *Austin* has very judiciously observed, *cap. 38. l. 28. de Civit. Dei*, that although these Books, cited in the Holy Scriptures, were written by Prophets that were Inspired by the Holy Ghost; yet it is not necessary to say, that they were Divinely Inspired: For, says he, these Prophets might one while write like particular Men, with an Historical Fidelity, and another while like Prophets that followed the Inspiration of Heaven: *Alia sicut homines Historica diligentia, alia sicut Prophetas Inspiratione Divina scribere potuisse*.

Let us now go on to the Books that are not in the Canon of the Old Testament, and which we have at present. The Catalogue of them is as follows. The Prayer of King *Manasse*, who was Captive in *Babylon*, cited in the second Book of *Chronicles*, where it is said, that this Prayer was written amongst the Sayings of *Hofai*, who has Translated into Greek the Discourses of the Seers, or Prophets. It is to be found at the end of the ordinary Bibles, there is nothing lofty in it, but it is full of pious Thoughts. The Latin Fathers have often quoted it: It is neither in Greek nor Hebrew, but only in Latin.

The third and fourth Books of *Ezrah* are also in Latin in the common Bibles, after the Prayer of *Manasse*. The third, which is to be found in the Greek, is nothing but a Repetition of what we find in the two former; it is cited by St. *Athanasius*, St. *Austin*, and St. *Ambrose*. St. *Cyprian* likewise seems to have known it. The fourth, that is only to be had in the Latin, is full of Visions and Dreams, and some Mistakes. 'Tis written by a different Author from that of the third; for besides the great difference of Style, one of them reckons Nineteen Generations from *Aaron* down to him, and the other but Fifteen.

The third Book of *Maccabees* contain a miraculous Deliverance of the Jews, whom *Phiscon* had expell'd in the Amphitheatre at *Alexandria*, to the fury of Elephants. *Iosephus* relates this History in his second Book against *Apion*. This Book of the *Maccabees* is to be found in all the Greek Editions. It is reckoned in the number of Canonical Books, in the last Canon attributed to the Apostles, but perhaps that has been added since; it's also mentioned in the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, and in the Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*. This History, that be true, happened about Fifty years before the Passages that are related in the other two Books, and therefore ought to be the first; It is without any Reason called the Book of *Maccabees*, since it does not speak of them in the least.

The fourth, containing the History of *Hircanus*, is rejected as Apocryphal by the Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*. It is mentioned by scarce any of the Ancients. Perhaps it was taken out of the Book of the Actions of *Johannes Hircanus*, mentioned towards the end of the first of *Maccabees*. *Sixtus Senesius* assures us, that this account very much resembles *Iosephus*'s, but that he has abundance of his Hebrew Idiotisms there.

There is towards the end of *Job* in the Greek Edition, a Genealogy of *Job*, that makes him the fifth from *Abraham*, with the Names of the Edomitic Kings, and of the Kingdoms of his Friends. This Addition is neither in the Latin nor in the Hebrew. There is likewise in the Greek a Discourse of *Job*'s Wife, that is not in the Hebrew, rejected by *Africanus* and St. *Jerome*. Towards the end of the *Psalms* in the Greek Editions, we find a *Psalms* that is not of the number of the Hundred and Fifty, made in the Person of *David*, when he was yet a Youth, after he had slain the Giant *Goliath*. The Author of the *Abridgment of Scripture*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*, cites it, and places it also in the number of the Canonical *Psalms*. To conclude, at the end of *Wisdom* there is a Discourse of *Solomon* drawn from the eighth Chapter of the first Book of *Kings*.

We have not the Book of *Enoch*, so celebrated by Antiquity, and cited by St. *Irenaeus*, by St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, by *Tertullian*, by *Origen*, by *Athenagoras*, by St. *Jerome*, and several other Fathers: But we learn from those passages of it which the Fathers have quoted, and which still remain in the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, and in the Chronography of *Synellus*, that it principally treated of the Stars, and their Virtues, of the Descent of Angels to the Earth to entertain a Commerce with the Daughters of Men, of the original of Giants occasioned by this correspondence, of Things that were to befall the Jews, of our Saviour, of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, of the Dispersion of the Jews, and the last Judgment. It contains a World of Fictions upon these Subjects; For which Reason all the Fathers, except *Tertullian*, have look'd upon it as an Apocryphal Book, that does not belong to the Patriarch *Enoch*. That which has caus'd all the difficulty, is that this Book seems to have been cited under *Enoch*'s Name by St. *Jude*, in his Canonical Epistle, vers. 14. And of this, says he, *Enoch the Seventh from Adam Prophesied, saying, Behold the Lord cometh, &c.* from whence one may conclude, That we ought either to reject the Epistle of St. *Jude*, or believe that the Book of *Enoch* truly belonged to that Patriarch. St. *Austin* avoids this difficulty, by saying, That the true Book of *Enoch*, cited by St. *Jude*, is lost, and that a spurious one has been since Father'd upon him. But it is not probable, that the Book of *Enoch*, cited by St. *Jude*, is different from that which was known to St. *Irenaeus*, to St. *Justin*, and the other Fathers that lived in the first Ages of the Church; And therefore St. *Jerome*, after *Origen* answers, that St. *Jude* might cite an Apocryphal Book if he pleas'd, and that this hindered not his Epistle from being Canonical, that even in the other Books of the New Testament, we find some passages that are drawn out of Apocryphal Books, which

which ought not to diminish the Authority of the Canonical Books, or give any new power to the Apocryphal ones. Some of the Modern Critics have pretended to unravel this difficulty with greater ease, by maintaining, that *St. Jude* does not here speak of the Book of *Enoch*; but only of a Prophecy of that Patriarch, which he had learnt by Tradition, as *St. Paul* reports the Names of *James* and *Jambres*, the Egyptian Magicians of *Pharaoh*, from the common Tradition of the Jews; but this Opinion being contrary to the Determination of all the Ancients, is in my Judgment very improbable and ill-grounded, and we had much better rely upon *St. Jerome's* Solution.

The Book of the Assumption of *Moses*, from whence, as they pretend, *St. Jude* took the Relation of *Michael* the Archangel's Disputing with Satan about the Body of *Moses*, is not so famous in Antiquity; nevertheless it is cited by *Origen*, l. 3, *Princ.* and by *St. Clement*, l. 3, *Strom.* who there gives us an account of a Vision of *Yohana* and *Calah*, that was taken out of this Book. *Origen* mentions in his Commentary upon the Epistle of *St. Jude* recites these Words of the Archangel to the Devil, *The Lord rebuke thee Satan; Increpete te Demo O Diabole*; as quoted from hence, *St. Jerome* tells us, it is an hard matter to say, from whence *St. Jude* took this passage; only he observes, that there is something like it to be found in the Prophecy of *Zechariah*, chap. 3, verse 2.

Origen likewise cites a Book, Entituled, *The Assumption, or the Secrets of Elias*, *Syn-cellus* after him, pretends, that out of this Apocryphal Book, *St. Paul* has taken this Sentence in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*; *The Eye hath not seen, nor the Ear heard the good Things; that God hath prepared for them that love him*: As also that in the Epistle to the *Galatians*; *Circumcision availeth nothing*, &c. Moreover he is of Opinion, that this Sentence in the *Epheſians*, *Awake thou that sleepest*, is taken out of the Apocryphal Book of *Jeremiah*. But it may so happen sometimes, that like Sentences may be found in two different Books, and yet it is not necessary to say, that one Author borrowed them from the other.

Some Jews have Forged and Counterfeited those Books, that are by some attributed to the Patriarchs; as for Example, the Books Intituled, *The Generations, and the Creation*, ascribed to *Adam*, The Revelation of the same, cited by *St. Epiphanius*. 'Tis also commonly believed, that he composed a Book about the Philosophers Stone; and that there was a Book of Magic extant, said to have been written by *Cham*, as we find in *Cassian's* fifth Conference, chap. 21. *The Abridgement of Scripture* that goes under the Name of *St. Albanus*, makes mention of the Book of the Assumption of *Abraham*. The Author of the Homilies upon *St. Luke*, attributed to *Origen*, in the 15th Homily, and some others quote the Book of the Twelve Patriarchs. The same Author in the 35th Homily, cites an Apocryphal Book, where Angels and Devils Dispute about the Salvation of *Abraham*. The Author of the above-mentioned *Abridgement of Scripture*, speaks of two Apocryphal Books, one of which is the Prophecy of *Habakkuk*, from whence as they pretend, the History *Bel*, that is in *Daniel*, was taken; and the Apocryphal Book that carries the Name of *Ezekiel*. *Hermas*, one of the most ancient Christian Writers, in his *Pastor*, ch. 2, cites the Prophecies of *Eldad* and *Medad*, that are mentioned in chap. 11, of *Numbers*. *Origen* and *St. Ambrose* cite a Book of *James* and *Jambres*, the Magicians of *Pharaoh*, that is rejected by *Gelasius*, as an Apocryphal Book. There is also a Book of King *Og* placed in the number of Apocryphal Books by *Gelasius*.

The Ebionites have imposed a Book upon the World, Entituled, *Jacob's Ladder*, as *Epiphanius* testifies. *Adamas* composed a Genealogy of the Sons and Daughters of *Adam*, as we are informed by *St. Austin*, and *Pope Gelasius*. In short, there were abundance of such kind of Books formerly to be found, composed either by the Jews, who had an admirable Talent at Fiction, or else by the Heretics, who made use of them to give the greater Reputation to their Errors, so that it would be an unprofitable, as well as a tedious Thing, to make an exact Catalogue. But I ought not to omit two passages cited in the New Testament, as if they were in the Prophets, which upon strict search are not to be found there, and which have given occasion to some Persons to imagine they were taken from other Books; The first is in *St. Matthew*, ch. 23, *Jesus* says he, *dwelt in a City called Nazareth*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophets, *He shall be called a Nazarene*. Now these Words, *He shall be called a Nazarene*, are not to be found in any of the Prophets that we now have, which has induced *St. Chrysostome* to imagine, that they are taken out of some other Prophet that is lost. Others pretend, that they are cited out of the 11th Chapter of *Isaiah*, vers. 1, where it is foretold, *That a Branch shall grow out*, which they call in Hebrew *Neser*. *Eusebius* thinks, that this passage is taken from the 13th Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, vers. 5, where it is said, that *he shall be a Nazarene from the Womb*. But the most probable Opinion is that of *St. Jerome*, who supposes, that *St. Matthew* does not cite any Prophet in particular, but only all the Prophets, who have predicted, that our Blessed Saviour should be Holy, and Consecrated to God, as the Nazarenes were.

The second passage is cited in the same Gospel, chap. 27, vers. 9, *Then*, says he, *was fulfilled that which was spoken in Jeremy the Prophet, saying, And they took the Thirty pieces of Silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they of the Children of Israel did value, and gave them for the Potter's Field, as the Lord appointed me*. This Prophecy is not to be found in *Jeremiah*, but there is something that seems to resemble it in *Zechariah*, chap. 11, vers. 13. *Origen* in his 35th Treatise upon *St. Matthew* pretends, that it ought to be said, that this passage is taken out of an Apocryphal Book called, *The Secrets of Jeremiah*, or else that we must affirm, that in this Gospel the Name of one Prophet is used for that of another. Some other Authors say, that this Prophecy has been struck out of the Book of *Jeremiah*. Others run to Tradition, which, as they give out, preserved this Prophecy of *Jeremiah* down to the time of *St. Matthew*. It is very probable, say some others, that this Prophecy being composed of the Words of *Jeremiah*, and the Thought of *Zechariah*, has been cited only under the Name

Name of *Jeremiah*, as in another Place a Prophecy of *Malachi* being joyned to one of *Isaiah*, is attributed to the latter: But yet 'tis a great deal more probable, that *St. Matthew* having only wrote, as it was spoken in the Prophet, without Naming any one, they added in the Text of the Gospel, the Name of *Jeremiah*, that Evangelist not being accustomed to Name the Prophets, whom he cites. This is *St. Jerome's* Solution of the matter, which seems to be by far the Solidest.

NOTES.

(A) WE call the Books of the Bible *Cannonic*, [Sec.] Some Persons say, that they are so called, because they are the Rule of Faith; but the other Opinion is far more probable.

(b) Books that are called *Apocryphal*. We don't know well why they were so called. This word comes Originally from the Greek, where it signifies to hide or conceal. *St. Austin*, L. 15, de *Civitate Dei*, Ch. 23, says, they are so called, because the Original of them is not known. Others, as *St. Jerome* and *Gelasius*, believe they had this Name given them, because they contained the hidden Myteries of the Heretics. *St. Epiphanius* imagines this distinguishing Appellation was set upon them, because they were not kept in the Ark. The Signification also of this word is doubtful, one while they give this Name to all Books that are not in the Canon, another while only to erroneous or ill Books. Some of the Fathers make three Distinctions of Books, viz. The Canonical, the Doubtful, and the Supposititious. Consult *Origen* upon the fourth Chapter of *St. John*. *St. Albanus* in his Festal Letter, *St. Gregory* in the Poem to *Selenus*, *Eusebius*, and the other Fathers, divide them but into two sorts, Canonical and Apocryphal: But then they distinguish the Canonical into two Classes. Indeed generally speaking they are ranged into three Classes, the Canonical of the first Rank, the Canonical of the second Rank, and the Apocryphal.

(c) Some Persons distinguish three Canons made at several times by the *Synedrion*, or the great Synagogue of the Jews. *Severius* makes only two: The first made by *Ezrah*, and the Synagogue in his time: The second, either when they sent the LXX Elders to Translate the Bible, or when the Dispute about the Resurrection was so warmly discussed between the *Sadducees* and *Pharisees*: *Genebrard* supposes there were three: The first, composed by *Ezrah*, and approved of by the Synagogue; The second, appointed by a Grand Assembly of the Synagogue, when they sent the LXX, at which time, as he pretends, *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the Book of *Wisdom*, were added to the Canon; The third, at the time of the famous Controversie between the *Sadducees* and *Pharisees*, when the Books of the *Maccabees*, according to him, were Solemnly approved and received.

(d) But 'tis a great deal more probable, that they never had but one Canon. It is unquestionably true, that *Ezrah* received, and collected the Sacred Volumes, and consequently that he was the Author of the Canon amongst the Jews. Neither they, nor the ancient Christians acknowledged any

other. As for the Books, which as they pretend, were inserted into the other Canons; 'tis certain they were never owned by the Jews; and what they talk about the two great Assemblies of the Synagogues, that were Convened upon that Occasion, is all a Chimera and Fiction. The Ancients themselves never make the least mention of the Approbation of the Synagogue or *Synedrion* of the Jews, which our Moderns boast of so mightily. Some are of Opinion, that *Nehemiah* added the two Books of *Ezrah* to the Canon and found their Notion upon what is said in the 2d. Book of *Maccabees*, ch. 2, v. 13, that he gathered together the Books of *David*, and the Prophets, and the Books of the Kings, &c. But this only proves, that he erected a Library, as it is intimated in that place, and not made a Collection of the Sacred Books. Others say, that we ought to attribute this Canon to *Judas Maccabeus*, because it is laid in the first of *Maccabees*, Chap. 1, vers. 56, that *Antiochus* and his Ministers burnt and tore to pieces the Books of the Law: And in the second Book, Chap. 2, vers. 13, 14, the Jews of *Jerusalem* acquaint their Brethren that were in *Egypt*, that *Judas Maccabeus* had gathered together all those things that were lost by reason of the War. This does not prove that *Ezrah's* Canon was intirely lost, and that *Judas* composed another, but only that he got other Copies of those Sacred Books that were burnt and torn under *Antiochus*, and made a Collection of several pieces relating to the History of their Wars, which was never received into the Jewish Canon. Our Opinion is invincibly proved by the Concurring Testimonies of *Josephus* and *St. Jerome*.

(e) But it is visible, that this Citation has been since inserted into the true Text of *Josephus*. The passage which, as they pretend, is cited by *Josephus*, is in Chap. 42, of *Ecclesiasticus*, vers. 14, *Better is the Conversation of a Man, than a Courtesan Woman*. 'Tis beyond dispute, that it was afterwards added, for *Josephus* proposes in that place to cite the Laws of *Moses*, and this passage makes nothing at all to the purpose. In the Ancient Version of *Ruffinus* this Quotation is not to be found, which makes it evident, that it has been added since.

(f) There are no others cited in the New Testament, but those that were received into the Canon of the Jews. Some Persons say, that the Book of *Wisdom* is cited by *St. Paul*, Rom. 11, in these words, *Who hath known the Mind of the Lord? Or who hath been his Counsellor? Which they say are the very same in effect with those in *Wisdom* Chap. 9. For what Man can know the Counsel of God? But this passage cited by the Apostle is to*

Hellenic endeavours to reconcile these two Opinions, by saying, that there were only some few fragments of the Old Testament and some few *Septuagint* Books, but that these LXX Elders were the first that made an entire Version of all the sacred Volumes. He grounds his Opinion upon the above-cited passage of *Aristobolus*, which seems to be only understood, says he, of some parts, as the Circumlocution he uses makes it appear, as well as what he adds, that the Law was first entirely translated under *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, but in case this sort of *Aristobolus* should only be the work of an Hellenist Jew, as it is exceedingly probable, this Opinion would become very uncertain. Let us go on now to the Version of the *Septuagint*.

All the Ancient Fathers have been unanimous in saying, that the Version of the Bible, commonly called the *Septuagint*, was composed by Seventy or Seventy-two men sent to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who desired to have the Jewish Books in Greek, that he might place them in the Magnificent Library which he had justly erected at *Alexandria* by the care and industry of *Demetrius Phalereus* an Athenian. This has been a long time for constant usage of fact, nor was it ever questioned but in our Age, in which some Critics have been found, that have looked upon this History to be fabulous. We shall examine the conjectures they generally bring to prove it.

In the first place they say, that this Story is wholly founded upon the Authority of *Ariseus* and *Aristobolus*, from whom *Josephus* and *Philo* have taken all they say in this matter, and that if these two Authors should prove spurious, as the greater part of the Critics agree they are, then there would be no other credible Methods of the truth of this business, the Fathers having talked of them only upon the relation of these Authors. Secondly, these Critics pretend, that this History does not in any manner agree with the Chronology of those times, and they demonstrate it thus: All those Authors, say they, who speak of this subject, suppose that it was *Demetrius Phalereus*, who had been formerly a great Man at Athens, that took the pains to make the *Jews* come to translate the Books of the Bible, and in the meantime they pretend that this Version was composed under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Now *Demetrius* could not be in reputation under *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, nor could he be alive at that time, when they suppose that this Version was made. For it is certain, that *Demetrius* lived in Egypt under the Reign of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and that having counselled this Prince to name for his Successor the Children, which he had by *Eurydice*, he incurred the disgrace of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who banished him from Court immediately after the death of his Father, and ordered him to be kept close in a certain Province, where he died soon after, as *Hermippus*, cited by *Dionysius Laertius*, testifies. All which makes it evident, that in the first place *Demetrius* was never in any credit with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and consequently, that he was not Supervisor of his Library, nor ordered to bring the *Jews* to translate the Bible. Secondly, that the Version of the *Septuagint* being made, as we are obliged to suppose, some years after the beginning of *Philadelphus*'s Reign, *Demetrius* could not be employed in that affair, since he was dead before. 'Tis commonly answered, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* reigned some time along with his Father, as 'tis observed in *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon*, and that in this time he took care of the Library, and got the Version of the Bible to be made. 'Tis likewise urged, that this is the reason why some Authors place this Translation in the time of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and others in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. But in my Opinion this answer does not clearly remove the difficulty, since *Ariseus* and *Josephus* tell us in express words, that it happened under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and that he was the King, who took so much care to complete his Library, without making the least mention of his Father. 'Twas to him alone that *Demetrius* addressed himself to procure his Letters to the *Jews*, he was the only Man that wrote them; In a word, all Authors who say this matter happen'd under his Reign, speak not one word of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and this they affirm, that it happen'd under the first *Ptolemy*, don't mention a syllable of *Philadelphus*. *Varro* in the Preface to his 7th Book tells us, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* made a Library in imitation of the Kings of Persia, and that *Aristobolus*, an Athenian Grammarian, was his Library Keeper, from whence it follows, that *Demetrius* never managed that Office, and that the Library was not begun till after his death. For that King of Persia, in imitation of whom *Ptolemy Philadelphus* erected his Library, was *Xerxes*, who could not possibly do it till after the death of *Demetrius*; and therefore *Snidas* says, the Version of the *Septuagint* was not made till the 33d year of the Reign of *Philadelphus*, and he observes, that *Zenodotus* was his Library Keeper. This still discovers another contradiction in *Chronology*, that is to be found in *Ariseus*'s and *Josephus*'s Narration; for they say, that the Seventy came into Egypt when *Ptolemy* made a solemn Festival, occasioned by a Naval Victory, which he obtained over *Antigonius*. This Sea-Fight ought to be the fame, which *Diodorus* mentions in his 20th Book, and happen'd in the third year of the 128th Olympiad. Now at that time *Demetrius* was not come to Egypt, where he came not till after the death of *Callander*, which happen'd in the second year of the 120th Olympiad, according to the Testimony of *Hermippus*. And though one should still maintain, that he came thither at that time, yet it is certain, that *Elaezer* was not then the High Priest, since according to *Eusebius*, he did not begin to be so till the 123d Olympiad. They observe also another Solecism in *Chronology*, and that is in the Epistle attributed to *Demetrius* by *Ariseus*: For *Hecataeus* of *Abdera*, that was *Demetrius*'s Contemporary, is there cited as a Man that had been dead a long while ago. Thirdly, 'tis urged against the truth of this Story, that it is notoriously full of the Fictions and inventions of the Hellenist *Jews*. It is supposed there, that *Elaezer* chose Seventy-two Men, by taking six out of every Tribe. Now all the World knows, that at this time some of the Tribes were not to be found there, as having been carried away out of *Judea*, by *Shalmanazer* after the taking of *Samarina*. To this it may perhaps be replied, that there were still remaining amongst the *Jews* some Persons descended from all those Tribes,

that

that were concealed in the Tribe of *Judah*, but that *Elaezer* should find just six and no more in every Tribe, who were able to do such a business, seems, as they say, to look a little too fabulous. 'Tis certain, says a modern Critick, that if we reflect a little upon the History of *Ariseus*, and read it with never so little Application, we shall be convinced, that an Hellenist Jew wrote this Book under the name of *Ariseus* in favour of his own Nation. The Miracles that are related there, and the very manner in which it is written, give us a true Idea of a Jewish Genius, which always, and especially at that time, delighted to publish Forgeries, that contained scarce any thing but extraordinary things. He tells us, that some Persons having formed a design to Translate the Sacred Volumes, were deterred from their bold resolution by a signal punishment from Heaven, that *Theopompus* having determined to insert some part of their Law into the body of his History, became mad; That the same *Theopompus* having pray'd to God, during the intermission of his Distemper, to discover to him the cause of this unfortunate accident, God answered him in a dream, that it happen'd to him for his great presumption in endeavouring to make common those sacred things that ought to be kept private, and that he was restored to his former health, after having desisted from this Enterprise. We read in the same place, that *Theodotus*, a Tragic Poet, lost his sight, for having presumptuously attempted to insert a passage of the Bible into his Works, but that he recovered his sight upon acknowledgment of his fault, and begging pardon of God. After all, the Authors of the Books attributed to *Ariseus* and *Aristobolus* lay nothing but what is great and pompous, and extraordinary. *Ariseus* for example does not content himself with saying, that the Seventy carried a Copy of the Law, but he adds, that they brought one written in Characters of Gold. He makes *Demetrius* give the King a Petition, that they might have the Books of the *Jews*. He describes the Table, and the other Presents, which King *Ptolemy* offer'd to the Temple at *Jerusalem*, very fabulously. In a word, there is scarce one single Circumstance in the whole Narration, that does not look very like a fable.

These reasons, and many others which may yet be brought, have made several Critics reject these Books that are attributed to *Ariseus* and *Aristobolus*; and what is yet more material, there are some Persons that doubt, whether there were ever any Version composed by the 70 *Jews* that were sent to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. As for my self, although I am heartily persuaded, that these Books of *Ariseus* and *Aristobolus* are spurious, yet nevertheless (1) I am of opinion, that we cannot absolutely deny, that there was a Greek Translation of the Bible made in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: But I dare by no means affirm, that this business was done perfectly after the same manner, as we find it related in the Book attributed to *Ariseus*.

Now as the *Jews* are fruitful in Fictions, so they are not content with retailing those, that are to be found in this Author, but they have likewise added abundance of more extraordinary passages, in supposing, that those 72 Persons were shut up severally each Man in a particular Cell, and that they all of 'em translated the Scripture in the same manner, inasmuch that all their translations were found conformable to each other, not only in the same Sense, but even in the same Words and Expressions. Upon this foundation they pretend, that they were inspired by God, and that their Version ought to be considered, as wholly Divine. Some of the Fathers, that were extremely inclined to value the Authority of this Translation, readily believed this Fiction of the *Jews* (2), but *St. Jerome*, who had examined these things more exactly, and who preferred the Hebrew Text to the Translation of the *Septuagint*, laughed at this Story with reason, since neither *Ariseus*, nor *Philo*, nor *Josephus*, who were the first Persons that gave us the History of this Version, spoke a word concerning these little Cells; but on the contrary *Ariseus*, or the Author of the Book that bears his name, tells us, that the Seventy, when they made this Version, concerted matters amongst themselves, and conferr'd together. 'Tis upon the Testimony of the same Author, that *St. Jerome* assures us, that the Seventy only translated the five Books of *Moses*. *Ariseus*, *Aristobolus*, and *Philo*, tell us, that they translated no more than the Law, a word which ordinarily signifies the Pentateuch only. And though we might understand it of all the Books of the Old Testament, which is not true, yet *Josephus* utterly excludes this Explication, by telling us, that this Law was that of the Legislator of the *Jews*, which passage can only agree to *Moses* and his Books. The *Talmudists* are of the same Opinion. On the other side *St. Justin*, and the greatest part of the ancient Fathers, believed, that the Seventy translated all the Bible, because in their time the Greek Version of the Books of Scripture, that are joined to the five Books of *Moses*, went under the name of the *Septuagint*: But it is far more probable to believe, that the Seventy only translated the five Books of *Moses*, and that the following Books were from time to time translated by other Authors, as the difference of the style, that is to be observed between the several Versions, sufficiently shews, since we have not the positive Testimonies of the Seventy to the contrary. But though the Greek Version of the other Books of the Bible, joined to that of the LXX, was not performed by them, yet we must acknowledge, that it is very ancient, and that the *Jews* had no other before our Saviour was born.

But after the Christian Religion was settled, as the Christians supported themselves by the Authority of the Version of the LXX, so some of the *Jews* resolved to make a new Translation of the Books of the Bible, which as they pretend, should be more conformable to the Hebrew Text, and less favourable to the Christians (1). *Aquila* the Jew, who lived in the time of *Adrian*, was the first Man that thought of this design, and after put it into execution, by translating the Hebrew Text into Greek word for word. Afterwards *Theodotus* (m), a Disciple of *Tatian*, who after turned *Marcionite*, and at last a Jew, and flourished in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*, made another Greek Version of the whole Bible, in which, as he does not confine himself so closely to the Letter, as *Aquila* did,

to neither does he depart so far from it as *Symmachus* (c), the Author of the third Version, who lived in the time of the Emperor *Constantine*. He had formerly been a Jew, and at last went over to the Sect of the *Chaldeans*, which could inspire him with his *Hebrew*. His Version is much freer, and he only concerns himself to render the sense, without adhering to the words (c). In the time of the Emperor *Caracalla* there was another Version of the Books of the Bible found, or at least of one part thereof, and likewise a sixth under *Alexander* the Son of *Ptolemaeus*, which is called the *Nicopolitan*. Lastly *Origen* added a Seventh Version, but that reached the *Palms* only. The Hexapla, and Tetrapla of *Origen* were composed of these Versions. In the Hexapla they were joined to the *Hebrew* Text written two ways, that is to say, in *Greek* Characters, and in *Hebrew* Characters, and this composed the two first Columns of the Work: In the third Column stood *Aquila's* Translation, which was joined to the *Hebrew* Text, as following the letter more religiously than any of the rest. The Version of the *Septuagint* was placed between that of *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, and so these three Versions composed three Columns; the two other Versions were ranked in the two last Columns, and the Seventh, which was of the Book of *Psalms* in the ninth Column. I think that this Work ought rather to be called *Octapla* than *Hexapla*, being composed of eight Columns; and therefore some have believed, that the *Hexapla* did not contain the fifth and sixth Version, but only the other four; and that these two Versions having been added since *Origen*, they then made *Octapla* of them. But *Eusebius*, and (p) *St. Jerome*, with several of the ancient Writers, make no distinction at all between the *Octapla* and *Hexapla*, but only between the *Tetrapla* and the *Hexapla*, and plainly affirm, that both the fifth and sixth Version were in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, and even the seventh of the Book of *Psalms*. Therefore we must either say, that they counted not the two Columns of the *Hebrew* Text, or else, that the fifth and sixth Versions were only of some particular Books of the Bible; and that thus the fame Work of *Origen* had six Columns in some places, in others eight, and even nine in the *Psalms*, but that they were called *Hexapla*, either because there were generally but six Columns, or because the fifth and sixth Columns were afterwards added. And this appears to be the opinion of *St. Epiphanius*, which the Learned *Huetius* has so excellently explained. In the *Tetrapla*, that were made after the *Hexapla*, *Origen* has retrenched the fifth and sixth Versions, as also the two Columns of the *Hebrew* Text, so that they are only composed of the Versions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint*, and *Theodotion*. We must still observe, that the Version of the *Septuagint*, that was in the *Hexapla*, and *Tetrapla*, was corrected and augmented in several places, yet without being changed. For *Origen* added there some passages taken from *Theodotion*, which he marked with an Asterisk, and as for those places, that as he supposed ought to be cut off, and retrenched, he inclosed them between two Hooks. Since that there have been three Versions of the *Septuagint* used in the Church. The first is the ancient or vulgar, and was received by *Lacin*, it was used at *Constantinople*, and in the East. The second was that of *Hesychius*, which they used in *Alexandria*, and all over *Egypt*. Lastly the third, which was used in *Palestine*, was the same with that, which was in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, and which *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus* transcribed, and published separately. Here, says *St. Jerome*, are the three different Versions of Scripture, that divide the whole Earth. *Totiusque orbis hac inter se tripartita varietate compagata*. I shall not say any thing about the Authority of the Version of the *Septuagint*, compared with that *Hebrew* Text, because it is a great and famous Question that does not in the least concern that design I have proposed to myself.

NOTES.

(a) WERE almost all written in Hebrew.] We must except *Judith*, *Tobit*, some Chapters of *Daniel*, and some of the first Book of *Ezra*, which are written in *Chaldee*, and some other Chapters of the fame Prophet *Daniel*, with the Books of the *Maccabees* that are written in *Greek*.

(b) The Characters which Moses made use of, Sec. were the Samaritan.] This opinion was taken for granted in *St. Jerome's* time, as he himself observes in his Preface to the *Kings*, and it is confirmed by ancient Medals, where we find this Inscription, *Holy Jerusalem*, written in *Hebrew* in the Samaritan Characters; and this could not be written after the division of the Tribes, for at that time the Samaritans did not consider *Jerusalem* as an Holy City.

(c) Gave it to the Men of Cuth.] 'Tis far more probable, that the Men of *Cuth* had the Books of

the Law rather from the *Israelites* than the *Jews*. In the first place, because they preserved them written in the ancient Character, which makes it evident, that they did not receive them after the Captivity, since the *Jews* at that time wrote in *Syriac* Characters. Secondly, because the Collection of the Sacred Books amongst the Samaritans only contained the *Pentateuch*, and consequently they received them of the *Israelites*, who acknowledged no other Books but these to be sacred, and not of the *Jews*, who admitted the rest.

(d) Ezra having reviewed and gathered together the Books of the Bible.] I have followed the common opinion of the *Jews* and Holy Fathers, who ascribe the collecting and revising of the Sacred Volumes of the Old Testament to *Ezra*: Others are of opinion, that it was *Nehemiah* that took this care, but let the matter be how it will, certain

certain it is, that the *Jews* at their return from the *Babylonian* Captivity, took care to search after, and gather their Books together. The Author of the fourth Book of *Ezra*, which is a Book full of fables and fictions, supposeth, that all the Copies of the Sacred Books being burnt or lost, *Ezra* dictated them all anew by a Divine Inspiration. We have this fable at length in the 14th Chapter of this Book, where it is said to several other foolish Whimfies. *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Theodoret*, and *St. Basil* have followed this opinion, without reflecting upon it; but others who have used more precaution in this matter, are content to say with us, that *Ezra* collected, reviewed, digested, and put in order the Books of Holy Scripture, where there were many Copies of it as yet remaining. This is the opinion of *St. Jerome*, *Tertullian*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Chrysostom*, the Author of the *Abridgment of the Bible*, commonly attributed to *St. Athanasius*, and of several others. The first opinion is not only extremely prejudicial to Religion, but impossible to be maintained. For, first, What probability is there, that the *Jews* during the Captivity, should lose all the Copies of that Book, for which they always preserved so profound a veneration, and which was the foundation of their Religion? Why should we think, that not one single Man amongst them kept it by him? Is it credible, that *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and *Jeremiah*, were deprived of reading the Books of the Law? Can one conceive, that *Ezra* had no other knowledge of them than by Inspiration? He, I say, that was so learned a Doctor of the Law of *Moses* at the time when he was in *Babylon*, as it appears, ch. 7. v. 6. of the first Book of *Ezra*. 2. We ought to make the same reflection upon the *Israelites* of the Ten Tribes. Now it is not probable, that they did not carry the Holy Books along with them. The Book of *Tobit* informs us, that *Tobit* read the Prophecy of *Amos*, *Tob. c. 2. v. 6. 3.* And slyly, is it not pat dispute, that the Men of *Cuth* preserved the *Pentateuch*, which the *Israelites* of the Ten Tribes gave them? 4. It appears by the 9th Chapter of *Daniel*, that the *Jews* had the Books of *Moses*, and read them during the Captivity. All *Israel*, says this Prophet, have transgressed thy Law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy voice, and therefore the curse is poured upon us, and the oath that is written in the Law of *Moses*, because we have sinned against him. And a little lower, All this evil is come upon us, as it is written in the Law of *Moses*. 5. It is said in the sixth Chapter of the Book of *Ezra*, that the building of the Temple was finished in the sixth year of *Darius*, and that the Priests and Levites were established in their Ministerial Functions, as it is written in the Law of *Moses*. *Sicut scriptum est in lege Moysi*. Now *Ezra* was not yet come up to *Jerusalem*, for it is related in the following Chapter, that he arrived in *Judea* in the seventh year of King *Artaxerxes*. 6. In the second Book of *Ezra*, ch. 8. the People being desirous to be instructed in the Law of *Moses*, did not request him to dictate it to them anew, but only to bring the Book of the Law of *Moses*, which the Lord had given to the People of *Israel*. *Et dixerunt Esdra scribe, ut asseret librum legis Moysi quomodo praeceperat Deus Israeli*. And it is

said immediately after, that *Ezra* brought the Book of the Law, and read it before all the People. It will be said perhaps, that I have borrowed these Reasons out of another Mans Book, I own it, but I thought they were suitable to the present occasion.

(e) It is very certain, that at first this Language was not common to all the Jews.] This is abundantly proved against the common opinion, by what is said in the Book of *Nehemiah*, ch. 13. v. 24. that the Children of the *Jews* who had Married strange Women, spoke *Astivie* and not *Judaeic*. [In the *Hebrew* the words are *Alphadith*, and *Jehudith*, and this last word is the Book of *King*, ch. 18. v. 26. is opposed to *Aramith*, which signifies in *Syriac*, *Præcurator loquar nobis Syriacæ & non Judæicæ*; in the first Book of *Ezra*, ch. 4. v. 7. and in the Prophet *Daniel*, ch. 2. v. 4. *Aramith* has still the same signification. On the contrary *Jehudith* signifies the *Hebrew* Tongue in opposition to the *Syriac*, as we may see in the second Book of *Chiron*, ch. 32. v. 18. 2 *King*, 18. 26. and in *Isaiah*, ch. 36. v. 11. There were several *Jews* therefore in the time of *Ezra* that still spoke *Hebrew*. And this is evidently proved by the Books of *Ezra* that were made since the Captivity, and yet were written in *Hebrew*, and not in *Chaldee*, except some Chapters of the first Book of *Ezra*, where he tells us of the opposition, that the Officers of the King of *Persia*, who spoke *Chaldee*, gave to the *Jews*. From whence it follows, that the *Jews* both understood and spoke *Hebrew*. For otherwise why should *Ezra*, if he designed to have his Books intelligible by all the *Jews*, write them in a Language, which was not natural to them. The same consideration will hold good as to the Books of the latter Prophets, who wrote in *Hebrew* after the Captivity, and yet addressed their Prophecies to all the People. But lastly, that which admits of no reply, is a remarkable passage in the Book of *Nehemiah*, ch. 8. and 9. where we find, that the Law was read in *Hebrew* before the People, and all the People hearkened to it, and understood it; These Remarks have been lately made by a very Ingenious and Learned Person. Mr. *Simon* indeed brags, that he has invincible Reasons to overthrow them; When he has honoured the World with a Sight of them, we shall see whether they are powerful enough to make us retract this opinion, as he would willingly persuade us they are; but in the mean time he ought not to take it amiss, if I still then, we continue in the same mind.

(f) The *Syriac* Tongue mixed with *Hebrew* Words became the vulgar Language of the *Jews*, which was afterwards called the *Hebrew* Tongue.] The truth of this appears by the *Hebrew* Words that we find in the New Testament, which are all, as *St. Jerome* observes, *Syriac* Words, and what our blessed Saviour says, 'I hat not one iota of the Law of God shall pass away, &c. makes it evident, that the *Jews* at that time used the present *Hebrew* Alphabet, and not the ancient, and it is demonstrated from hence, that the *Jews* was a little Letter, which is true of the *Syriac*, [and *Hebrew*] *Jed*, and not of the Samaritan, which has three Feet.

(g) *The Chaldee Paraphrase*: which we have seen to be of a later date. [The Chaldee Paraphrase is divided into three Parts: The first, that contains the *Pentateuch*, is attributed to *Onkelos*; the second, that contains the *Prophets*, to *Jonathan*; the third, to one *Josephus* the blind: There is likewise another Paraphrase of the *Pentateuch*, called that of *Jerusalem*, and another of the *Canticles*; but all these Paraphrases are imperfect, as well as new. Since that time the *Jews* having committed to writing abundance of Traditions in a Book which they call *Mishna*, they afterwards composed Commentaries upon it, whereof the most celebrated is called the *Gemara*. But all these Books are full of ridiculous foolish Fictions, and have nothing common with the Scripture; The *Mafora*, that is, a sort of a Critical Performance upon the Bible, is of more use and advantage. The Follies and Whimfies of the *Cabala* are impertinent and impious.

(h) *About the year of our Lord 500, the Jews of Tiberias invented the Points.* [These Points were not used in St. Jerom's time, as may be easily proved from several Passages of this Father drawn out of his 22th Question upon *Jeremiah*, and out of his Commentary upon *Habakkuk*, in Chap. 3. Vers. 20. which abundantly shew, that in his time the Pronunciation of the Hebrew Words was not determined by the Points, as it has been since.

(i) *I am of opinion, that one cannot absolutely deny, that there was a Greek Version of the Books of the Bible made in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus.* [It is not credible; that the Authors of the Books attributed to *Aristeus* and *Aristobolus* entirely invented the whole History, and that there is no part of it true. 'Tis far more probable, that they only added several Circumstances to the Matter of Fact, which was assuredly certain. Mr. Simon imagines, that this Version was called the *Septuagint*, becaus it was approved by the *Synedrion*, but this is a Conjecture without any Foundation.

(k) *Some of the Fathers have believed this Fition of the Talmudists.* [The Author of the Discourse against the *Greeks*, attributed to St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, and St. Clement, believed it, St.

Justin questioned and doubted the truth of it; St. Jerom laughs at it.

(l) *Aquila the Jew.* [A certain Syriack Author, cited by Monsieur Le zui (the Publisher of the French Bible), tells us, that he was defended from *Adrian*; and adds many other Passages that are extremely improbable. St. Jerom assures us, that he was a *Jew*, in his Commentary upon the third Chapter of *Habakkuk*, upon the third of *Isaiah*, and in his Epistle to *Marcellus*.

(m) *Theodotion the Disciple of Tatian.* [St. Jerom's Testimony confirms what we have said here; St. Irenaeus names him in his Book against *Heresy*, from whence it follows, that he lived when *Elutherius* was Pope.

(n) *Symmachus, &c.* [What we say concerning this Man, is taken out of St. Jerom, in his Preface upon *Job*; *Eusebius* also says, l. 6. c. 7. that he was an *Ebionite*; and this is thereupon why *Hilary* the Deacon Author of *The Commentary of St. Paul*, attributed to St. *Ambrose*, calls the *Ebionites* *Symmachians*.

(o) *We yet find another Version of the Bible in the time of the Emperor Caracalla.* [St. Epiphanius is of opinion; that this fifth Version was found at *Jericho*, the Author of *The Abridgment* attributed to St. *Athanasius* is of the same opinion: But *Eusebius* following the Testimony of *Origen*, tells us, that the sixth was found at *Nicopolis*; that we don't know where *Origen* found the fifth; and that the seventh, which was only a Version of the *Psalms*, was found at *Jericho*. Consult *Euseb.* l. 6. c. 16. St. Jerom assures us, that all these Translations were made by *Jews*.

(p) *Eusebius, St. Jerom, and several other Ancients, make no distinction between the Octapla from the Hexapla.* [They place the fifth, sixth, and seventh Version, in what they call the *Hexapla*. St. Epiphanius, in his Book of *Weights and Measures*, speaks of the *Octapla*, but as of a Work which was not distinguished from the *Hexapla*, for after he has described the *Hexapla*, he adds, And if we find there the fifth and sixth Version added, it follows that we ought to call them *Octapla*. These Columns were unquestionably written upon different Rolls, that were fasten'd one to the side of another.

S E C T. IV.

Of some Authors, whose Works have a Relation to the Old Testament, viz. Philo. T. Flavius, Josephus, Justus, Aristaeas, Aristobolus, Josephus Ben-gorion, Berofus, the false Dorotheus, Zoroaster, &c.

Here are several Authors, whose Works, whether Genuine or Spurious, have a Relation to the History of the Old Testament, whom we think our selves obliged to take some short notice of.

Philo, a Jew of Alexandria, lived in the time of *Caius Caligula*, and was the chief Person of an Embassy, that the *Jews* sent to the Emperor. He composed several Works upon the Old Testament, a Catalogue of which may be seen in *Eusebius's* History, l. 2. ch. 8. and in St. Jerom's Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, as well as at the beginning of the Greek and Latin Impression of his own Writings, printed at Paris, 1640. This Author is a Platonist, and so well imitates *Plato's* Style, that he has been called by some *The Jewish Plato*: He explained the whole Bible by way of Allegory, he is very Eloquent and Diffuse, his Works are full of Moral Thoughts, and continual Allegories upon all the Histories of the Bible; he approaches very near the Notions of the Christians in his Morals. His Works were published in Greek by *Turnebus*, and printed at Paris 1552. and at Frankfurt 1587. Translated into Latin by *Glenius*, and printed at Basil 1554, and 1561. at Lyons 1555, in Greek at Geneva 1603, and in Greek and Latin at Paris 1640.

Josephus was descended of the Sacerdotal Race of the *Ashmoneans*, as we are told in his Life, which he wrote himself, where all his Employments and Actions are exactly related. He was born Anno Dom. 37. and died 93. He was surnamed *Flavius*, by reason of *Vespasian*. He composed the History of the *Jews*, which he took for the most part out of the Books of the Bible, and continued it down to the time of the Wars of the *Jews*, under the Name of *The Jewish Antiquities*. He also wrote the History of the War against the *Romans*, and the taking of *Jerusalem*. He has likewise written, besides his own Life, two excellent Books against *Apion* to answer the Objections, which that Heathen had mustured up against the Antiquity of the *Jewish* Nation, the Purity of the Law, and the Conduct of *Moses*; and he has written a Treatise concerning the Martyrdom of *Maccabees*, which is called by *Erasmus*, and not without Reason, *An exquisite Master-piece of Eloquence*. This Author wrote very politely, and the turn which he gives things, is very agreeable. His History is beautified with admirable Descriptions, very eloquent Harangues, and very sublime Thoughts; his Style is clear and faithful, he not only diverts his Readers, but he also brings them over to what side he pleases; in one word, he excites and calms the Passions as himself thinks fit. We may say, he is a perfect Historian, and we may justly call him the *Livy of the Greeks*. The Treatise of the *Maccabees* sufficiently shews the Beauty of his Genius, and the Height of his Eloquence; and his Books against *Apion* demonstrate his profound Learning, and the exactness of his Judgment. The Works of this Author have been printed several times in Latin, of the Translation partly of *Rusinus*, partly of *Glenius*, and partly of *Erasmus*; and at Geneva in Greek and Latin, Anno Dom. 1611. It were to be wished that we had a new Edition of it, in a better Letter, and better Paper.

Justus of Tiberias wrote also an History of the *Jews*, and some Commentaries upon the Bible, but *Josephus* accuses him of Falsity and Lying. We had not placed him in the number of the Ecclesiastical Authors, if St. Jerom had not done it before us.

The Books of *Aristaeas* and *Aristobolus* concerning the Version of the *Septuagint*, are manifest Forgeries, and imposed upon the World by some Hellenist *Jew*, as we have already shewn when we were discoursing of that Version.

The History of the War of the Jews by *Josephus Ben-gorion*, was written by an Author that lived since St. Jerom's time. He speaks of the *Goths* as being in Spain, and of the *Franks* in Gaul. Now these People were not settled in Spain and in France till about the fifth Century, and so by consequence this is a spurious Writer, who having stolen several things out of the true *Josephus*, has mingled them after his manner with Fictions and Fables.

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, which is extant in the first Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is a Book wholly filled with Trifles and Impertinencies, and deserves nothing but contempt; Neither should one have a better opinion for the Abridgment of the Lives of the Prophets, the Apo-

ill Hands, after he had been exactly informed of all the Occurrences by those that were Eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word, that is to say, by the Apostles, and particularly by St. Paul. 'Tis imagined, that the Apostle speaks of this Gospel, when he says, according to my Gospel, and that he meant St. Luke when he wrote this passage. *The Brother whose praise is in the Gospel in all Churches, Caput lous est in Evangelio per omnes Ecclesias.* (St. Jerome observes, that he wrote his Gospel travelling along with St. Paul, when he was in *Arabiæ* and *Babylonia*, towards the second year of Nero, and the fifty sixth of Jesus Christ. The same Father assures us, that he always continued unmarried, and that he lived Fourteen and four years. He is also the Author of the *Acts of the Apostles*, which Book contains the History of the Church from the Ascension of our Blessed Saviour to the fourth year of Nero, during the space of 29 or 30 years.

St. John the Evangelist of the City of *Bethsaida Galilee*, was the Son of *Zebedee*, and was called to the Apostleship when he was very young. St. Jerome and *Tertullian* affirm, that he continued in the state of Calvary all his Life-time. He was the dearly beloved Disciple of Jesus Christ, and 'tis supposed, that he speaks of himself, when he says, *the Disciple whom Jesus loved*: But though this were not to be thus understood, yet the tenderness which Jesus Christ had for him, sufficiently appeared in the last words, when he placed him in his Bosom, and in his last words to his Mother, *Woman behold thy Son*. After the descent of the Holy Ghost, he went and preached the Gospel in *Asia*, where he found and governed the Churches for a long time, being Bishop of *Ephesus*, the Metropolis of that Province. He was condemned at *Rome* by the Emperor *Domitian* to be thrown into a Vessel of burning Oyl, but he came out, says *Tertullian*, more vigorous and strong than when he entered in at first. He was banished afterwards into the Isle of *Patmos*, where, as 'tis generally supposed, he wrote his *Revelation*. After the death of *Domitian* he came back to *Ephesus*, and there wrote his Gospel, about an hundred years after the Birth of our Blessed Saviour. St. Jerome reports, that he was engaged in this Work by the other Bishops and Christians of *Asia*, who obliged him to write his Gospel, to confound the Errors of *Cerinthus* and *Ebion*, who said, that Jesus Christ was a meer Man, and that He had no being before He was born of the Virgin *Mary*. The same Father adds, that he had yet another reason to write his Gospel after others, for having read the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, he observed, that they only concerned themselves to write the History of one year of our Blessed Saviour's Life, namely, from the imprisonment of St. John, down to the Death of our Saviour, which made him resolve to give an account of the most considerable things that occurred in the preceding years. He has likewise written three Epistles. The first, of which no Man ever doubted, is directed to the Faithful, and particularly to the *Parthians*; if we may believe St. *Austin*, and some other ancient Writers, that is to say, to all the Faithful dispersed in *Persia*, which at that time was under the Domination of the *Parthians*. We don't certainly know the time or place where it was written. The two others were directed to particular Persons, one to a Lady called *Elecia*, the other to *Galus*. They only carry the name of an Elder or Priest; which has made some People of opinion, that they were written by another St. John, as *Eusebius* and St. Jerome observe. But the Style, the Spirit, and Thoughts of these Epistles, together with the concurring Authority of most of the Fathers, make it evident, that they belong to this Evangelist. There is a greater difficulty about the *Apocalypse*, the title of which Book appears to be different from the rest, and which several of the Ancients rejected, or attributed to another St. John: but the most received opinion is, that it was written by the Evangelist. The Style of St. John is simple, and has little eloquence in it, but his Thoughts are very lofty. He lived till the time of *Trajan*, not dying till the 68th year after the Passion of our Blessed Saviour.

St. Paul descended of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, and born in the City of *Tarsus*, came up to *Jerusalem*, and there became the Disciple of *Gamaliel*, a famous Pharisee. He was converted to the faith of Jesus Christ in that miraculous manner, which is set down in the *Acts of the Apostles*; he afterwards changed his name of *Saul* into that of *Paul*, after he had openly Converted and Baptized the Proconsul *Sergius Paulus*. The History of his Travels and Preaching, down to his first imprisonment at *Rome*, is written by St. Luke in the *Acts*. We don't certainly know, what he did after his enlargement; some of the Ancients were of opinion, that he went into *Spain*, but this is very uncertain, and the contrary seems to be the more probable. Be that as it will, 'tis certain, that he was beheaded afterwards at *Rome* for his Religion, by Nero's Command, towards the 64th year of the common computation. He has written 14 Epistles, all which, Antiquity has own'd to be Genuine and Canonical, excepting the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, concerning which there has been formerly some doubt, and some Persons have supposed, that it was written in *Hebrew*. They are not rank'd in the *New Testament* according to the order of time, which nevertheless is very necessary to be known.

The Epistle to the *Romans* was written from *Corinth*, as *Origen* proves by several reasons; for first of all it was sent by *Phileas* Servant of the Church at *Corinth* or *Corinthe*. Secondly, St. Paul calls *Caius* his Host, with whom he tarried at *Corinth*; as we may see in the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*, chap. 14. Thirdly, in the Salutations, that are to be found towards the end of this Epistle, we find the Names of those who departed from *Corinth* to go to *Jerusalem*, as it is said in the 20th Chapter of the *Acts*. It was therefore written at the time, when St. Paul, having gathered the Contributions of *Macedonia*, and *Achaia*, went to visit *Jerusalem* in the 57th year of Jesus Christ. From whence St. *Chrysostom* concludes, that it was written after both the Epistles to the *Corinthians*, in which he exhorts the Faithful to this Charitable Contribution.

Nevertheless they were not written much before: For the first was written from *Ephesus*, as it appears, ch. 16. v. 8. (and not from *Philippi*, as some *Greek* Inscriptions observe) in the absence of *Timothy*. The

The second was written from *Macedonia* after his return. In some Copies it is said, that it was written from *Philippi*, in others from *Nicopolis*.

That to the *Galatians* is yet older than the two Epistles to the *Corinthians*. It was written from *Ephesus*, at the time when St. Paul taught in the School of one *Sirnamed Tyrannus* in the beginning of the year 56. It is observed in some *Greek* Copies, that it was written from *Rome*, but this is not probable, because he does not there speak concerning his Chains, as he does in his Epistle to the *Ephesians*, where he mentions them in Three several places.

This Epistle therefore was written towards the 62d year of our Lord, as well as that to the *Philippians*, and that other which is directed to the Christians of *Colosse*, a City of *Phrygia* near *Hierapolis* and *Laodicea*.

The two Epistles to the *Thessalonians* seem to be the earliest, if we follow the Chronological order. It is probable, that the first was written towards the year 52; for after St. Paul had converted many Christians at *Thessalonica*, as it is observed in the *Acts*, ch. 9. v. 7, he sent *Timothy* thither, who being come to find him at *Corinth*, informed him of their Affairs, as it is observed in the third Chapter of this Epistle, which was consequently written in the year 52. The second Epistle to the *Thessalonians* was written soon after, and from the same place.

The first Epistle to *Timothy* was written after he was ordained Bishop, when St. Paul was freed from his Chains in the sixty third year of our Blessed Saviour. The second Epistle was written from *Rome*, when St. Paul was twice imprisoned there, a little before his Martyrdom. The Epistle to *Titus* was written about the same time with the first Epistle to *Timothy*. That to *Philemon* was written at the time of his first imprisonment at *Rome*. And to conclude, the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was written likewise about this time, since it is there observed, ch. 13. v. 23, that *Timothy* was delivered. Some of the Fathers, as *Caius*, and *Hippolytus*, and the ancient Church of *Rome*, have rejected this Epistle. Others attribute it to St. *Barnabas*, some to St. *Clement*, and some to St. *Luke*; but however (p) the most prevailing opinion is, that it was written by St. Paul. St. Jerome seems to accommodate these differences, by saying, that the thoughts belong to St. Paul, but that the words and composition are either St. *Barnabas* or St. *Luke's*, or rather St. *Clement's*, who diligently collected whatever he learn'd from his Master. Those ancient Writers that attribute it to St. Paul, say, that it was written in *Hebrew*, that is to say, in *Syriack* (q), being written by an *Hebrew* to the *Hebrews*. Some of the Moderns pretend it was written in *Greek*, but to this Authority of the Ancients, they oppose nothing but frivolous weak Conjectures, which are too weak to bias any Man.

The Epistles that follow those of St. Paul, are called *General*, because, if we except the two last of St. John, they are not directed to the Faithful of one City, as those of St. Paul are, but to Christians dispersed in several Countries.

The Epistle of St. James was not written by James the Son of *Zebedee* the Brother of St. John, but by St. James the Brother of St. Jude the Apostle, and (r) Cousin of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, and Bishop of *Jerusalem*. For it cannot belong to the other St. James, since it is directed to Christians out of *Judea*, whereas he suffer'd Martyrdom, before the Gospel was preached in any other place than *Judea*.

St. Peter the chief of the Apostles has written two Epistles; the first that has been received as Canonical by all the Ancients (s) was written from *Babylon*. Some of the Ancients were of opinion, that the City of *Rome* was meant by this name, but the Sense is not natural. We cannot precisely assign the time when it was written, but certain it is, that it was sent, after the Disciples of Jesus Christ were called Christians at *Antioch*, that is to say, at least nine years after the Death of our Blessed Saviour; for the name of Christians is to be found there in the fourth Chapter. Now if thou art called a Christian. Si autem Christianus cognoveris. It is also probable, that it was written after St. Peter's being delivered out of Prison, A. D. 44, for until that time he continued for the most part in *Judea*. Some believe, that it was written towards the end of his Life, because it does not seem to have been written long before the second Epistle, but this is not certain. One may say, that it was written at *Babylon* in the 45th year of Jesus Christ.

The second was probably written towards the end of his Life, because he there testifies, that he expected Death very suddenly, ch. 1. v. 14. Some of the Fathers have doubted, whether this Letter was written by St. Peter, because the style of it is so extremely different from that of the former, as St. Jerome observes, but St. Peter discovers himself so plainly and openly there, that we cannot with the least colour or pretence attribute it to any body else.

St. Jude the Apostle the Brother of James and Simon the Son of *Alpheus*, Sirnamed *Thaddæus* and *Lebbeus*, wrote the Epistle, that carries his Name, after the Death of most of the Apostles, as he testifies when he exhorts the Christians to contend earnestly for the Faith, which was once delivered to them by the Apostles. He imitates and follows the thoughts and design of the second Epistle of St. Peter, and even inserts some of his words into his own.

NOTES

(4) THE Gospel signifies in Greek happy tidings.

Eucap is derived from the Particle *eu* that signifies *well*, and the Verb *cap* that signifies *to take*; and is to be found in *Flower* and *Remedy*, but in another sense, *eu* 'tis taken for the recompence which is given a Man for carrying good news. *Tully* has used this term in this sense in one of his Epistles to *Atticus*.

(b) The word Evangelist, *ibid* was heretofore given to all those that preached the Word of God. *Act. 21. v. 18.* Philip is called an Evangelist. *St Paul* in his 2d Epistle to *Timothy*, *ch. 4 v. 5.* beseeches that Bishop to do the work of an Evangelist. *Omnia sic Evangelistae*

(c) *Soon after the death of our Blessed Saviour.* This is the opinion of *St. Jerome*, and *St. Epiphanius*, who say, that he composed his Gospel, before he went to preach to the Gentiles. *St. Irenaeus*, 1. 3. c. 1. seems to say the contrary; when he assures us, that *St. Matthew* wrote his Gospel for the Jews, and in the Language of the Jews, at the time when *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* founded the Church of *Rome*: But these words are not to be understood in the literal sense.

For this reason he made it in Hebrew, or rather in Syriack. *Papias* cited by *Eusebius*, 4.3. of his History, Chapter the last. St. Jerome, 2.3. 1. in his Epistle, in his Preface to the Evangelists, in his book of the Ecclesiastical Writers, has in several other places. *Eusebius*, 3.2. 18. the Author of the Work upon St. Matthew attributes to St. *Chrysostom*, St. Epiphanius, Hiero, 2. 2. 57. The Author of the *Antiquities of Scripture*, attributed to *Ambrosius*, St. Cyril, *Catch.* 14. St. *Anselm*, 1. 1. de *Consequentiis*, cap. 2. declare, that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written in Hebrew, that it is to say, in Syriack. St. *Jerome* and St. *Jerome* say, that it was written in the Language of the Country, which was the Chaldee or Syriack Tongue; mixt with Hebrew words, which is commonly called the Hebrew Tongue in the New Testament. St. *Jerome* tells us plainly, that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written in this Tongue, for in his Commentary upon the 12th Chapter of this Gospel, he says, that some Persons were of opinion, that the Gospel of the *Maccareus* was the original Hebrew of St. *Matthew*; and in his second Dispute against the *Helionians*, he says, that the Gospel of the *Maccareus* was written in Chaldee or Syriack with Hebrew Characters. Those that are of the contrary opinion, who maintain, that St. *Matthew* wrote it originally in Greek, as *Grotius* well observes, reject the unanimous Consent of the Ancients without any appearance of Reason. Let us for once examine the Conjectures of a certain Author, that is of this opinion: He says, that the words *Emanuel*, *Eli*, *Lamba*, *Sabbachina*, *Acladama*, and other Syriack Terms are explained there; but this does not at all prove,

that this Gospel was not written in Synek, for otherwise we ought to say, that (fewest of all) the Old Testament were not written in Hebrew, because even in those Books we have the Hebrew Terms explained after the same manner; for example, *Gen. 31. v. 49. Galaad, id. eff. iherusalem iuxta* 35. v. 18. *Bermai, id. eff. filius dolari meo*; *Ezech. 12. v. 11. Refaife, id. eff. transitus Domini*; and 16. v. 15. *Mabon quid significat quid eff. loc.* These Explanations are not to be found in the Hebrew, but have been added by the Interpreters; and we ought to make the same judgment of these passages in *St. Matthew*. They pretend still, that these Fathers never saw the Original of *St. Matthew*, that they said it was Hebrew, on- ly because the Gospel of the *Nassarænes* was in Hebrew; which is extremely different from that of *St. Matthew*. But this is answered, 1. That we cannot say this of the most ancient Fathers, as *Papae, St. Irenæus, &c.* 2. That although the Gospel of the *Nassarænes* was different from that of *St. Matthew*, yet it might very well be taken from the Original of *St. Matthew*, in which the Hereticks had inserted, and altered abundance of things.

(c) *No more than the Syriac Version.* It is an easy matter to shew this, because the Hebrew or Syriac words that are cited in the Greek of St. Matthew's Gospel are different from those of the Syriack, in the 27th Chapter in stead of *Elceladama*, he has *Ayara cadema*; in stead of *Egaptar*, he has *Cepho*; for *Eli*, *Ei*; for *Golgatha*, *Golgocato*; for *Jaacob*, *Jaacoub*; for *Joseph*, *Joofeph*; &c. We likewise find there abundance of Greek words terminated after the Syriack manner, which makes it evident, that it was a Grecian that translated the Greek of St. Matthew into Syriack, and not the Original it self of St. Matthew.

(Y) The *Evangelist* St. Mark seems to be the wife of Peter, and the *Evangelist* St. Mark, who is so often mentioned in the Acts, &c. is the same, of whom mention is made in the *Acts*, in ch. 12, v. 12, and in ch. 22, v. 27, and who was "Straitened of the Spirit" (St. Paul). There is likewise mention made of some Mark the Cousin of Barnabas, Coloss. 4. 10. It is very probable he is the same with the former Mark, but the *Evangelist* in all appearance is the same Mark the Person: for besides that he was not Straitened of the Spirit, he was the Disciple of St. Peter; and according upon him at the same time that the other was with St. Paul: he was likewise at Alexandria at the time when the other was witness to Paul at Rome. Some think, that St. Mark the *Evangelist* was one of the Seventy two Disciples, but this is not certain enough to be relied upon; It is more probable, that he was converted to the Faith by St. Peter, who calls him his Son, and whole Disciple and Interpreter he was.

(g) *He composed his Gospel when he was at Rome.*] This is the opinion of all the Ancients.

Papias in Eusebius, l. 2. c. 15. St. Irenæus, l. 3. c. 1. St. Clement cited by St. Jerome, Tertullian, l. 1. Contra Marcionem, Eusebius, St. Jerome, &c. St. Irenæus tells us, that it was written after the death of St. Peter, others on the contrary unanimously affirm, that it was written whilst he was living, and that he approved of it. Upon this account several Persons have called it the Gospel of St. Peter, as Tertullian observes.

(b) Some modern Authors imagine, that it was written in Latin.] Baronius ad ann. Chr. 45. a. 14. and those that follow him without farther consideration are of this opinion, but after all it's a Problem that cannot be maintained. St. Jerome in Epist. 125. to Demetrius, expressly tells us, that all the New Testament; except St. Matthew's Gospel, was written in Greek. And St. Auslin, lib. de Confessione Evang. c. 2. tell us, that all the four Evangelists, except St. Matthew, wrote in Greek. The Latin St. Mark, which we now have, is certainly a Translation of the Greek.

(i) *St. Luke, a Physician by profession.* *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Colos.* *Luke the beloved Physician greets you.* *Nicephorus, l. 2. c. 43.* of his *History* affirms, that he was an excellent *Painter*, and some People say, that he drew the *Picture* of the *Virgin Mary*, but these are fictions.

(k) *He was neither of the number of the Apostles, nor of the Disciples.*] This is certainly true, because he tells us, that what he wrote, he learnt from others. St. Irenæus, l. i. c. 2. St. Jerome upon ch. 65. of *Isaiah*, St. *Aufstin*, and several others positively say, that he was not a Disciple of Jesus Christ. They are only some few modern Authors, that are pleased to bestow this Character upon him.

(2) *Cujus laus est in Evangelio per omnes Ecclesias.*] We cannot certainly tell, whether: the word *Evangelium* in this place signifies a Book of the Gospel, or whether we are not rather to understand it thus, *The Brother who deserves praise for having preached the Gospel*. That which follows afterwards, *and who was ordained to be the Companion of our Travels*, made *Baronius* believe, that it is *Silas*, of whom we are to understand this passage. But *St. Jerome*, and *St. Ambrose* in this Preface upon *St. Luke* do understand it of this Evangelist.

(m) He afterwards changed his name of Saul for that of Paul, after having converted, and baptised the Proconsul Sergius Paulus. 1. The Author of the one and thirtieth Sermon, attributing to St. Ambrose, tells us, that he changed his name at his Baptism, but this is but a groundless fancy, for in his time they gave no name to any body, but their Baptism. Others say, that he changed his name, when he changed his profession; and some pretend to affirm, that he had two Names. The most probable opinion is, that he took the name of Paul after the conversion of Sergius Paulus, for till that time he is constantly called Saul in the Acts of the Apostles, and afterwards he is always called by the name of Paul. It was the custom of the Romans to give their own names to others in testimony of friendship; Josephus for example received the name of Flavianus from the Emperor Vespasian by way of Honour: [Or rather, because having been once his Prisoner, he set him at Li-

erty: it being usual for freed Men, to take their Patrons *Prænomina*].

(7) *Some authors* pretend, that he seems into Spain, that this is very uncertain. St. *Crisostomus* in his Epistle to *Dracemius*, *3^o Ep. Cap. 17*, St. *Epiphanius*, *Har. 27*, St. *Cyprianus* in *Ep. ad Theor.* and in *Math. 76*, and *Hieronymus* in *Ep. ad Paul.*, *Theodoret* in *Ep. ad Timot.* c. 11. *Hier.* in *2^a l. Greg. moral.* 1. 3. c. 22. *Idem*, *Bebe.* ad *11^a l.* are of this opinion. All these Authors lived after this third Century, but before that time nothing is written concerning it, and besides they don't speak of it as a certain thing, but only as a probable conjecture. St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, c. 15. v. 24. promises, that he would go into Spain, but though it follows from thence, that he had a design of going thither, yet we cannot rationally conclude, that he was ever there: Pope *Gelasius*, and *Innocent* the first tell us, that he did not perform that promise, and it is very certain, that the Gospel was preached somewhat later on this side the *Alpi*.

(d) In the text of the *apocrypha*, according to the vulgar computation. All Authors are agreed, that St. Paul was beheaded at Rome, but however they are not agreed about the year. Some of them tell us, that he suffered Martyrdom with St. Peter; others place it a year, and some two years lower; some pretend, that this happened in the last year of Nero's Reign, which was the fifty eighth of our Blessed Saviour; but most Men think, that St. Peter and St. Paul suffered Martyrdom at the time of Nero's Persecution, which began in the fourth year of that Emperor, after the burning of Rome, Anno Dom. 63, and therefore according to this account these two Princes of the Apostles suffered Martyrdom in the 64th year of the Vulgar Era.

(2) The most received opinion is, that it was written by St. Paul. This Epistle to the Hebrews does not belong to St. Barnabas, having a different Title from that of this Apistle. There is no reason to attribute it to St. Luke. The style and the thoughts very much resemble those of St. Clement in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* : and upon this account I am apt to believe, that we ought to attribute the Composition, or Translation of it rather to him than any other, although it is written in the name of St. Paul, and by that Apistle: for it was written at *Rome*, and by a Person that enjoyed his liberty, and who had *Timothy* for his Colleague. These three Characters shew plainly, that it was written by St. Paul, who did not put his name to it for fear of offending the Jews, who were prejudiced against him. *Grævius* believes, that it was written after the taking of *Jerusalem*, because it is observed, says he, in the third Chapter, that there were certain Christians, who supposed the Day of Judgment was very near; an Opinion that was not common till after *Jerusalem* was taken, but this is a bare conjecture upon weak grounds. St. Jerome answers the usual Objection about the diversity of stile, that is alledged to prove, that this Epistle was not written by St. Paul, by saying, that it was occasioned either by him that translated it under St.

Paul, de solis, by the Interpreter. [But if *Paul's* Opinion be true, the Controversy must be at an end: For in his Vindication of the Authority of the H. Scriptures against the five Letters published by the Antiquaries of *W. Simon*, p. 291. He says, that *St. Peter* quotes the 37th Verse of the 10th Chapter of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, in the 15th Verse of the 2d Chapter of his 2d. Epistle, where he says that *St. Paul* often said those things which the unlearned and unstable wrest as well as the other Scriptures to their own destruction.]

(g) In *Hebrews* to the *Hebrews*, J. St. Clement *Alexandrinus* is of another opinion, as also *St. Jerome*, *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, and several others. *Epius* and some of the moderns believe, that it was written in Greek, 1. because the Citations there cited follow the Septuagint, and not the Hebrew; 2. because there is no probability that the Copy should be lost. These reasons are exceeding weak; for suppose the Citations are not to be charged upon the Interpreter, yet, why might not *St. Paul*, when he was writing in the Syriack Tongue, translate the Septuagint into that Language, rather than cite the Hebrew Text, since the Septuagint was more familiar to him? This may serve by way of answer to the first Reason. The second is yet weaker, for why might not the Hebrew Copy of this Epistle be lost, as well as the Original Hebrew of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*?

(h) But if *St. James* the Brother of the *Apostle St. Jude*, and Cousin of our Blessed Saviour,] This *James* is he, that is called in the Gospel the son of *Alphaeus*, for there were but two in all. He is called the Brother of our Lord, either because he was the Son of *Joseph* by another Wife, or because he was very nearly related to him.

(i) It was written from Babylon.] *Eusebius*, l. 2. c. 5. of his History says, that it is Rome that *St. Peter* calls *Babylon* in this place. Some have thought that *Papias* and *St. Clement*, cited by *Eusebius*, were of this opinion, but he does not cite them upon this Subject. *St. Jerome* received this opinion from *Eusebius*, and carried it farther with strong Reasons. Tho' after all this Interpretation is false, and it is more natural to say, that he wrote this Epistle from *Babylon*.

(j) *St. Peter* discovers himself so plainly there, that we cannot with the least colour attribute it to any other Author.] The Author of this Epistle tells us, that he was with *Jesus Christ* upon the Mountain, he calls *St. Paul* his Brother, and makes himself Author of a former Epistle written to the same Persons. Now all this agrees very well to *St. Peter*, and it is visible, that he, who composed it, was no Impostor. The Character of this Epistle is perfectly Apostolical, and the Style is not sensibly different from that of the first.

SECT. VI.

Of the Canon of the Books of the New Testament, and particularly of those Books that were formerly doubted of.

THE first Canon of the Holy Books of the *New Testament* was not composed by any Assembly, or by any one Person in particular, but by the Unanimous Consent of all the Churches, that were agreed upon the Authority of certain Books, and considered them as Sacred and Divine. 'Twas this Consent of all the Churches, that in the Primitive Times served for a Rule to distinguish the Canonical Books from those that were Doubtful and Supposititious. 'Tis in pursuance of this Rule that *Eusebius*, who is the first Man that made an exact Enquiry into these Matters, distinguishes three sorts of Books that belong in some manner to the *New Testament*. The first Class comprehends those four Gospels, the fourteen Epistles of *St. Paul*, if we except that of the *Hebrews*, (which some Authors did not number amongst the rest, because they supposed it was not *St. Paul's*), and the first Epistles of *St. Peter* and *St. John*. The second Class comprehends those, that having not been received by the whole Catholic Church, yet nevertheless were looked upon by some as Canonical Books, and cited as Books of Scripture by Ecclesiastical Authors. But this Class does yet branch it self into two Divisions, for some of these Books have been since received by all the Churches, and acknowledged for Genuine, such as the Epistle of *St. James*, the Epistle of *St. Jude*, the second Epistle of *St. Peter*, the second and third Epistle of *St. John*. The other on the contrary have been universally rejected, either as Spurious, or unworthy to be placed in the number of Canonical Books, though they might otherwise be useful enough, such as the Book of the *Pastor*, the Epistle of *St. Barnabas*, the Gospel according to the *Aegyptians*, another according to the *Hebrews*, the Acts of *St. Paul*, the Revelation of *St. Peter*. In short, the last Class contains those Books that were devised by the Hereticks, and were always disowned by the Church, such as the Gospels of *St. Thomas* and of *St. Peter*, &c. As for what concerns the *Apocalypse*, of which we have not as yet discoursed, *Eusebius* observes, that some Persons place it in the first Class, that is to say, in the number of those Books that are unquestionably Canonical, and that others reckon it amongst the Books of the second Class.

This observation of *Eusebius*, which is confirmed by the Testimonies of the Ancients, whom he cites in several places of his History, shews, that the Canon of the Books of the *New Testament* was almost the very same in all Times: For although there were some of the Epistles of the Apostles, that at first were not received by an Unanimous Consent of all Churches, yet they were always considered as Books of great Authority, and soon after they received the same Authority with the rest. This is confirmed by the ancient Catalogues of the Holy Books of the *New Testament*, where the Books, which we receive at present, are comprised: You will find all of them, except the Revelation, in the Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, by *St. Cyril of Jerusalem* follows. They are all received by *St. Athanasius*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, by *Ambrosiaster*, the Council of *Carthage*, the Council at *Rome*, by *Pope Innocent*, and all the other Greek and Latin Authors since *Eusebius*. They are all cited as Holy Books by those Authors that lived nearest the time of the Apostles. In short, 'tis beyond Controversie, as we have already demonstrated above, that these Books were written by those Persons, whose Names they bear: The Epistles themselves that were formerly questioned, contain nothing disagreeable to the Faith and Doctrine contained in the other Books, that have been received and acknowledged by all the Churches from the beginning.

The Epistle to the *Hebrews* has been received as Canonical, with the Consent of almost all Churches. They were only a few Latines that question'd its Authority, because they did not believe it to be written by *St. Paul*: But although it was not composed by him, which is not probable, as we have already shewn, yet it ought nevertheless to pass for Canonical, it being a constantly received Tradition, that it was written by one of his Disciples, and that it was owned by almost all the Churches of the World, as it appeared in publick. It is cited by *Clement Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, by *Clement Alexandrinus*, by *Tertullian* and *Origen*, by *St. Cyprian*, and all those that came after, as a Writing undoubtedly Canonical. We cannot find out the particular Author, that questioned the Epistle of *St. James* as doubtful; it is cited by all the Ancients, and placed in the number of Canonical Books in all the Catalogues that we have. The same Observation may be made upon the second Epistle of *St. Peter*, which was certainly written by that Author,

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as we have elsewhere shown. It is cited by *St. Austin*, by *Origen*, and by many other ancient Writers. The Epistle of *St. Jude* was rejected by some, not because they had any lawful Grounds to doubt that *St. Jude* was the Author of it, but only because there is a Citation out of the Book of *Enoch* to be found there: And yet notwithstanding that, it was set down in the ancient Catalogues of the Books of the *New Testament*, and it has been cited, by *Tertullian*, by *Clement Alexandrinus*, by *Origen*, by *St. Cyprian*, by *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, and by several other Authors. *St. Jerome* tells us, that although several rejected it, by reason of the Citation out of the Book of *Enoch*, yet it was received in his time, because it was ancient, and approved by the usage of the Church. *Augustine* also writes, *Ep. 18. ad Rom.* The two last Epistles of *St. John* being very short, and containing nothing that is disagreeable to what we find in the first, cannot occasion any difficulty. They are written without question by the Author of the first, as may plainly be proved by the likeness of style: The second is cited by *St. Jerome* in his first Book, ch. 12. and in the third Book, chap. 18. by *Tertullian*, by *Origen*, by *St. Dionysius of Alexandria*, and by many others. In a word, they are both of them reckoned in the number of Canonical Books in all the ancient Catalogues of the Volumes of the *New Testament*.

Nothing more remains for me to discourse of but the *Apocalypse*, which some of the Ancients, according to the Testimony of *Eusebius*, placed in the rank of indubitable Books, others in the number of doubtful Books, or rather spurious. It was rejected by *Caius* an ancient Priest of *Rome*, who attributed it to the Heretic *Cerinthus*, as *Eusebius* testifies in the third Book of his History, chap. 28. On the contrary, *St. Irenaeus*, *Origen*, *St. Cyprian*, *Clement Alexandrinus*, and *Tertullian*, cite it in abundance of places, and attribute it to *St. John* the Evangelist. *St. Dionysius of Alexandria* observes, that several Persons before him disowned and confuted the *Apocalypse* as a Book full of Fictions and Falsities, but that many others approved of it; that as for himself he durst not presume to reject it, that he believed it had a hidden meaning, but that he was fully persuaded it was not written by *St. John*, as he endeavours to prove, by several Reasons. *St. Jerome* tells us in his 129th Epistle, that in his time the greater part of the Greek Churches did not receive this Book; no more than the *Larini* did the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, but that he received both the one and the other, not minding the Custom of his own Time, but the Authority of the Ancients. *Ambrosiastus* also observes, that in his time some received it, but that there were great numbers that rejected it, and indeed it is not to be found, as we have already taken notice in the Catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, nor in that of *St. Cyril*. But it has been since acknowledged by the Greek and Latin Churches, and cited by *St. Epiphanius*, by *St. Chrysostom*, by *St. Ambrose*, by *St. Hilary*, by *St. Jerome*, by *St. Austin*, and by all that have written since. It was reckoned amongst the Canonical Books by the Council of *Carthage*, by the Roman Council under *Gelasius*, and by Pope *Innocent*. The fourth Council of *Toledo* held in the year 633, in the sixteenth Canon has determined, That it was written by *St. John*, and that it ought to be placed in the number of the Holy Books. And the Council of *Trent*, by whose Decisions we ought to be determined, reckons it amongst the Canonical Books of the *New Testament*.

We ought here to discourse a little concerning the Apocryphal Books of the *New Testament*, that were forged either by the Catholics or Heretics. But these not being of the number of Canonical Books, ought to be ranged amongst the Books of the Ecclesiastical Writers: Wherefore we will now begin our Library of Ecclesiastical Authors with them.

1. *Evangelium secundum Marcionem*. Marcion, a native of Pontus, a Heretic of the second Century, who rejected the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, *St. Luke*, and *St. John*, and only retained the Gospel of *St. Paul*, which he altered and corrected according to his own notions. This Gospel was written in the year 140, and was the first of the Apocryphal Books that appeared. It was rejected by the Council of *Neocaesarea* in the year 315, and by the Council of *Laodicea* in the year 363. It was also rejected by the Council of *Carthage* in the year 418, and by the Council of *Trent* in the year 1545.

2. *Evangelium secundum Thomas*. This Gospel was written in the year 140, and was the second of the Apocryphal Books that appeared. It was rejected by the Council of *Neocaesarea* in the year 315, and by the Council of *Laodicea* in the year 363. It was also rejected by the Council of *Carthage* in the year 418, and by the Council of *Trent* in the year 1545.

3. *Evangelium secundum Philippos*. This Gospel was written in the year 140, and was the third of the Apocryphal Books that appeared. It was rejected by the Council of *Neocaesarea* in the year 315, and by the Council of *Laodicea* in the year 363. It was also rejected by the Council of *Carthage* in the year 418, and by the Council of *Trent* in the year 1545.

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BIBLIOTHECA PATRUM

OR, A

New Ecclesiastical History

OF THE

First three Centuries of CRISTIANITY.

CONTAINING

An Account of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the Primitive FATHERS, with Censures upon all their BOOKS, determining which are Genuine, and which Spurious.

Of the Letter supposed to be sent by Jesus Christ to King Agbarus, and of that of Agbarus to Jesus Christ.

Eusebius gives us an Account in the first Book of his History, of a certain King of *Edessa* (a), named *Agbarus* (b), who having heard the report of the Miracles that were wrought by Jesus Christ, sent a Letter to him, the purport whereof was, To treat him to Cure a Distemper with which he was afflicted: And that our Saviour did not then grant his Request, but wrote a Letter back to him, wherein he promised to send one of his Disciples to heal him: and lastly, that *St. Thomas* the Apostle, immediately after the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, deputed *Thaddaeus* one of the 72 Disciples, who went and performed the Promise that had been made by our Saviour to Cure his Disease, and at the same time Converted him, together with his whole Family. *Eusebius* grounds this Story upon the Letters of Jesus Christ and Agbarus, which were taken out of the Archives of the Church of *Edessa*, which he likewise produceth Translated out of Syriack into Greek. Now it is probable, that *Eusebius* credited those Records that were exhibited to him too easily, as also, that these Letters are forged, and that this whole History is fabulous. For first, how can it be imagined that the King of *Edessa*, upon the bare rehearsal of the Miracles of Jesus Christ, should address himself to him, as one that was convinced of his Divinity, and instructed in the Principles of his Religion: Having heard (says he) of the Miracles which thou hast wrought, I am persuaded that thou art God, or the Son of God. It is evident, that these words could not be written but by a Person already perverted and trained up in the Doctrine of Christianity, who makes Agbarus speak almost the same Expressions as he himself would have used on the like occasion. The following Words that are likewise attributed to this King, viz. *Thou being informed, that the Jews said Sinners for Jesus Christ, he designed to molest them, and imposed him to come to his City, which although it were small, might be sufficient for them both*, more clearly demonstrate the falshood of this Letter: For who can believe, that a King should offer the Moiety of his Kingdom at once to a Man that was altogether unknown to him?

Neither is it more difficult to discover the forging of the other Letter that is attributed to Jesus Christ, beginning with these words, *Thou art happy, Agbarus, for having believed in me, without seeing me, for it is written of me, That they that see me shall not believe in me, to the end, that they that believe on me without seeing me may receive Eternal Life*. To what purpose are these Words written? Is it not apparent, that he that composed this Letter alludes to the expression of Jesus Christ to *St. Thomas*, *Happy are they that have not seen and yet have believed*? Which Words being not spoken by our Saviour till after his Resurrection, nor written till a long time after, it evidently appears that this Letter is counterfeit.

(a) *Edessa*. This is a famous City, situated by the River *Euphrates*, between Syria and Mesopotamia. It is called in some ancient Metals, by its Greek Name, *Agbarus*, in the most correct Manuscripts, and is pronounced to be *Agbarus*. Others read *Agbarus*, and

The Letters of Jesus Christ and Agbarus.

The History, which is afterwards produced concerning these two Letters, and taken from the same Author, is no less fabulous. It is reported that *Jesus the Apostle* (c), who is also called *Thomas*, sent *Mathias* the Apostle, one of the 72 Disciples, to King *Agrippa*; That this Prince, being informed that there was a Man in his City that wrought many Miracles, and doubting whether he were not the Disciple whom *Jesus Christ* had promised to send, gave orders to one named *Tobias* to bring him into his Presence: And that he had no sooner seen him, but his Countenance seeming to him to be Divine, he prostrated himself at his Feet to worship him, desiring to know, whether he were that Disciple whom *Jesus Christ* had promised to send to cure his Dilemper. *Thaddæus* having answered that he was, and that he believed in *Jesus Christ*, he should be given. *Agrippa* replied, I have believed so firmly in *Jesus Christ*, I intended to give him *Freedom* from the Jews who Christified him, and utterly to destroy that Nation; if the fear of the Roman Empire had not deterred me from this Undertaking. Certainly the Person (whoever he be) that caused this petty Prince of *Edessa* to utter these Words, was endued with very little judgment, in ascribing to him a Design so extravagant as this; for it is not an egregious piece of folly to imagine, that a Prince only of one single City should undertake to maintain a War against a Nation so powerful as that of the *Jews*, and should hope to destroy it, to revenge the Death of a Man, whom he knew only by hearsay: What probability is there, that nothing but the fear of the *Romans* was able to divert him from his rash Attempt? I shall not proceed to make any Reflection on the other Circumstances of this Relation, which appear to be no less fabulous than those that we have even now recited: I shall only add, that the time wherein it is affirmed that those Occurrences happened, shews this whole History to be Supposititious. They take notice at the end of the Record, that these Things were Translated in the 430th Year of the *Edessan* Nation, now the 40th Year of the *Edessan* is the 18th of *Tiberius*, in which the Ancients believed that *Jesus Christ* died and rose again. And we must say according to this *Epocha*, and what we find recorded in the *Acts*, that this happened immediately after our Saviour's Resurrection, and that *Agrippa*, and several other Gentiles of *Edessa*, received the Gospel before *Paulinus*, which is plainly contrary to the *Acts of the Apostles*; and consequently we may be certain that this History is false, and that these Letters are forged. The Authority of *Eusebius* is not to be regarded in this case; since it is evident, that he hath too rashly given credit to the Memorials that were transmitted to him, taken from the Archives of the Church of *Edessa*. And none can be ignorant, that this sort of Records ought not too much to be relied on, especially with respect to Histories of such a nature.

But to say that these Fables are always augmented in process of time, it hath been likewise feigned that *Jesus Christ*, in writing to *Agrippa*, sent him his Picture drawn on an Handkerchief. *Eusebius* is the first that takes notice of this Epistle in Book IV. Chap. 27. of his History, relying on the Authority of *Proculus*, who nevertheless takes no notice of this Relation. However since the time of *Eusebius*, the Decades of Image-Worship have often cited it, and the modern Greeks so firmly believed it, that they keep a Festival on the 16th of *August* in Commemoration thereof.

(c) That Jude the Apostle, who is also called *Thomas*; which is a farther Proof of the Falseness of this History. *Thomas* the Apostle was not named *Jude*, but *Didymus*, and *Jude* the Apostle was not called *Thomas*.

Of some Letters attributed to the Virgin Mary.

There are several Letters likewise ascribed to the Virgin *Mary*, which being not so ancient as those of *Jesus Christ* to *Agrippa*, may more easily be proved to be false; the Letter of the Virgin *Mary* to *St. Ignatius* is supposititious, as we shall hereafter take an occasion to mention in discussing concerning the Epistles of that Saint. That to the *Florentines* published by *Cassius*, as well as another which the *Monks* of *Mellina* pretend to keep in their Possession, have more evident Marks of their Falseness, and are generally rejected; inasmuch that there is no necessity to prove them to be Apocryphal.

Of the Counterfeit Gospels.

Nothing more clearly evinces the truth of this Maxim of Holy Scripture, *That the Father of Lies often changes himself into an Angel of Light*, than the great number of Books that have been heretofore forged in imitation of the Sacred Writings. For as the Holy Ghost hath caused Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and a Revelation to be written, so in like manner the Devil to counterfeit the Truth, hath procured several Gospels, Acts, Revelations, and Epistles, to be devised by his Ministers, which have also been attributed to the Apostles. To begin with the

Gospels, besides the four that are Canonical and true, there were in the Primitive Ages of the Church several others that were fictitious and substituted in their room as well by the Heretics as by some Catholics.

Among these last, we may reckon the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, and that according to the *Hebrews* which though spurious; yet have been quoted by Catholic Authors as Works composed by the Orthodox. The Gospel according to the *Egyptians* is cited by (a) *Clement*, *Alexander*, and also by *Epiphanius* (b), who declares, that the *Sabellians* made use of this Gospel to confirm their Error, because it contain'd divers Mythical Expressions concerning *Jesus Christ*, some of which might perhaps be applied by them to prove, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost were but one Person.

The Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, written (as it is reported by *St. Jerome*) in the Syriac Tongue with *Hebrew* Characters, is as yet more remarkable among the Antiquaries. It is quoted by *Epiphanius* (c), by *Irenæus* (d), by *Clement*, *Alexander* (e), and by *Origen* in several places, particularly in his Eighth Treatise on *St. Matthew*, where he produced a considerable Fragment of it, if it be *St. Jerome* (g) translated it into Greek and Latin, as he has often told us, observing likewise in the same place, that some were of opinion, that this Gospel was the Original of *St. Matthew's*, which was reputed to have been written in *Hebrew*; nevertheless, it is certain, that the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* was different from that of *St. Matthew*, as well on the account, that all those things which are related by the Ancient Writers concerning this Gospel, and among others the History of the Woman accused before *Jesus Christ* (h) are not to be found in *St. Matthew's* Gospel, as in regard, that they are clearly distinguished by *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome*, who had a perfect knowledge of both those Gospels: Add to this, that *St. Jerome* translated the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, whereas the Author of the Version of the Old Testament are cited according to the *Hebrew Text*; whereas *St. Matthew* in his last followers the Translation of the Septuagint. This Gospel is not different from that which is called by *Origen* the Gospel of the Twelve, nor from the Gospel of the *Nazarenes*, as appears from the Testimony of *St. Jerome*, by whom they are often confounded: Moreover the *Ethiopes* made use thereof to prove their Doctrine.

Besides these two Gospels so often cited by the ancient Writers, that are lost, there is yet extant a Book, Entitled, *Proto-Evangelium Jacobi*, published by *Nlander*, and inferred in the *Orthodoxographia*. This Book is full of idle Tales and frivolous Relations concerning (i) the Nativity, Life, and Delivery of the Virgin *Mary*; The Gospel of *Nicodemus* likewise, annexed to that of *St. James* in the same

(a) Quoted by *St. Clement's* Stromat. Lib. 3. pag. 452. *St. Clement* cites an Expression of *Jesus Christ* to *Salome*, taken from this Gospel: I am come to destroy the Works of the Woman, and by the Woman he understands Concupiscence. Moreover, in pag. 465. after having produced another passage on the same subject, cited by the Heretic *Cassianus*, he replies, first, that it is not found in the four Gospels that are acknowledged by us, and afterward endeavours to apply a good sense to it.

(b) By *St. Epiphanius*. Heref. 26. The *Valentinians* likewise made use of this Gospel.

(c) By *Hegesippus*. In *Eusebius*, Lib. 4. chap. 22.

(d) By *St. Ignatius*. In this Epistle to the *Inhabitants of Smyrna*, where he cites two passages that are observed by *St. Jerome* in the first is, *In carne cum patre Jesum vidi*, & *Joachim*; I saw him in the flesh after his Resurrection, and I know that he is. The second is this, *Palpatæ, quia non sum demonium incorpore*; Handle me, and you shall perceive that I am not a phantom without a body.

(e) By *St. Clement*. Stromat. Lib. 2. pag. 380. where we read this Sentence, *ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς*, & *βαπτιστὴς ἀντὶ τῆς σαρκὸς*.

(f) Wherin he produces a considerable fragment. It is a passage that contains the Answer of *Jesus Christ* to the rich young Man mention'd in *St. Mark's* Gospel, chap. 10. and in *St. Luke*, chap. 18. express'd in other words. Moreover *Origen* in his Eleventh Tome upon *St. John*, cites another passage of this Gospel, wherein the Holy Ghost is call'd the Mother of *Christ*.

(g) *St. Jerome* quotes it very often in his Catalogue Ignat. & *once James*, Lib. 2. in *Matth*, chap. 7. and 12. Lib. 3. contra *Pelagianus*.

(h) The History of a Woman accused before *Jesus Christ*. *Eusebius*, in Hist. Lib. 3. declares, that the History of the Adulterous Woman was recorded in this Gospel. Moreover *St. Jerome* affirms, that it was related therein; that *Jesus Christ* appear'd to *St. James*, who had bound himself with an Oath not to eat, until he had seen our Saviour risen from the dead; and in his Third Book against the *Pelagians*, he informs us, that it was written in this Gospel, that the Mother of our Lord, and of *St. John* the Baptist spoke to him thus: *John* the Baptist baptizeth for the remission of sins, let us go and be baptized; and *Jesus Christ* replied to them, *Have I found, than I should go and be baptized?*

(i) This Book is full of idle Tales and frivolous Relations. Here's a Specimen of the Fables contain'd in the *Protoevangelium Jacobi*. *Joachim* was selected among the Nations of the Twelve Tribes, *Beniamin* adorned him, that he was not lawful for him to offer *Jacrifices*, because he had no spouse, whereupon he retir'd for grief into the Wilderness, and walked there as day. He mourned, and his servants faithfully attend'd him. He took a Laurel Tree, & baptiz'd his wife, & his Garden, where he laboured, that he was not like unto a Bird that had a Nest in the Laurel Tree. The Angel appear'd unto her, and told her; that she should have a Son; This Angel descended and delivered the same thing to *Joachim*; he beheld himself in the Place, or in the lap of the High-Priest, and saw not that he had sinned. The Virgin was able to go when she was five months old, she was led up by Angels in the Temple; she was married to *Joseph*, because a Dove flew out of a little Staff, that was given to him by the High-Priest. *St. Joseph* having perceived that she was with Child, caused her to drink the Water of Jealousy according to the Law, &c.

Letters of the Virgin Mary.

Counterfeit Gospel.

Counterfeit
Gospels.

and is exactly full of Fables relating to the Birth and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, as the former is of those that belong to the Life of the Virgin Mary.

However, although these Gospels are unworthy of Credit because they are so foolish, yet they do not contain any gross Errors, as those do that were forged by the Hereticks, nor part whereof now remains in our possession. Such were the Gospels ascribed to St. Peter, to St. Thomas, and to St. Matthias, mentioned by St. Jerome, Book 3. Chap. 23. as also those of St. Bartholomew, and of the twelve Apostles, cited by St. Jerome in his Preface to St. Matthew 1. The Gospel of Philip, which was that of the Gnosticks, (according to the Testimony of Epiphanius, Har. 16.) and was used by the Ebionites, Basilides, and others. The Gospel of Judas (instituted by the Gnosticks, who honoured that Enchanter, as St. Epiphanius and Theodoret assure us, when they speak of these Hereticks. And lastly, the Gospel of Pseudoth, Barnabas, and others; and those that were counterfeited by the Gnosticks, together with a Book concerning the Industry of Jesus Christ, and another relating to the Genealogy of the Virgin Mary, attributed to St. Matthew, and reckoned by Gelasius in the number of Apocryphal Writings that were used by Hereticks.

(b) *Epiphanius* full of Fables. Here's another specimen of the Fables received in the Gospel of Pseudoth, written for the purpose of showing that Jesus was crucified alive; and that he died in the manner against which the Jews and the Enigmas bowed their knees: before him. The History of the Ebionites is interesting with divers fables. Jesus Christ is made to answer Pilate's Question, What is Truth? No evidence is represented (speaking as also those whom our Saviour had healed) and the Woman that was cured of the issue of Blood is called *Prothia*. Moreover the Author of this Gospel describes the Resurrection of

Jesus Christ, adding many things concerning him, and introducing the deed that were called as his Resurrection, extending one another with absurd and impertinent Discourses, declaring, that they made the sign of the Cross, he introduces the Devil making very ridiculously concerning our Saviour's descent into Hell; And lastly, he feigns that after his Resurrection, Pilate having commanded the Jewish Priests to be brought to him, they acknowledged that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, and rehearsed several other Tales of the like nature.

Of the counterfeit Acts of the Apostles, and of the false Revelations.

Counterfeit
Acts of the
Apostles,
and false
Revelations.

INASMUCH as the Acts of St. Luke contain only a very small part of the Transactions of some of the Apostles, since he gives no account of the proceedings of all, neither doth he describe at large even all the Actions of those that are mentioned by him; They that applied themselves to the counterfeiting of these Records, were furnished with great variety of matter, wherein they might exercise their deceitful Arts. The first that practised this Artifice, was a certain Priest, and a Disciple of St. Paul, who being inflamed with a false Zeal for his Master, forged under the name of St. Luke the Acts of Paul and Thecla, and was convicted of this Impudence by St. John, as we are assured by *Tertullian*, and after him by St. Jerome. However, the simplicity of this ancient Priest might be more easily excused, in regard that he had no ill design; but we cannot but be seized with horror when we reflect on the enormous practices of the Hereticks, who have presumed to write the Acts of divers Apostles at their pleasure, wherein they have obtruded their detestable Errors. Such were the Acts of St. Peter and St. Paul devised by the Manichees, and mentioned by *Philastrius*; in which the Apostles were introduced, assuming, that the Souls of Men and of Beasts were of the same nature, and working Miracles to cause Dogs and Sheep to speak: The Acts of St. Andrew, of St. John, and of the Apostles in general, substituted by the same Hereticks, according to the Testimony of St. Epiphanius; *Philastrius*, and St. *Augustin* (a): The Acts of the Apostles counterfeited by the Ebionites, and cited by St. Epiphanius in his description of their Heresie: The Doctrine, Preaching, Voyages, and Disputes of St. Peter, falsely attributed to St. Clement, containing the Errors of the Ebionites, and the (b) History of St. Paul's being snatched up into Heaven, being a Work compiled by the Gnosticks; whereof the Gnosticks likewise made use, and St. Epiphanius assures us, Har. 6. The Acts of St. Philip, and of St. Thomas received among the Encratites; as is also observed by the same St. Epiphanius in Har. 47, and 61. The Memoirs of the Apostles invented by the *Priscillianists*: The Itinerary of the Apostles reported in the second Council of *Nice*, Art. 5. to which may be added several false Relations, as that of the Loss of the Apostles rejected in the Decretal: The Writings of the Apostles compiled by *Dionysius*, and disallowed in the Synod of *Braga*, chap. 17. A Book of the Priesthood of Jesus Christ, cited by *Suidas*, the Author whereof pretended to prove that our Saviour was descended from the Tribe of *Levi*, and that he was reckoned by the Jews among the Priests: A

Counterfeit
Acts of the
Apostles,
and false
Revelations.

Tract, intitled, *Liber Apostolicus*, which was a Rhapsody devised by *Marcion*, and whereof St. Epiphanius makes mention: And a Book concerning the Death and Assumption of the Virgin Mary, ascribed to St. John; as also the Interrogations of the Blessed Virgin composed by the Gnosticks, together with another Book, concerning her Genealogy, published by the same Authors.

Lastly, there are several counterfeit Apocalypses or Revelations, as the Revelations of the great Apostle forged by *Cerinthus*: The Apocalypse of St. Peter, which *Augustinus* in Book 3, chap. 25, of his History reckons in the number of those spurious Books that are not Heretical, and which (as *Sozomen* affirms) was read every year about the time of *Eusebius* in the Churches of *Palestine*. And the Revelation, or the Secrets of St. Paul, which was heretofore very much esteemed by the Monks: The Egyptian (according to the Testimony of *Sozomen*) boasted that they had it in their possession, and it is inserted in the Catalogue of Apocryphal Books by *Gelasius*, together with the Revelations of St. Thomas and St. Stephen. None of these Books are now extant, neither ought we to be troubled for their loss.

Of the Epistle to the Laodiceans, and some others attributed to St. Paul.

BESIDES the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, some of the ancient Writers have likewise cited one directed to the *Laodiceans*, and indeed we have at present an Epistle mentioned by St. *Augustinus*, *Sextus Senensis*, and *Strapollensis*, which is inserted in some German Bibles (a), and is written in St. Paul's Name to the *Laodiceans*. It is not certain whether this be the same with that which was used when St. Jerome lived (b), however it is evident, that that which we now have in our possession, doth not appertain to St. Paul (c), and that that which was extant in St. Jerome's time, was generally rejected; as he declares in his Catalogue, *ab omnibus expulsum*. That which gave occasion to the forging of this Letter (as is observed by *Theodoret*) is, that St. Paul at the end of his Epistle to the *Colossians*, exhorts them to cause the Epistle that he had sent to them to be read by the *Laodiceans*, and to read among themselves that from *Laodicea*; this hath induced some to believe, that there was an Epistle written to the *Laodiceans* at the same time with that to the *Colossians*; and this also gave *Marcion* the opportunity of altering the Title of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, and giving it the name of the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*. But this error is founded on the ignorance of the Greek expression; for no mention is made in this place of any Epistle of St. Paul to the *Laodiceans*; but of one written from *Laodicea*. Some are of opinion that this is the Epistle to *Timothy*, which they imagine to have been written from that City. But it may be much more probably affirmed with St. *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Prosius*, and *Occumenius*, that it was an Epistle written to St. Paul from *Laodicea*, by the Christians of that City, and for this Reason it is called in the Vulgar Translation the Epistle of the *Laodiceans*.

Moreover, as it hath been concluded from this place in the Epistle to the *Colossians* mis-interpreted, that St. Paul wrote a Letter to the *Laodiceans*; so in like manner some have inferred, that he wrote a third Epistle to the Christians of *Corinth*, from a Passage taken out of his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, ch. 5, v. 9, 10, and 11. viz. I wrote unto you an Epistle, not to company with Fornicators, &c. But (as St. *Chrysostom* observes) this Epistle is the very same that he then wrote, and the sense is, When I even now wrote unto you in this Letter, not to keep company with Fornicators, I do not mean the Fornicators of this World.

(a) *Inferred in some German Bibles.* It was published in Latin by *Pistorius*, and afterwards inserted in the German Bibles printed at *Augsburg*, *Worms*, and *Amsterdam*; [Particularly in those Bibles which *Eliaz Hutterius* set out in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and German, in Quarto.]

(b) *Whether this be the same as that which was used when St. Jerome lived?* That which gives occasion to doubt, whether this Epistle be the same with that which was published heretofore, is that *Philastrius*

affirms in chap. 88. That that which was extant in his time contained several Errors; and there are none in that which we now have. Moreover, that which is cited by St. Epiphanius was composed out of several Sentences of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*.

(c) *That which we now have in our possession doth not appertain to St. Paul.* It is not conformable to the Style of St. Paul; it is extremely concise, even shorter than that to *Philemon*, neither hath it any one particular Subject.

(a) *Philastrius*, Har. 48. Epiph. 47. and St. *Aug. Lib. de fide contra Manich.*

(b) In Greek *εναβαστος Παύλου*: This might admit divers significations, but St. Epiphanius determines it to signify an Account of St. Paul's being

lifted up to Heaven. It contained abstruse Matters, and seemed to be the same with the Secret or Revelation of St. Paul. St. *Augustin* quotes this Book in *Joan. Tract.* 98.

Of the Epistle of St. Barnabas.

The Epistle of St. Barnabas.

Of St. Barnabas, a Disciple of the Apostles, and the Son of Confession (4), who was one of the first Disciples of the Christian Religion. Some of the ancient Writers (5) affirm, that he was one of the 72 Disciples of Jesus Christ; but St. Luke makes mention of him after such a manner, as induceth us rather to believe, that he was not admitted into the Fellowship of the Apostles until after our Saviour's Death. However it be, it is evident, that ever since that time he hath been reputed as one of the principal Preachers of the Gospel, and was deservedly reckoned in the number of the Apostles. We have no certain account of his Life, but only what we find set down by St. Luke in the Acts.

He hath written (6) an Epistle, which is full of Edification for the Church, although it be not Canonical: This Epistle is often cited by St. Clement Alexandrinus (d) and Origen (e), who do not in the least doubt, but that it belongs to him whose Name it bears. It is true indeed that Eusebius and St. Jerome place it in the Rank of Apocryphal Books (f), nevertheless they do not deny that it was written by St. Barnabas; on the contrary they attribute it to him, declaring only, that it ought not to be reckoned of the same Authority as the Canonical Books, because although it really belongs to St. Barnabas, yet it is not generally received by the whole Catholic Church.

And it is upon this account, that this Epistle is not amongst the Canonical Writings, because to call a Book to be placed in this Rank, is not only sufficient, that it was composed by an Apostle, or a Disciple of the Apostles, but it is likewise requisite, that it should be received as Canonical throughout all the Churches of Christ; otherwise the Treatise of Hermas, and the Epistle of St. Clement, ought also to be inserted in the Catalogue of Canonical Books. Therefore, a very weak Argument, to affirm, that the Epistle of St. Barnabas doth not appertain to this Apistle, because that if it were certainly his, it would have been reckoned in the number of the Canonical Writings; (since before a Book can be reckoned as Canonical, it is necessary, whoever is the Author thereof, that it should be acknowledged by the whole Church; because there are Books written by the Apostles, or their Disciples, that were not heretofore, and are not as yet placed in the Rank of Canonical Writings, as we may see in the Catalogue of the same).

(a) That is to say, the Son of Confession. In Greek, *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἐξομολογίας*. The Son of Confession, or of Exhortation. Occumicus on the Acts, chap. 16. and Nehehem in his Martyrology follow the first Interpretation; but St. Jerome seems to embrace the latter.

(b) A Native of the Isle of Cyprus. This Island of Cyprus was full of Jews, and a very great number of them were misplaced therein under the Reign of the Emperor Trajan, according to the Testimony of Dio, Eusebius, and Origen.

(c) Amongst the ancient Writers. Those are St. Clement Alex. Strom. lib. 1. Epist. lib. 1. chap. 12. and lib. 2. chap. 1. St. Eusebius. Item, I. contra Heres. 3. Dorotheus. But venerable Bede rejects this Title, because St. Luke in the 4th Chapter of the Acts, declared that Barnabas was one of those that left the Price of the Lands, and other Possessions that were then sold to the Apostles' Feet; for though this doth not absolutely hinder, but that he might have been one of the Disciples of Jesus Christ; yet St. Luke seems thereby to signify, that this was the beginning of his Conversion to Christianity.

(d) By St. Clement Alexandrinus. Strom. lib. 1. p. 373, 377, 389, 390, and 410. Lib. 5. p. 571, 572, 577, and 578.

(e) Origen. Lib. 1. Com. Cellum, and Lib. 3. mē. dogon, and Eusebius, lib. 3. Hist. c. 25. Lib. 6. c. 13. and c. 14. Tertullian in his Book De Pudicitia tells us, that St. Barnabas's Epistle was more generally received by the Catholic Church than the Pastor. But he takes St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by St. Barnabas.

(f) In the Rank of Apocryphal Books. Eusebius divides the Apocryphal Books into three Ranks, the first contain those that come nearest to the Canonical

Writings, that is to say, those that are rejected by some, and received by others as Canonical, *ἐν μέσῳ ὧν ἔστι τινες πάλαι*. In the second are comprehended those Books that are not allowed as Canonical by any; but such as were not forged by Heretics, as those that belong to the third Rank.

The Epistle of St. Barnabas ought to be reckoned among the first of these sorts; at least among the second; which, although Apocryphal, may nevertheless belong to those to whom they are attributed; as the Book of the Pastor, and others. And although St. Jerome declares in his Epistle to Leta, that those Books are Apocryphal, that do not belong to the Authors whose Name they bear, yet he too often makes use of this Term in another signification. Now that Eusebius and St. Jerome believed that the Epistle of St. Barnabas was written by him, appears from hence that they constantly impute it to him; Eusebius, lib. 6. chap. 13. Item ex Barnaba, Clementis, & Jude Epist. lib. 1. It is certain, that he judged that the Epistles of St. Clement and St. Jude were really composed by those whose Names they bear; and in another place, Jude Epist. lib. 1. Item Barnaba Epist. lib. 1. & Revellatorem que dicitur Petri. Where he makes a particular Mark on this last Book, viz. That it is ascribed to St. Peter, but he doth not declare the same thing with respect to the Epistle of St. Barnabas; on the contrary, he barely affirms, that it is his, as the Epistle of St. Jude belongs to St. Jude. St. Jerome likewise speaks expressly to the same effect; Barnabas nam ad edificationem Ecclesie continetur Epistolam componi, que inter Apocrypha computatur. Which plainly shews, that he did not believe it to be Apocryphal, because of its being fully attributed to St. Barnabas, since on the contrary he himself imputes it to him, in affirming that it is Apocryphal.

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The Epistle of St. Barnabas.

tings; and on the contrary there are others, the Writers whereof are not certainly known, that have been formerly, and are now, inserted in the Canon of Holy Scripture, as in the New Testament, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Revelation; and several Books in the Old, the true Authors of which cannot be positively shewn. Besides, though it were true, that all Books are Canonical, which we know to have been written by Men who had Authority to make them so, yet who hath assured us, that St. Barnabas ought to be included in this number, rather than St. Clement, or Hermas? The Catholic Church hath a Right to declare it, and since she has not done it, this is a sufficient warrant to reckon his Epistle amongst the Apocryphal Writings, though it be really his.

Furthermore it hath been objected, that this Epistle is unworthy of St. Barnabas, and that it is not credible that so great an Apostle who was full of the Holy Ghost, and the Colleague of St. Paul, should be the Author of the most part of those things that are therein contained; such are the forced Allegories, the extravagant and incongruous Explications of Holy Scripture, the various Fables concerning Animals, and several other Conceits of the like nature that are comprised in the first Part of this Epistle. To this I answer, That notwithstanding these Defects, St. Clement, Origen, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, attributed it unto him; and I am of the opinion, that it is a very great piece of Impudence for any one to imagine himself to be more clear-sighted in this matter, than those exquisite Critics of Antiquity: They lived much nearer the time of the Apostles than we do: They had a great number of Books composed by their Disciples which are now lost; and consequently, they were more capable than we are of judging of the Style and manner of Writing of the Apostles, and their Companions and Disciples. If then they have found that the Allegories, Mystical Explications and Fables, that are found in the Epistle of St. Barnabas might be his, with what right can we positively assert, that they cannot be his? Certainly they must needs have but a very little knowledge of the Genius of the Jewish Nation, and of the Primitive Christians that were Educated in the Synagogue, who obstinately believe that their sort of Notions could not proceed from them; on the contrary, this was their Character: They had learned of the Jews to turn the whole Scripture into Allegory, and to make Remarks on the peculiar Properties of those Living Creatures that were prohibited to be eaten; therefore it is not to be admired that St. Barnabas, being by Nation a Jew, and writing to his own Countrymen, hath allegorically explained divers Passages of the Old Testament, in applying them to the New, and found out several Moral Reflections upon the Properties of those Creatures that were not permitted to be eaten by the Jews. The Epistle of St. Clement Romanus, and the Stromata of St. Clement Alexandrinus, are full of this kind of Allegories and Figurative Expressions. The History of the phoenix, related by St. Clement in his Epistle to the Corinthians, so much celebrated among the Primitive Christians, seems to be more Fabulous than that which is alleged by St. Barnabas in this Epistle concerning the Properties of certain Animals; and the Allegory of the Blood of Jesus Christ typified by the Scarlet Thread of the Harlot Rahab, in the Epistle of St. Clement Romanus, is as far fetched as the greatest part of those of St. Barnabas. But what necessity is there to produce farther Proofs of a Matter of Fact that is so evident, since it is sufficiently known to all Men, that the Writings of the Primitive Christians are generally full of such Fables and Allegories?

Lastly, the Author of this Epistle is accused for representing the Apostles as the most flagitious Persons in the World before their Conversion; but his Words have been taken in too strict and literal a sense, for he intended not to say, that they were the wickedest Men in the World, but only that they were great Sinners (g).

It is not known to whom the Epistle of St. Barnabas is directed, because we want the Title; it appears from the Body of this Letter, that it was written to some converted Jews that adhered too much to the Law of Moses: It is divided into two Parts, in the first of which he shews the unprofitableness of the Old Law, and the necessity of the Incarnation and Death of Jesus Christ, producing divers passages of Scripture relating to the Ceremonies and Precepts of the Old Law, which he explains Allegorically when he applies them to our Saviour and the New Law: The second Part comprehends particular Moral Instructions, containing several Rules and Directions concerning what ought to be done, and what ought to be avoided.

This Epistle was first published (h) in Greek, together with the ancient Version by Menardus, and this Edition was printed at Paris by Piget in the Year 1645.

Afterwards the famous Dr. Isaac Vossius caused it to be reprinted with the Epistles of St. Ignatius revised and corrected from three Manuscripts, Anno Dom. 1646.

Lastly, Cotelerius published it, adding a new Translation à Regione, together with the old Version, entire, and certain Critical Remarks at the end. It is prefixed at the beginning of his Collection of the Works of the ancient Fathers, printed at Paris by Peir, Anno 1672.

(g) That they were great Sinners. (g) Thus the following Words ought to be interpreted, *Super omnes peccatum peccatores*. Many very devout Persons have often used this Phrase, *I am the greatest Sinner that ever lived in the World*, and other Expressions of the like nature, which are not to be understood Literally.

(h) Was first published in Greek, &c. It is said, that there was an older Edition than Menardus's printed in England by the order of the Learned Usher, but that the whole Impression was burnt. We may add

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to these, another Edition of this Epistle published by Moderns in Germany at Hildesheim. [There have been two other Editions of this Epistle, one at Osem 1681 in Dutch, wherein all that is in the old Latin Version that is not in the Greek, as also all that is in the Greek that is not in the old Version, is printed with Red Letters: Lastly, Mr. Le Moine has set it out in his Paris Sacra with large Comments at Leyden, in Quarto, 1685.]

The

The Litur-
gies of the
Apostles.

The Liturgies of the Apostles.

(n) **P**y all those that have written concerning Liturgies: Gregorius Papa, lib. 7. Eccl. 63. et Joan. Syreus. Nam Apollonius scripsit, ut in ipsius Alameda Synaxarum dicitur. Hic est officium consueverunt. Walahisidrus Strabo de Reb. Eccles. Cap. 3. Quid novum agimus multiplici orationum, cantilenarum, & confessionum officio, totum hoc Apollini, & populi ipso, ut creditur, proximi orationibus, commemoramus Passione Dominica, sine ipsis preceptis, agebant, simpliciter profitebantur de hinc Reliquie amplius alia sunt a Christi calvaribus Officiis Misarum. Remigius Altifiodorensis de Celest. Miss. Lib. 1. Nam Missam B. Petrus Apollus

primum omnia Antiochie dicitur celebrasse, in quâ tres septuaginta cratices in initio diei proferbantur, incipientes ab eo loco ubi dicitur, Hanc igitur oblationem. See Stephan. Augustind. de Sacramento Altaris, cap. 20. Benno. Aug. de Off. Miss. c. 1. Rupert. Tuit. Lib. 2. de divi. Off. c. 1. Hug. de S. Vidor. de Divi. Lib. 2. Cap. 11. Honorat. Augustind. in Gemm. An. Lib. 1. Durand. de Mende Rat. Off. Lib. 4. Cap. 1. Radulphus Tongrenf. de Canon. Obfervat. S. Antonin. in Summ. Mag. Tir. 13. cap. 5. Colland. de Liturg. c. 18. *Polydore Virgil, and others that have treated of Rituals, and of the Ceremonies of the Mass.*

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The Litur-
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Apostles.

Of the Apostles Creed.

Of the Apo-
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(d) *The Etymology of the Word Symbol, is yet more uncertain.]* The Greek Word *Σύμβολον*, properly signifies a *Note, Sign, or Mark*; therefore the Mystical Signs and Notes of *Pythagoras* were called *Σύμβολα Πυθαγόρου*. *Herodotus* uses the Word to denote a Military Signal. Other Authors, as *Dion Cassius*, and *Sextonius* apply it to signify Signs or Marks, and certain Tickets that were given to those that were to be admitted to public Shows, and for the distribution of Large

Some say, that the Word *Symbolum* among the *Latins* signifies an Entertainment, where every one pays his Club, or even the Club is self; But this does not belong to the Neuter *Symbolum*; but to the Feminine *Symbola*, and in Greek *Συμβολα*, as may be seen in *Aristophanes's* Scholiast, in *Athenæus* and *Plutarch*; therefore it ought to be read in *Terence's* *Andria*, *Symbolum* *aditum* and not *Symbolum*. *Aulus Gellius*, lib. 6. c. 1. makes use of the Word *Symbola* to signify one Man's share in a Reckoning, and declares, that this Term was also attributed to those Questions that were Expounded by *Taurus* the Philosopher in the Presence of divers Persons. *St. Cyprian* in the Epistle that he applied the Word *Symbolum* to, calls it a *Communio* or *Abbas* for the Christian Faith, *Epi. ad Episcopos*, calls the Heretics, *Antipodas*, and *Opusculi*, calls the *Heretics*, *Antipodas*. The Defectors of the true *Symbol*, alluding to a Military Signal. And, and to the same effect, *St. Chrysostom*, in *Hom. 62.* declares, That the *Symbol* is the Covenant that we make with God in Baptism.

Creed

Creed is so called, because it is as it were the distinguishing Mark and Character of Christians (e); others, because it was composed of the Sentences of several Persons; and lastly others, on the account of its being made in a general Conference.

However, although it is an Opinion established on very good grounds, that this Creed was made by the Apostles, and it cannot be denied, that they all preached and taught the Articles therein contained after one and the same manner, as the main Points of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, in which it was necessary that all Christians should be instructed; yet it may be justly doubted without incurring the imputation of rashness, whether they were assembled together to compose this Creed, and whether they wrote it word for word, as it is now received in the Church of Rome; nay there are very weighty Reasons, whereby it appears, that this Opinion, though commonly received, is nevertheless very improbable.

For first, neither St. Luke in the *Acts*, nor any Ecclesiastical Author before the Fifth Century hath made any mention of this Assembly of the Apostles, and none ever affirmed, that they composed the Creed of the Church of Rome, either by conferring together, or by pronouncing every one a particular Article.

Secondly, the Fathers of the Three first Ages disputing against the Heresicks, endeavour to demonstrate by many Arguments, that the Doctrine contained in the Creed, is that of the Apostles, but they do not affirm, that it was compiled by them; and yet there could not have been a stronger, or more convincing proof brought against those Heretics, than to have laid thus to them; You impugn the Doctrine of the Creed, and yet it is certain, that the Apostles were the Authors thereof, therefore you impugn the Doctrine of the Apostles. However they did not argue after this manner; On the contrary they prove by Tradition, and the Consent of the Apostolical Churches, that the Doctrine comprised in the Creed, is that of the Apostles.

Thirdly, if the Apostles had made a Creed, it would have been every where the same throughout all Churches, and in all Ages; all Christians would have learnt it by heart; all Churches would have repeated it after the very same manner; in fine, all Authors would have expressed it in the same terms. Now the contrary is evident; for it is certain, that not only in the second and third Centuries, but also in the fourth, there were many Creeds, and all, though the same as to the Doctrine, yet differed in the Expression. In the second and third Ages of the Church, we find as many Creeds as Authors (f), and the same Author sets the Creed down after a different manner in several places of his Works, which plainly shews, that there was not then any Creed that was reputed to be the Apostles, nor even any regulated and established Form of Faith. *Ruffinus* in the fourth Century compares three ancient Creeds of the Churches of *Aquileia*, *Rome*, and the *East*; and we may observe in these three Creeds, none of which perfectly agrees with the common one, very considerable differences in the terms, as appears from the Table that is subjoined at the end of this Article. St. *Cyril of Jerusalem* in his *Catechetick Lectures* produceth a particular Creed, that was used by the Church of *Jerusalem* when this Father wrote. The Authors that have written Commentaries on the Creed, as St. *Augustine* in his 115th Sermon, St. *Maximus*, *Petrus Chrysologus*, *Fortunatus*, and others, omit divers Expressions that are inserted in our Apostolical Creed, among others this at the end, *The Life Everlasting*; and St. *Jerome* observes in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, that the Creed concludes with these words, *The Resurrection of the Body*.

It is evident from these Reflections, that although the Creed be the Apostles as to the Doctrine which it contains, nevertheless it is not theirs, as to all the terms, and that they did not draw up any one form of Faith comprehended in a set number of words, which they were all obliged to use: But that having learnt the same Faith from Jesus Christ, they likewise taught it to all those that were converted to the Christian Religion, and instructed them all in the same Mysteries. That they that were thus trained up in this Faith, had it so deeply imprinted on their mind, (as St. *Justin* and St. *Irenaeus* observe) that they were always ready to give an account thereof, and as often as they should be required to do it, without making use of any one particular form; and from thence proceeds the difference of the Creeds that are set down by the Fathers. And lastly, that for the assistance of the Memory, certain forms of these Articles of Faith, were afterwards compiled, which were found to be different according to the diversity of the Churches wherein they were used. For I doubt not in the least, that besides the above-cited Creeds, there were many others of which we have no knowledge, from whence it must be inferred, that Jesus Christ is the Author of the Doctrine contained in the Creed, and that the Apostles preached and published it throughout the whole World; but that it cannot be determined by whom these Forms were collected, wherein this Doctrine is comprised.

(e) The distinguishing Mark and Character of Christians.] This Etymology is produced by *Maximus Taurinensis*, and *Venerabilis Fortunatus*. It hath been likewise observed by *Ruffinus*, *Isidorus Hispalensis*, lib. 2. de Off. c. 22. and *Duranus de Mende*, lib. 4. Rationalis, c. 25. But the second and third Etymology are more common; and the last is maintained by *Ruffinus*; S. *Aug. Serm.* 187. de Tempore, *Isidore*, lib. 2. div. Off. c. 22. *Rabanus Maurus*, lib. 2. Init. Clerical. cap. 56. *Duranus* supra: *Eucherius*, *Henric.* de Symb. and *Innocent III.*

lib. 2. de Sacris Missæ Mysteriis, c. 49. The first however is the most probable.

(f) As many Creeds as Authors.] St. *Irenaeus* exhibits a Creed, l. 1. c. 2. and another in lib. 2. c. 1. *Tertullian* made use of three different Creeds in three several places, In præscript. lib. contra Praxeas, &c. de Virginitate velandâ. See *Origen* lib. 1. Peri Arch. &c. in Dialog. contra Marc. Oper. lib. 1. All which Creeds are different from the Vulgar.

It may be objected, that St. *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Lucifer Calaritanus*, and St. *Jerome* affirm, that the Creed is the Rule of Faith, which the Church hath received from the Apostles; That St. *Ambrose* says, that the Church of Rome hath preserved the Apostolical Creed in its purity without Alteration; That St. *Augustine*, *Ruffinus*, *Leo*, *Maximus Taurinensis*, *Fortunatus*, *Petrus Chrysologus*, and a great many others (g) have taken it for granted as a thing beyond Controversie, that the Creed was composed in an Assembly of the Apostles, that this Opinion is Authorised by the Church; and that it seems to be a rash Presumption to doubt of it; And lastly, that all Catholics are agreed in this Judgment, and that none but Heretics, or at least Persons that are suspected of Heresy, durst presume to call it in question.

To these Objections I answer, first, that the Testimonies of St. *Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, and *Lucifer*, rather overthrow the vulgar Opinion, than establish it; for these Fathers do not assert, that we have received the form of Faith from the Apostles, but only the Faith and Doctrine that was communicated to them by Jesus Christ; therefore if there were any force in the Objection, it must be concluded, that our Saviour is the Author of the Creed. Moreover, it is further to be observed, that by the Phrase Rule of Faith used by *Tertullian*, a set Form of Faith is not to be understood, but the Faith it self, which he declares to have been founded by Jesus Christ; and *Lucifer Calaritanus* does not disavow of the Creed, but only of the Faith of the Church as it relates to our Saviour's Divinity. Lastly, when St. *Jerome* says, that the Faith of the Creed, which is an Apostolical Tradition, was not written on Paper, or with Ink, but was engraven on the Fleishly Tables of the Heart; he gives us to understand, that he meant nothing else, but that the Faith and Doctrine comprehended in the Creed proceeds from the Apostles, who have taught it to all the Faithful. After the same manner, when St. *Ambrose* assures us, that the Creed was preserved in its purity by the Church of Rome, he doth not speak of the form of the Creed, but of the Doctrine therein contained. As for the other Authorities that are alleged, they are of little moment. *Ruffinus* is the first, and the only Person among the Authors of the Fifth Century, that asserts, that the Creed was composed by the Apostles, and yet he propoies this Opinion, as a matter that depended only on a popular Tradition; St. *Augustine* never approved it, for he doth not so much as mention one word thereof in his 115th Homily, and the 115th which might be cited to this purpose, cannot be proved certainly to be his: In fine, the other Authors who lived after *Ruffinus*, have taken this History from him, and are too modern to give a certain Testimony of a matter of Fact so ancient as this is; We may also add, that it is related by none but the *Latins*; that the *Greeks* never spoke of it, and that even they that produce it, do in no wise agree among themselves, concerning its Circumstances, as hath been already shewn. To conclude, there is no rashness in departing here, from the vulgar Opinion, since it is merely a Critical Question, that hath no regard to Faith, because it is granted on all sides, that Jesus Christ is the Author of the Doctrine comprised in the Creed, and that the Apostles taught it to all the Christians. Besides, they that maintain the common Opinion, are at last obliged to subscribe to our determination when they are urged; and to acknowledge, when it is objected to them, that the ancient Roman Creed was different from our Vulgar; that our Creed is not the Apostles as to the words, but as to the Sense, which comes to our Opinion at last. And besides it is not unusual in Critical Matters to forsake an Opinion that hath been generally received, and to embrace that of some Learned and Judicious Men, even of those that are suspected not to be Orthodox: Thus all the World is at present agreed in this, that the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons were not written by the Apostles, as we shall shew in the following Article, and yet scarce any Man presumed so much as to doubt thereof, before *Erasmus*.

(g) And a great number of other Authors.] S. *Irenaeus*, lib. 1. cap. 2. *Tertullian*, de Præscript. c. 37. & 13. Ep. ad Pammach. St. *Ambrose*, Ep. 7. lib. 1. As also, *Ruffinus* in Expos. Symboli, *Aug. Serm.* 115. *Maximus*, de vul. Virg. c. 1. *Lucifer*, lib. 2. contra Const. Hier. St. *Leo*, *Fortunatus*, &c.

A TABLE, wherein the four ancient CREEDS are compared.

| The VULGAR | The ORIENTAL | The ROMAN |
|--|--|--|
| I. Believe in one GOD the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven, and Earth. | I. Believe in one GOD the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven, and Earth. | I. Believe in one GOD the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven, and Earth. |
| II. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. | II. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. | II. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. |
| III. Who was Conceived by the Holy Ghost, Born of the Virgin Mary. | III. Who was born of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary. | III. The same as in that of Aquileia. |
| IV. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was Crucified, dead and buried, he descended into Hell. | IV. Was Crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried, he descended into Hell. | IV. The same as in the Oriental. |
| V. The third Day he rose again from the Dead. | V. The same. | V. The same. |
| VI. He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. | VI. He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father. | VI. The same as in that of Aquileia. |
| VII. From thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. | VII. The same. | VII. The same. |
| VIII. I believe in the Holy Ghost. | VIII. And in the Holy Ghost. | VIII. The same as in that of Aquileia. |
| IX. The Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints. | IX. I Believe the Holy Church. Pamelius adds Catholic, but falsely; for there is no more expressed by Rufinus than these Words, The Communion of Saints. | IX. The same as in that of Aquileia. |
| X. The Forgiveness of Sins. | X. The same. | X. The same. |
| XI. The Resurrection of the Body. | XI. The Resurrection of the Body. | XI. The same as in the Vulgar. |
| XII. And the Life everlasting. Amen. | XII. Wanting. | XII. Wanting. |

Of the Canons and Constitutions, attributed to the Apostles.

THE Opinions of Authors are extremely divided, as to the Canons that are commonly called Apostolical. *Torrianius* and some others have determined, that they were all composed by the Apostles: *Baronius* and *Bellarmine* except the 25 last, which are rejected by them as Apocryphal, but they have made no difficulty to admit the first 25. *Gabriel Albaspinus* Bishop of Orleans, and others, have believed, that although these Canons are not written by the Apostles, yet that they were very ancient, as being properly a Collection of the Canons of various Councils that were holden before that of Nice; this Opinion is likewise maintained by the Learned Dr. *Beveridge*, in a Book lately published by him, Entitled, *Antiquae Canonum, &c.* calling by this Name the Collection of 84 Canons attributed to the Apostles. Lastly, M. *Daille* affirms, that these Canons are not only falsely ascribed to the Apostles, but are also of a much later date, and were not collected until about the end of the Fifth Century. We shall now proceed to examine these Opinions, and to establish that of *Albaspinus*, which seems to be most probable.

It is now very difficult to prove, that these Canons were not compiled by the Apostles themselves; we need only peruse them, to be convinced, that they contain divers things that never were, nor indeed could be decreed by the Apostles (*a*), some whereas relate to certain Questions that were not debated until many years after their death (*b*). But it ought to be observed, that they are usually styled by the ancient Writers, *Ancient Canons, Canons of the Fathers, and Ecclesiastical Canons*; Titles that are likewise prefixed to them in several Manuscripts, as *Constitutiones, &c.* And if they are sometimes called or entituled *Apostolical*, it cannot be upon the account of their belonging to the Apostles; but it is sufficient that some of them have been made by Bishops that preceded over the Church a little after the Apostles, because they that lived at that time were generally called *Apostolical Men*. The Author of the Apostolical Constitutions is the first that attributed these Canons to the Apostles, and he hath said some things to induce us to believe, that they were actually composed by the Apostles (*c*). Therefore these Canons are not the Work of an Impostor, who hath forged them under the Name of the Apostles, but only a Collection, that hath been falsely imputed to them, that it might be esteemed more Authentick: And I am apt to believe, that no Per-

(a) Diverse things that never were, nor indeed could be established by the Apostles. In the first Canon it is Decreed, that a Bishop should not be Ordained but by two or three Bishops; whereas it is certain, that in the time of the Apostles one single Bishop was sufficient to Ordain another. In the third it is determined, that the First-Fruits should be so presented to the Bishop and Priest, as that they should be brought immediately to him, and not offered on the Altar. In the fourth it is provided, that Oil and Incense only should be offered on the Altar. Now it is not probable, that any such things were offered in the time of the Apostles. In the fifth Canon it is ordained, that the Feast of Easter should not be celebrated after the Jewish manner: If this had been then determined by the Apostles, the Controversy between *Vitar* and the *Africani* might have been easily decided; but it was not, and *Vitar* only allud'd the Tradition of his Ancestors: In like manner the 21. Canon against those that made themselves Eunuchs would have been produced by *Demeitrus* against *Origen*, and *Origen's* action would not have been justified by *Alexander* and *Theophilus*, if there had been then extant a Canon of the Apostles, that had so precisely forbidden it. In the 24th and 35th Canons mention is made of the right of Metropolitans, and of the distinction of Bishopsricks, which were not fixed at that time. In the 50th Canon it is decreed, that he that did not baptize or dip a Child twice in the Water should be deposed; This practice, though very ancient, is later than the Apostolical times. The 22d is against the Errors of the *Montanists* and *Novatians*; and the 26th is against Books forged by the Heretics after the death of the Apostles. And the 66th is against the Sabbatical Fast. The 69th regulates fasting in Lent. In the following Canons are contained several

Injunctions concerning Oils, Vessels of Gold and Silver, and Vails consecrated in Churches; things that were not known in the time of the Apostles. The last Canon comprehends a Catalogue of Sacred Books which could not be written by the Apostles. In the 45th, 46th, and 47th Canons the Baptism of Heretics is rejected as null and void. This question was not resolved by the Apostles, and the matter is very different from that which was usually treated by them; neither were the names of *Cleric*, *Bishop*, *Abbot*, *Sacristan*, &c. so common in the Apostolical times.

(b) Questions that were not debated until many years after their death. 1st The questions relating to the Feast of Easter, the Baptism of Heretics, as also concerning those that make themselves Eunuchs; those that would not admit Sinners to repentance; those that fast on Sundays, &c. *Vide supra*.

(c) To induce us to believe that they were actually composed by the Apostles. As for Example in the 29th Canon, where it is ordained, that those Bishops that should obtain the Episcopal Dignity by Money, should be deposed, as *Simm* was by St. Peter; he hath added by me Peter. For these words are not found in the Epistle of *Tarajus* to Pope *Adrian*; nor in the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*. Moreover in the 5th Canon, we read, at present the Lord hath declared unto us; whereas in the Greek Manuscripts, and in the Edition of *Zouaras* and *Ballanin*, it is simply expressed, the Lord hath declared; and in that of *James Arctianus*, Our Lord hath declared. Lastly in the 22d Canon there is this expression, as our Brother Onesimus, and in the 10th, our Acts; where it ought to be read simply as in the *Arabick* Paraphrase; as *Onesimus*, and the Acts of the Apostles.

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son was more capable of performing this Office, than the above-cited Author of the Apollitical Constitutions (*d*), who hath in like manner ascribed many other Writings to the Apollites, and hath inserted these Canons entire in his third Book.

As for the Antiquity of them, it is apparent that they are very ancient, and that a great part of them (if not all) were decreed by Councils that were holden before that of *Nice*: For first, they do not contain any thing (according to my judgment) but what is conformable to the Discipline that was observed in some Churches at the end of the second Century, throughout the third, and in the beginning of the fourth. Secondly, they comprehend certain Ordinances that are known to have been made in those times: As for Example; There is a Canon that prohibits the Celebration of the Feast of *Easter* with the *Jews*; and we are assured, that this was Detracted in divers Synods assembled in the time of *Reformation*. Moreover there are three, wherein the Baptism of Heretics is rejected, as void and of no effect, which is declared by *Firminian* and *Dionysius Alexandrinus* to have been determined in the Councils of *Symeon* and *Isidore*, that were holden some time before them. But Heretics were generally admitted without re-baptizing them? And it cannot be imagined, that they were forged by *St. Cyprian*, or *Epiphanius*, on purpose to authorize their Discipline; it is much more reasonable to believe, that they really are the very Canons of the Synods of *Iconium* and *Symeod*, which have been fully attributed to the Apollites, not by these Saints, but by later Authors. Thirdly, it is clearly proved, that the greatest part of these Canons are more ancient than the Council of *Nice*, because they are often cited in this Council, and those that were convened not long after, as well as by the Authors who wrote in the fourth Century (*e*), under the name of *Ancient Laws*, *Call Customs*, *Manners*, or *Discipline*, concerning which there are no written Rules or Injunctions. Therefore it is certain, that these Canons are ancient, that they have been erroneously ascribed to the Apollites, and that they are a Collection of Ordinances of divers ancient Synods that were holden before the Council of *Nice*, but it is not known when this Collection was made, nor who collected it, nor even whether it consists of those 85 Canons that are now extant, or of a lesser number. However, it is probable, that it was compiled at several times, and that some Canons have been successively added, because no order is observed therein, as also because that the Canons relating to one and the same Subject are often found separated, besides some Contradictions.

The Objections propounded by *Mr. Daille* against the Apollitical Canons, manifestly prove against *Tertullian* that they were not composed by the Apollites, but they do not in the least impugn our opinion. As for Example; It is objected by him, That there are in these Canons certain terms that were not usual in the time of the Apollites, as *Cleric*, *Leiturer*, *Laick*, *Metropolitan*, &c. But he cannot deny that these terms were used in the third Age of the Church. That which is ordained concerning Lent, and against fasting on Sundays or the Sabbath, may belong to the third Century since the same things are found in the Works of *Tertullian*. The Canons against those that make

(*d*) I am apt to believe that no person was more capable of performing this Office. It is laudable to the temper of this Author, who designed to pass every where for a Disciple of the Apollites; for which reason he has given us divers Constitutions under their name, attributing to every Apollite some particular Constitutions and Liturgies, at the end whereof he annexed these Canons with the above-mentioned additions; and he likewise adds in the name of the Apollites: *This is what we thought fit to command you O ye Bishops, continue to observe these things.*

(*e*) They are often cited. In the fifth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, the second of the Apollites is alleged, concerning those that make themselves Eunuchs, and in the fifth Canon of the same Council, the 12th and 32d is cited relating to Excommunication. In the ninth Canon of the Council of *Antioch* the 34th is quoted concerning the Metropolitan; in the 30th Canon of the same, the 10th about Excommunication; in the 21st Canon, the 14th prohibiting Bishops to leave their Dioceses; and in the 23d Canon the 76th, that a Successor ought not to be elected. In the Synod of *Constantinople* convened in the year 394, the 14th Apollitical Canon is quoted, of the Jurisdiction of Bishops. In the Council of *Ephesus*, Acts 7. col. 788. we find the 35th cited concerning Ordinations; and in A. E. 1. the 74th is alleged relating to the three Alimonies that ought to precede Ecclesiastical Censure. Moreover *Alexander in Theodoret*, lib. 1. c. 4. cites the 12th, as also *Athanasius* in *Epist. ad omnes Orthodoxos*, where he likewise alludes to the 29th, 30th, and 79th Canons. The 34th is alleged by *Armenius*, in like manner the 30th, 35th, and 81st

are quoted by Pope *Julius* in his Epistle. *St. Basil* in the 43d Canon plainly cites the 24th of the Apollites, under the name of an ancient Canon; in the 12th Canon the 77th concerning Bigamy; and in the first the 47th relating to the Baptism of Heretics. Lastly *Theodoret* in *Cod. Lib. 3. de summa Trinitate* quotes the 17th under the name of an Apollitical Canon.

M. Daille replies, that all these Quotations do not relate to the Apollitical Canons, but to the Discipline, Customs, and Traditions that proceeded from the Apollites; however this answer hath no probability; for the word Canon signifies written Laws, and the Council of *Nice* distinguishes Canons from Customs, which are therein called *Apollitia* &c. Moreover *M. Daille* adds, that certain Canons and ancient Laws are often cited that are not included in the Apollitical, and he produceth two Examples, the first whereof is taken from the 13th Canon of the *Nicean* Council, and the 2d from the 21st of that of *Antioch*. But first, the Apollitical or Ecclesiastical Canons are not cited by name in these two, but only in the first as ancient and Canonical Law or Custom, *κατα τοις παλαισιν νόμοις*, and in the second, *κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἑξῆς*, an ancient definition. Secondly, nothing hinders; but that these words may be understood of some ancient definitions of Synods; as for example, the Law wherein it was ordained to receive the *Lafsi* at the point of death, cited in the first Canon, was made in the Eastern and African Churches before the Council of *Nice*, if we may give credit to the Testimony of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* in *Ep. ad Stephanum*, produced by *Eusebius*, Lib. 7. cap. 4. and 5.

them.

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themselves Eunuchs; might be composed by *Demetrius* against the Error of *Origen*. The Canons concerning *Baptism* are apparently those of the Councils that were convened under *Macedon*, and others relating to the Baptism of Heretics, are probably those of the Councils of *Symeon* and *Isidore*. Upon the perusal of all the Objections alleged by *M. Daille*, it will appear, that although they are extremely weighty against the Opinion of *Tertullian*, yet they are of no force against ours (*f*).

It ought then to be esteemed as certain, that not only the first 80 Canons, but likewise the following 35, are very ancient, though they do not belong to the Apollites. Therefore they have been always much esteemed by the Greeks, as being of great Authority. *Joannes Antiochenus*, who lived in the time of the Emperor *Justinian*, hath inserted them in his Collection of Canons; and they are commended by *Justinian* himself in his sixth Novel. They are in like manner approved in the Synod that was holden in the Imperial Palace after the fifth General Council; cited in the seventh Oecumenical Council, and allowed by *St. Joannes Damascenus*, and *Photius*, but with this difference, that the first, who was no great Critick, attributed them to the Apollites, and the other that was more quick-sighted in these matters, doubted whether they belonged to them. However they have not always met with the same Reception among the Latins. Cardinal *Humbert* hath rejected them, and *Gelasius* hath placed them among the Apocryphal Books, as well because they were falsely ascribed to the Apollites, as because he found among them some Canons, that authorized the opinion of *St. Cyprian* concerning the Baptism of Heretics. *Hincmar* favourably explains *Gelasius*'s Notion, declaring, that he did not infer them among those Books that were Apocryphal and full of Errors, but only in the number of those, with respect to which this Rule of *St. Paul* ought to be observed, *Try all things, and hold fast that which is good*. *Dionysius Exiguus* hath translated the first 50, and hath prefixed them to his Collection, taking notice however, that some Persons would not acknowledge them; and perhaps this is the reason that *Martinus Braccarenfis* would not admit them into his Collection of Canons; but *Isidore* hath made no difficulty to afford them a place in his, and ever since they have been always accounted as a part of the Canon Law. It is further to be observed, that as soon as they appeared in France, they were generally well received there, and were first urged in the cause of *Praxeas* under the Reign of King *Chilperic*, wherein their Authority was allowed, as we are informed by *Gregorius Turonensis* in the fifth Book of his History, Chap. 19. where he takes notice, that there was an Appendix added to the Collection of Canons, which contained certain Canons, as being writ by the Apollites, *quasi Apolliticos*, and cites one of them, which is the 25th Apollitical, but according to a different Version from that of *Dionysius Exiguus*. Lastly, *Hincmar* Bishop of *Rheims* observes, that they were annexed to the beginning of a Collection of Canons compiled for the use of the Church of France, separately from the others, and as for their Authority and Antiquity, he is altogether of our opinion, which he explains in these words, in the 24th Canon. The Canons (says he) that are called Apollitical, collected by some Christians, were written in a time when the Bishops could not freely assemble together, nor hold Councils; they contain many things that may be allowed, but they likewise establish others that ought not to be observed.

I cannot fay the same thing of the Apollitical Constitutions, as I have done of the Canons, viz. that they are not supposititious, but that in process of time a false Title happened to be attributed to them; for the Author of the Constitutions is an Impostor, that endeavours every where to pass for *Clement*, a Disciple of the Apollites, and who imputes to them all in general, and to every one in particular, divers Ordinances that are in no wise consonant to the Apollitical ones; such are those concerning Churches built in the form of Temples, Catechumens, Eneurgemens, Fasts, Liturgies, Unction,

(*f*) They are of no force against ours. However, some of the most material of *M. Daille*'s Reasons may be objected to us; for instance, he affirms that *St. Athanasius* in the matter of *Leontius* the Eunuch, cites the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, and not the Apollitical, which shews (says he) that it was not as yet known: Moreover, that it is not quoted by *St. Epiphanius* against the *Valentin* Heretics: That *St. Basil* reckons the triple immersion in Baptism amongst the unwritten Traditions, and consequently, that the Canon of the Apollites in which it is ordained, was not composed in the time of this Father: That this Canon was made against those Heretics that Baptized with a single Immersion, and that the *Eunuchians* were the first that followed this practice. These are the Arguments of *M. Daille* that can be urged against us, but it is very easy to refute them. *St. Athanasius* cites the Apollitical Canon rather than that of *Nice*. *St. Epiphanius* produceth no Canon against the *Valentin*; but only the Holy Scripture. *St. Basil* and the other Fathers understand by unwritten Tradition all those matters that are not contained in the Sacred Writings. Lastly, the Canon concerning triple Immersion was not made against Heretics, but to prevent the negligence of Priests. The 84th Canon might indeed be objected with much more probability, wherein we find the Books of the *Macedonians*,

together with the Epistles and Constitutions of *St. Clement* among the Canonical Writings. But it must be replied to this Objection, that this Canon is corrupted, that the Books of the *Macedonians* are not extant in the Greek Copy of *Joannes Antiochenus*; and it may easily be discerned, that the Epistles and Constitutions of *St. Clement*, have been added by the Author of the Apollitical Constitutions, who endeavoured to pass for *St. Clement*, to raise the reputation of his Book. It may be proved that this Canon is ancient, because the Books of the Old Testament that were not inserted in the Canon of the *Jews*, and the Revelation are omitted. Lastly, it is asserted against us, that these Canons were unknown to the Authors of the Fifth Century, that they are not cited by *Eusebius*, nor included in the *Index Canonum* of the Catholic Church; but all these Objections are frivolous; for the Ecclesiastical Writers of the fourth Age have often referred to these Canons. *Eusebius* indeed hath not mentioned them, but neither doth he take notice of the Canons of the *Nicean* Council; and in fine it is not to be wondered at that they are not found in the Code of the universal Church, which did not contain all the ancient Canons, no more than that of the African Church comprehended those that were made by *St. Cyprian* or *Agrippinus*.

Apocryphical
Gospels
and Confu-
sion.

Provers for the Churchmen and Ministers: The Ordination of Bishops and Deacons; Va-
gans, Confessing, &c. &c. The Council of Nice; The First Fruits of Tyria; Festi-
val Days; the Celebration of Easter; and many other things that were not practised in the time of
the Apostles, but to mention a great number of Absurdities and Mistakes of time, together with some
Errors that are contained therein (g) which evidently demonstrates beyond conception, that these
Constitutions were not composed by Apostles, and that they do not belong to St. Clement, as we
shall show more at large in discoursing concerning the Works of this Father, where we shall likewise
endeavour to discover at what time they were forged.

I shall add nothing concerning the Nine Canons that are also attributed to the Apostles, and are
reported to have been made by them in a certain Council of Antioch unknown to all Antiquity; be-
cause there is no question but that they are fictitious; neither are they at present maintained by
any (h).

(g) A great number of Absurdities and mistakes of
time, together with some Errors that are contained there-
in: As in Book 1. That the Beasts of Women ought to
be shaved, and not those of Men. In Book 2. Chap. 1.
That all Bishops ought to be 50 years old. In Chap.
57. it is ordained, That the Gospel according to
St. John should be read, which was not written un-
til the 97th year of our Lord, after the death of the
Apostles. In Chap. 1. the Author asserts, That the Bi-
shop presides over Kings and Magistrates; and in Book
3. Chap. 2. That third Marriages are an Interpe-
rance, and the fourth a manifest Debauchery. In Book
6. Chap. 6. mention is made of the Elders, whose
Errors I pray up after the decease of the Apostles. In
the 1st. Chapter, Jesus the Son of Schekia is intro-
duced as present at Jerusalem after the time of his death.
In Book 8. Chap. 4. it is declared, That the Confir-
mations were made in the presence of St. Paul and
the Seven Deacons; now it is certain, that St. Ste-
phen, one of the said Seven Deacons, died before the
Conversion of St. Paul. In Book 1. Chap. 32.
Female Slaves are permitted to suffer themselves to be
delivered by their Masters. Moreover this Author is
accused of *drunkenness*.

(h) Neither are they maintained at present by any.

This Synod is unknown to St. Luke; and to all the an-
cient, for although it is said to be cited by Innocent I.
Ch. 18. it is a mistake, since he only mentions the
Council of Jerusalem; and whereas it is written, An-
tiochenam Ecclesiam qua moris apud se celebraverunt
Apollinarum Convenerunt. The Church of Antioch, which
formerly had the most famous Convocation of the
Apostles celebrated there; it ought to be read *propter se, non
propter illi*; for it is apparent, that this Pope speaks
concerning the Synod of Jerusalem, which was the
most famous Convocation of the Apostles. Moreover,
not so much as one of the ancient Authors makes men-
tion of these Canons, and indeed they are altoge-
ther absurd: It is said in the first, that the Christians
were called *salutans*, a name that was not attributed
to them until after the death of the Apostles. In the
third Canon it is decreed, that the Christians should
live *magistraliter*, a harsh and insignificant Term. In
the 9th Canon the Synagogue is called *Ballina*; and in
the 8th it is ordained, that there should be Images in
the Churches, a practice that was not in use in the
time of the Apostles. This Canon is cited by Gre-
gorius Pappianus in the second Council of Nice, but it
is well known that many Apocryphal Records were
alleged in that Council.

Of several Books attributed to Prochorus, Linus, and Abdias, and of the Acts of the Passion of St. Andrew.

Prochorus,
Linus, Ab-
dias, &c.

IN the time of the Apostles there lived a certain Person named *Prochorus*, one of the Seven first
Deacons, and there is now extant a Book under his name, containing the Life of St. John, which
is Printed among the *Oxygrapha*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. But *Baronius*, *Belarmius*,
Larinius, The Master of the Palace, and in a word, all those that have written concerning Ec-
clesiastical Authors both *Roman Catholics* and Protestants unanimously agree, that it is a supposititious
Book, and unworthy of him whose Name it bears; and indeed, it is a Narrative full of ab-
surd Fables and Tales. It is related there, that St. John cast himself at the Feet of the Apostles, de-
siring to be exempted from going into *Africa*; That after he was taken out of the Caldron of boiling
Oyl, a Church was built in Honour of him; That he composed his Gospel in the Isle of *Parnus*, &c.
The Title of this Book argues its Author to be a *Latin* or a *Greek*, and not an *Hebrew*. Lastly, we
find therein the words *Trinity* and *Epiphany*.

The two Books attributed to *Linus* concerning the Passion of St. Peter, and St. Paul are likewise
generally rejected, as fictitious and full of Fables. They say, that *Agrippa* was Governor of *Rome*
in the time of St. Peter, who suffered Martyrdom without the knowledge of *Nero*; That this Empe-
ror was offended that he was put to Death; That part of the *Roman Magistrates* were Christians;
and that the Wife of *Abdus* departed from her Husband against his Will, following the advice of
St. Peter. In fine, both these Books are full of Errors, Falsities, Fictions, and notorious Untruths;
in the last of which mention is made of the Epistles of St. Paul to *Seneca*, and of *Seneca* to St. Paul.

We must likewise give the same Judgment upon the Book imputed to *Abdias*, that contains di-
vers extremely fabulous Relations concerning the Lives of the Apostles, and was Printed by it self in
the years 1557, 1560, and 1571, at *Basle*, Anno 1532, and at *Paris* in 1583; it is also inserted in the
Bibliotheca Patrum. At first they tried to make it pass for a Book composed in *Hebrew*, by a Disci-
ple of Jesus Christ, named *Abdias* of the City of *Babylon*, Translated into *Greek* by *Ematopius*; and
into

Prochorus,
Linus, Ab-
dias, &c.

into *Latin* by *Julius Africanus*; but now the whole World is convinced of this Error; and it is ge-
nerally agreed, that it was forged by an Impostor, that falsely pretends to be a Disciple of Jesus Christ,
who nevertheless cites *Hegesippus*, and *Julius Africanus*, whom he could not have seen if he had li-
ved in our Saviours time; and lastly, he relates many fabulous Narrations concerning the Life of
Jesus Christ and his Apostles, which it would be too tedious here to rehearse.

Men are divided in their Centures upon the Acts of the Passion of St. Andrew written by the
Priests of *Achaia*, which are inserted in the History of the Saints published by *Sorinus*, *Baronius*, *Bel-
larmino*, and some other Critics of the Church of *Rome* admit them as authentic, but they are
rejected by many. The ancient Ecclesiastical Writers know no other Records of St. Andrew than
those that were corrupted by the *Manichees*, mentioned by St. *Augustine*, *Philastrius*, and Pope *Imma-
nus* (*), and which are reckoned by *Gelasius* in the number of Apocryphal Books. But it is cer-
tain that those were different from these whereof we now discourse: It is also evident, that these last
Acts of the Passion of St. Andrew, have been cited by none but Authors that lived since the Seventh
or Eighth Century, as by *Remigius Alstifiodorensis*, *Petrus Damianus*, *Laufank*, *St. Bernard*, and *Leo
Carnensis*, which is the cause that we can have no assurance that they are very ancient. Thirdly,
the Mystery of the Trinity is not only explained in these Acts after such a manner as gives us oc-
casion to suspect, that he that wrote them lived after the Council of *Nice*; but he likewise propagates
the Error of the modern *Greeks*, in affirming, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and
remains in the Son. It is indeed objected, that there are Manuscripts wherein these words are not ex-
pressed, but who knows, whether they have not been omitted in some, rather than added in others?
Therefore this History ought at least to be esteemed, as a dubious Writing, that cannot be applied (as
St. *Jerome* declares) to prove any Doctrine of Faith.

The account of the Life and Death of St. *Matthias* was forged by an Author who pretends to have
received it from a Jew that Translated it out of the *Hebrew* Tongue. We ought also to place in the
rank of Apocryphal and fabulous Books, the Life of St. *Mark*, and the History of St. *Clement*, toge-
ther with that of *Apollinaris*, fetdawn in the Collection of ancient Histories compiled by *Laurentius
de la Barre*. And we need only read them over to be convinced of their falsity.

(*) Mentioned by St. Augustin, Philastrius, &c.]

St. Aug. lib. de Eide contr. Manicheas. Phi-

lstr. lib. de Harsf. N. 40. Innocentius I. Epist. ad Ex-
up. Gelasius in conc. Roman.

Of the Books of the Sibyls, Mercurius Trismegistus, and Hysta- pes: Of the Letters of Lentulus and Pilate, concerning Jesus Christ: Of the Epistles of Seneca to St. Paul, and of those of St. Paul to Seneca: And of a Passage in the History of Josephus.

WE join all these profane Records together, that have been heretofore alledged in fa-
vour of the Christian Religion, that so we may examine them; and although we should
reject them, yet we do not believe that we do any wrong to Religion, which is sufficiently
furnished with solid and convincing Proofs, without standing in need of those that are
cited by the ancient Writers to convince the *Pagans* of the Truth of the Religion of Jesus Christ;
but before we proceed to Examine them, it would be expedient to give some account of these *Sibyls*
and their Books.

It is difficult to assign a true Etymology of the Word *Sibyl*; *Lactantius*, and after him St. *Jerom*,
affirm, that the *Sibyls* were so called, because they were the Interpreters of the Decrees of the Gods;
and that their Name consisted of two Greek Words (a), signifying the Counsel of the Gods, which
being written in the *Æolic* Dialect compose that of *Sibyl*. It is derived by some from an *Hebrew*
Word, and by others from an obsolete Latin Adjective (b), that signifies, *Subtil* or *Acute*; but
this latter Conjecture is false, since the Word *Sibyl* was used by the *Greeks* before the *Latins*. The
most probable opinion is, that the Name *Sibyl*, which was proper to the famous *Delphic* Prophetess,
afterwards became common to others, as that of *Cesar*, peculiar only to *Julius*, was after him appro-
priated to all the succeeding Emperors.

(a) Consisted of two Greek words. These two words
are *σὺββάν*, and in the *Æolic* Dialect *σὺββάν*.
Ελλην, *Laurentius* Lib. 1. c. 6. *Hieron*. Lib. 1. in *Joan*.
It is objected against this Etymology that the Adjective
σὺββάν, the Three last Syllables whereof com-

pose a Dactyl, make it manifest that the word *Sibylla*
cannot be derived from *σὺββάν*.
(b) From an obsolete Latin Adjective. This Ad-
jective is *Sibilus*, which according to *Eschylus* signifies the
same as *Acutus*, or *Callidus*; a quick, or crafty Man.

Sibyl.

Senate:

1807] *And a thing therein contained.* There are certain Principles in these Books, that were not imbibed by any but the ancient Christians; and which are of the Opinion of the *Millenarians*, who believe Jesus to be Anti-Christ, that the Souls of Men shall remain in Hell until the *Reformation*, that the Fire of the Judgment shall serve instead of Punishment, that the Terrestrial Paradise shall be profecy to us, and that at last the wicked shall be delivered from Hell fire, &c. who likewise maintains diverse other Opinions of ancient Gentiles. Lastly it cannot be doubted, but that the Accounts in these Books, of the Nativty, Life and Actions of Jesus Christ, have been taken from the History of the Evangelists; And indeed, I have been able to find one thing that comes not the Planists, and is agreeable to the Books of the *Scriptures*. I shall omit many other Reasons.

30
Sibyl.

were full of Predictions and Instructions relating to Christianity. The Books of the Sibyls were never consulted among the Romans, without extracting from them some Superstitions perfectly Pagan (1). They were informed therein, that they ought either to offer some sort of Sacrifice to the Gods, or to fasten a Nail in the Capitol, or to celebrate some particular Games to the Honour of Jupiter. At another time it was found to be necessary to cause the Statue of *Esculapius* to be brought to Rome to erect a Temple to *Venus*, to offer Sacrifices to the Infernal Deities, and to appease the Heathen Gods with peculiar and extraordinary Solemnities. Lastly, Nothing was ever gathered from these Books, but Ceremonies that were absolutely prophane. On the contrary, the Fathers allege nothing out of the Writings of the Sibyls, but what relates to the Christian Religion, and to the true Worship of God. Is there any probability, that these Prophetesses should have uttered Things so different, and that they should have taught in one and the same Book, the way of Worshipping the True God, and the greatest Superstitions of the Gentiles? Who can imagine that these Books, that were kept by the Romans to Authorize all their Superstitious Rites, and which they esteemed as the most sublime and refined part of their Religion, should contain far clearer Prophecies concerning *Jesus Christ*, than all that was ever declared by the Jewish Prophets? Moreover, not only the Books of the Sibyls that are now extant, speak of our Saviour in such plain Expressions, as look more like a History than a Prophecy: But the same thing may be said of the Books cited by the Fathers, that comprehend the same Predictions, and even more distinct. For can there be a plainer Prediction concerning *Jesus Christ*, than the Verse produced by *Eusebius* in the Prayer attributed to *Constantine*?

There is but one God, who is also the Saviour;
Who hath suffered for us;
Who is mark'd out in these Verses.

The Acrostick quoted in the same place is not more obscure. Can any thing be spoken more expressly concerning the Creation of the World, the Last Judgment, and the Life Everlasting, than what is produced by *Theophilus Autichensis*, as proceeding from a Sibyl? All the other Sibylline Verses recited by the Fathers, are written almost after the very same manner on every particular Subject, and this obliged the Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, attributed to St. *Justin*, to affirm, that the Sibyl had foretold the Advent of *Jesus Christ* in clear and evident Terms, *εναρος & εναρος*. Now what an absurdity is it to believe, that the Heathens, from whom God had concealed the Coming of his Son, and whom he suffered to walk in Darkness, should have more notable Prophecies among them, than all those of the Jews, to whose Custody he had committed the Sacred Writings, and to whom he had given the knowledge of the *Messiah*?

Moreover, this Argument might be urged farther, and it might be demanded from whence the Sibyls could receive the knowledge of the *Messiah*. It is alleged by some, that they were inspired by God; and by others, that they took from the Holy Scripture, all that they uttered concerning Religion; but there is no probability neither in the one nor the other Assertion: For what likelihood is there that God should inspire Sorceresses and Priestesses of false Gods, that deluded Mankind, to teach them to adore the Demons with which they were possessed? Or who can imagine, that God should make use of such Instruments to reveal his Mysteries so clearly to the World? And on the other side, how could they draw those Truths out of the *Old Testament*, that are but very obscurely expressed therein, and which the Jews themselves could scarcely understand?

It remains only for a more full demonstration of the falsity of the Sibylline Oracles that were used by the Fathers, to show, that they differed very little from those that still bear the same Title. To evince this, it will be sufficient to observe, that excepting three or four Passages, all the others quoted by the ancient Authors, being very numerous, are expressed in equivalent Terms in the Sibylline Books that are read even at this day. Now the strongest Argument that can be alleged to prove that a Work is ancient, is, that those Passages that have been cited by the ancient Writers are found therein. Do we not frequently demonstrate the Antiquity of an infinite number of Books, only because a particular Passage recited by some ancient Author, is there to be found? Why then may it not be concluded after the same manner, that the Sibylline Books, tho' forged, are the same with those that were formerly extant? And this Proof is of so much the more force, because this may be urged not only against one single Passage, but very many, that are alleged by different Authors, and also because the Sibylline Oracles still remain in the same Language in which they were cited. Moreover it is not to be admired, that there are some Passages which are not found therein, and that there are others which are not verbally expressed, because some places in these Books are wanting; and it hath been often observed, that the ancient Writers are not usually very exact in their Quotations, but adhere to the sense rather than the literal Expression. It might likewise be added, that all that is related by the ancient Fathers concerning the Books of the Sibyls that were heretofore in use, is conformable to these: The Author of the *Exhortation to the Gentiles* affirms, that the Style of the Sibylline Writings was not very polite; these are of the like nature, they were then reported to contain divers Anachronisms, and this Defect is also at present observable among them. They Treated concerning *Jesus Christ*, the Last Judgment, &c. all these Things are in like manner comprised in those that

(1) The Books of the Sibyls were never consulted among the Romans, without extracting from them some Superstitions perfectly Pagan. See *Livy* in many places. *Varro* de Ling. Lib. 5. *Cicero* in *Verrina* de. *Tacitus* Lib. 15. *Suetonius* in *Jul. Num.* 97. *Plin.* Lib. 5. chap. 17. *Solym. Polybist.* Chap. 10. *Val. Maxim.* Lib. 1.

Numb. 1. and 10. *Plutarch* in the Lives of *Publius, Fabius* and *Marius*. *Pausanias* in the *Phocæa*. *Capitolinus* in *Gordiano*. *Trobellius Pollio* in *Galerius*, and *Porphyrius* in *Auréliano & Elagabal.* *Secr. Aurel. Viter* in *Claudio*. *Antonius Marcellus* Lib. 25, and 23. *Macrobius Saturnal.* Lib. 1. chap. 17.

we now have in our possession. Lastly, these last are very ancient, and belong to the time of the most ancient Fathers; for some Opinions may be found there, that could not be maintained but in the Primitive Ages of the Church: Such are the Errors of the *Millenarians*; That *Mero* is Anti-Christ; that the End of the World was near at hand; that it should happen in the time of *Antichrist*; that Rome should soon be destroyed 928 years after its Foundation, and many other Things that could never be asserted by later Christians, who would have been very far from admitting such Notions, when they were convinced of the falsity of these Predictions. Upon the whole matter it ought to be concluded, that the Books of the Sibyls were certainly forged in the Second Century, but it is difficult to determine the precise time, and by whom this was done; all that can be alleged as most probable is, that they began to appear about the end of the Reign of the Emperor *Antoninus Pius* (m).

M. *Possevin* in his last Book gives us an Hypothesis of the Sibylline Oracles somewhat different from this; he acknowledgeth that the ancient Writings of the Sibyls which were preserved until the burning of the Capitol, were entirely prophane, and differed from those that are cited by the Fathers; But he maintains, that among those that were brought from Greece by *Ossacilius Crassus*, there were some Prophecies inferred that had been received from the Jews, who pretended that they were written by the Sibyls, in which the Coming of the *Messiah* was foretold, and that these were cited by the Fathers under the Name of *The Books of the Sibyls*, which Title was actually attributed to them.

This Hypothesis, which is well enough contrived, yet lies liable to many Difficulties; for first, the Collection of Oracles ascribed to the Sibyls, that was made after the burning of the Capitol, related no less to the Pagan Superstitions, than the ancient Verses ascribed to the Sibyl of *Cuma*. Secondly, since the Predictions concerning *Jesus Christ*, expressed in the passages of the Sibylline Books, and quoted by the Fathers, are clearer than those that were contained in the Prophecies of the Jews, there is no probability that they could proceed from any of that Nation. Lastly, The Doctrine comprised in the Books of the Sibyls, seems rather to be that of a Christian than of a Jew, since the Coming of *Jesus Christ*, is therein manifestly foretold; the Resurrection of the Dead, the Last Judgment, and Hell Fire, are expressly described in plain Terms; and mention is made of the *Millennium*, of the appearing of Anti-Christ, together with many other Things of the like nature, which could not be related, but by one that had been instructed in the Christian Religion. Therefore it is much more probable, that the Writings attributed to the Sibyls were forged by a Christian, rather than by a Jew.

However, none ought to be surpris'd that we reject those Books as supposititious, which have been quoted by the Ancients as real, and it must not be imagined, that we thereby condemn the Authority of the Fathers, or that we impugn the Truth; on the contrary, we should do an Injury to it, if we should endeavour to support it by false Proofs, especially when we are convinced of their Forgery. The Fathers are to be excused for citing the Sibylline Verses as true, because they had not examined them, and finding them published under the Name of the Sibyls, they really believed that they were theirs; but they that are certainly informed of the contrary, would be inexcusable if they continued to rely on such Testimonies, or refused ingenuously to confess what the Truth obliged them to own. And indeed it ought not to be admired, that the Fathers did not examine these Books critically; it is sufficiently known, that they wholly applied themselves to Matters of the greatest Consequence at that time, and that they often happened to be mistaken in prophane Histories, and to cite fictitious Books; such are the Works of *Elyphaz*, and *Macrobius Testamentum*, which they almost always joined with those of the Sibyls; as also the Acts of *Pilate*, Apocryphal Gospels, divers Acts of the Apostles, and a great number of other Records that have been undoubtedly forged.

But altho' the most part of the ancient Writers cited the Oracles of the Sibyls, yet there were even then many Christians that rejected them as Counterfeit, and could not be persuaded to approve the practice of those that made use of their Testimony, whom in derision they called by the Name of *Sibyllists*. This is attested by *Origen*, in his Fifth Book against *Celsus*: *Celsus* (says he) objects, that there are Sibyllists amongst us, perhaps, because he hath heard it reported, that there are some amongst us who reprove those that affirm, that the Sibyl is a Prophetess, and call them Sibyllists. St. *Augustine* hath likewise acknowledged the falsity of their pretended Oracles; and as often as he makes mention of them, he declares that he is not convinced of their Truth, particularly in *Lib. 18. cap. De Civit. Dei*. Where it is not (says he) that it is affirmed, that the Prophecies that are produced under the Name of the Sibyls and others concerning *Jesus Christ*, were forged by the Christians. And in cap. 7. It may be believed, that all the Prophecies relating to *Jesus Christ*, that are not contained in the Holy Scriptures, have been forged by the Christians: Wherefore there can be nothing more solid in confuting the Pagans, than to allege those Prophecies that are taken from the Books of our Enemies.

(m) They began to appear about the end of the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*. *Possevinus* affirms, that these Books were written under the Reign of *Commodus*; but he is deceived in raising the Conflagration mentioned in Book V. for the Fire of the Temple of *Yesta*, that happened in the time of that Emperor, for the Temple of *Jerusalem* is to be understood in this place, which is called the desirable House, and the Guardian Temple of God. We have already shewn, that the Author

had seen *Euginius* and *Marcus*, but that he knew not the later Emperors. All the Fathers that have quoted the Sibylline Books, wrote either under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*; or after that time; *Justinus* indeed and *Irenæus* cite the Sibyls, but in general Terms, and there were possibly some Verses extant under their Names, even in the time of *Justinus*; who produced one of them concerning the Tower of *Babel*, *Lib. 1. ch. 5.*

But the Heathens (by they) doubted not of the truth of the Predictions of the Sibyls that were made by the Sibyls; they only put another sense upon them, may they even proceeded so far as to own, that the Sibyls Verbs foretold the Nativity of a certain new King, and a considerable Revolution. This is intimated by *Tully* in divers places; moreover when *Pompey* took the City of *Terrusa*, he was commonly reported, that the Sibyl had foretold, that Nature designed a King for the People of *Rome*; the Senate was likewise astonished at it, and, by reason of this Prediction, refused to send a Consul, or an *Imperator*, into *Italy*. *Ulpian* (according to the Testimony of *Cicero* and *Sallust*) declares himself, that he should become this King that was intimated by the Sibyl. Others have interpreted this Prophecy with respect to *Julius Cæsar* or *Augustus*; as is observed by *Cicero* and *Suetonius*. *Virgil*, in his Fourth *Æneid*, produces the Verbs of the Sibyl, *Æneas* Sibyl, foretelling the Birth of a new King that should descend from Heaven. In short, it is most certain, that the Gentiles acknowledged that the Books of the Sibyls were favourable to the Christians; inasmuch that the later were prohibited to read them, as appears from the Words of *Aurelian* to the Senate, recited by *Volcarius*. I admire, (says he) Gentlemen, that you should spend so much time in consulting the Writings of the Sibyls, as if we were debating in an Assembly of Christians, and not in the principal place of the Roman Religion.

These Arguments seem to be very plausible; but if we examine them, we shall find that they contain nothing that is solid: The Pagans never submitted to the Authority of these Books of the Sibyls that were quoted by the Fathers; on the contrary it is manifest, that *Cæsar* was persuaded that they were forged by the Christians; and *St. Augustine* plainly declares, that this was the general Opinion of all the Gentiles. The Sibylline Verbs intimated by *Tully* were *Pædagogical*, that is to say, the first Verse of every Sentence comprehended all the Letters in order, that began the following Verbs; now among all the Verbs of the Sibyls, only three cited by *Constantine* are composed in *Alphabetical*. As for the Allusion that in the time of *Pompey*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Augustus*, there was a general report, that it was foretold in the Sibylline Books, that a new King should be born within a little while; we may easily reply with *Tully*, that the Verbs attributed to the Sibyls by the Heathens were made after such a manner, that any sense whatsoever might be put upon them; and that, perhaps, mention might be made therein of a certain future King, as it is usual in this kind of Prophecies. Therefore when the Grandeur of *Pompey* began to be formidable to the Roman Empire, they thought it fit to make use of this Pretence, to prevent him from going into *Spain* with an Army. And *Lentulus*, to whom this Charge was committed, being Governor of *Syria*, vainly flattered himself with this Prediction, which might nevertheless be further confirmed by the Prophecies of the Jews, who expected the Coming of the *Messiah*, believing that he ought to be their King.

Afterwards when it happened that *Julius Cæsar*, and *Augustus* after him, actually made themselves Masters of the Roman Empire, the Prophetic Expressions of the Sibyls were interpreted in their favour; neither was it necessary on this account, that they should clearly point at the Coming of *Jesus Christ*; as it is expressed in the Writings of the Sibyls that are alleged by the Fathers; but it was sufficient, that they mentioned a future King, which is the usual practice of all those that undertake to utter Predictions of extraordinary Events. I have occasion to *Virgil* who intended in his fourth *Æneid* to compose a Verse in Honour of *Pollio* his Patron, as also to extol *Augustus* at the same time, and to celebrate the Felicity of his Reign; this Poet, afforded him an opportunity to do it with greater Majesty, to make use of the name of the Sibyl, and to pronounce these Verbs:

*Ultima Cœlestis venit iam carminis ætas;
Magna ævo hæc, lastumq; nefasq; uolens
Imperium præcipue Cæsaribus ædificat;
Tunc hæc erit, Progenies Saturnia, regna.*

By which reading it is manifest, that at the Nativity of *Salustius* the Son of *Pollio*, under the Consulate of his Father, and the Reign of the greatest Prince in the World, the Golden Age should return, as it were foretold by the Sibyls; that Peace and Prosperity should flourish throughout the whole Universe; and that the Virgin *Alba*, the Goddess of *Justice*, who had abandoned the Earth at the beginning of the Iron-Age, should descend again from Heaven. What is there in all this, that resembles the Prophecies concerning *Jesus Christ*? O Gentlemen, what is there that is not altogether prophane, and designed by an Heathen Poet, who only makes use of the Sibyls's Name to flatter the Ambition of *Augustus*, and to add great Authority and Lustre to the whole? As for his commendation; Lastly, the Words of *Aurelian* do not intimate, that the Christians were forbidden by the Pagans to read the Sibylline Books, but only that the Christians looked upon them, as prophane Writings, which in no way related to their Religion, and to which they gave no Credit.

The Books that are attributed to *Orpheus*, and *Mercurius*, *Pythagoras*, and cited likewise by the ancient Fathers, are no more genuine than the Verbs of the Sibyls. There is nothing now extant of *Orpheus*, and this Author was altogether unknown to the ancient Heathens; but the same thing cannot be said of *Mercurius Simmacus Trifingius* (a), who is intimated by the most

(a) Simmacus Trifingius. In Greek *Σιμακὸς Τριφίνγιος*; In Greek *Σιμακὸς Τριφίνγιος*; the Egyptians call him *Thamus*; some affirm, that this Name was attributed to him, by reason of his incomparable Learning.

ancient

ancient Pagan Writers (a) as an incomparable Person, and an Inventor of all the Liberal Arts and Sciences. He was more ancient than all the Authors, whose Works are still extant. He is believed to be as Old as *Moses*; he either wrote, or at least it is said that he wrote, Twenty five, or Thirty thousand Volumes. But we have only two Dialogues at present under his Name, one whereof is called by the Name of *Panænus*; and the other of *Asclepius*, who are the principal Speakers. The first Treatise is concerning the Will of God, and the second Treatise of the Divine Power; these have been cited by the ancient Fathers, to prove the Truth of our Religion; by the Authority of so famous an Author. But it is certain that they cannot be his; (b) for the Author of these Treatises is a Modern Platonic Christian, who argues from the Principles of that Philosophy, and hath taken from the Holy Scripture, that which he writ concerning the Word of God, and the Creation of the World.

It were needless to shew the falsity of a Letter attributed to *Lentulus*, and directed to the Senate and People of *Rome*, concerning the Actions of *Jesus Christ*, since the Forgery is apparent: It is pretended to have been written by *Lentulus*, as Governor of *Terrusalem*, altho' he never was so; the Supercription thereof is intcribed to the Senate and People of *Rome*; whereas ever since there were Emperors, it was the general Custom among the Governors of *Provinces* to write immediately to them: Moreover the Contents of this Letter are ridiculous, there is a mean and unworthy Description of the Person of *Jesus Christ*; as particularly it is said, that his Hair was of a light Colour, long and loose after the manner of the *Nazærenes*; the Style is also very far from the Purity and Elegancy of the Age wherein *Augustus* lived. In short, this Letter is not so much as mentioned by any of the ancient Writers.

THE Letter of *Pilate* to *Tiberius* on the same Subject, concerning the Miracles of *Jesus Christ* seems to be more Authentic; for it is recorded by *Tertullian* in his *Apologétique*, that *Tiberius* being informed of the supernatural and wonderful Operations, that were performed by our Saviour in *Palestine*, which were so many Testimonies of his Divinity, made report thereof to the Senate, and determined, that he ought to be Enrolled among the Gods; but that the Senate having rejected this Proposition, *Tiberius* nevertheless persisted in his Opinion, and forbade his Subjects to persecute the Christians. It is added, a little after by the same Author, that *Pilate* being a Christian in his Heart, wrote to *Tiberius* concerning the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*. *Ænebius* in the second Book of his History Chap. 2. produceth this passage of *Tertullian*, and giving a large Account how the fame of our Saviour was spread abroad, and came to the Ears of *Tiberius*, he says, that *Pilate* sent a Letter to the Emperor, according to the usual Custom of the Governors of *Provinces*, who were obliged to give an Account of the most remarkable Occurrences that happened within their Jurisdiction, and that he wrote to him concerning the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, avouching that he had been informed of his Miracles by many, and that a great number of People esteemed him as a God, after he rose again from the Dead. We find in the *Orthodoxographia*, after the Epistle of *Lentulus* another attributed to *Pilate* and directed to *Tiberius*, wherein the same things are contained. But it is difficult to determine whether this Letter was extant in the time of *Ænebius*, or afterwards forged from his Story. However, there are divers learned Men, that doubt of the Truth of this History, which hath but very little probability in its Foundation; for what Likelihood is there that *Pilate* should transcribe these things in writing to *Tiberius*, relating to a Man whom he had condemned to Death? And altho' he had written them, it is credible that *Tiberius* should have made a Proposition to the Senate, for the admitting this Person into the number of the Gods upon the bare report of a Governor? And if he had propounded it, who can doubt but that the Senate would have immediately submitted to his Judgment? Therefore, tho' this Relation cannot be absolutely Charged with Falseness, yet it ought at least to be accounted as dubious. [Dr. Pearson late Bishop of *Chester* in his Lectures upon the Acts of the Apostles (p. 64, 65.) vindicates the Truth of this Story against the Objections of *Tana-*

(a) Mentioned by the most ancient Pagan Writers: *Plato* in *Phædrus* declares, that he favoured the Characters of Letters together with Arts and Sciences. *Cicero* in Lib. 3. de *Natura Deorum* assures us, that he governed the Egyptians, and that he gave them Laws and found out the Characters of their Writings; It is recorded by *Diadorus Siculus*, that he taught the Grecians the Art of discovering the Secrets of the Mind. And we are informed by *Jamblicus*, who quotes *Isaiah* and *Edmundus*, that he wrote above Thirty five thousand Volumes. *St. Clement* *Alexandrinus* in *Strom.* Lib. 6. makes mention of Forty two Books of this Author, and gives an Account of the Subject of some of them. The Works of *Mercurius Trifingius*, are cited as favourable to the Christian Religion by the Author of the Exhortation to the Gentiles, said to be *St. Justin*, by *Lactantius* in the Fourth Book of his *Institutiones*, by *St. Clement*, in Lib. 1. *Stromat.* by *St. Augustine*, in *Tract.* de *s. Hæres.* and in Lib. 8. de *Civit. Dei*, Chap. 23. by *S. Cyril* of *Alexandria*, in

v

quit

Hyphalper, and Mercurius Trifingius.

A Letter of Lentulus.

Pilate's Letter.

quid. *Tiberius* fully, that I shall sit down the *Refutation* at large. And a *Hesius*, that *Tertullian* might have taken his Information from the *Acts* of the *Senate*, wherein the *Votes* and *Acts* of every day were constantly set down. 2. He observed from *Suetonius*, that *Tiberius* acquainted the *Senate* with every thing that he was informed of, whether publick or private, of great or of little Concern. 3. He observes that *Tiberius* often took no notice when the *Senate* decreed things against his own Opinion; and this also is expressly affirmed by *Seneca*. 4. The *Senate* refused to Rank *Jesus Christ* amongst the *Gods* out of a Complement to *Tiberius*, who had before refused *Divine Honours*, commanding that no Statues of his should be Erected in their Temples, unless for Ornament; they might probably therefore suspect that this was proposed by *Tiberius*, who never spoke his mind plainly in any thing, to ensure that, who could not attribute those Honours to any Body else, which *Tiberius* had forbidden to be paid to himself, without making that Person greater than *Tiberius*. 5. It is not probable that *Pompeius Pilatus* should neglect so remarkable a thing, as the Crucifixion and Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, when all the *Governors* of particular Provinces were obliged to send Relations of every one that was considerable under their Governments to the Emperors who sent them. And the Question is not, as *Leter* mis-understood it, whether the *Christians* then made any considerable Figure in the World, but whether upon *Tiberius's* transmitting an Account to *Tiberius* of the Death and Resurrection of *Jesus Christ* at *Jerusalem*, when he was Procurator of *Judea*, the Emperor did not propose to the *Senate* that this *Jesus Christ* might be ranked amongst the *Gods*; which being positively asserted by *Tertullian*, cannot be disproved by any Negative Arguments that may at this time of day be brought against it.

But tho' these Reasons which are urged by this great Man against *Tanaquil Faber*, sufficiently vindicate the Truth of *Tertullian's* Authority in this Matter; yet that is no Argument why the Epistle that goes under *Pilate's* Name should be Genuine. *Pilate* sent this Account of *Jesus Christ* in the *Acts* of his Administration, not in a particular Letter to the Emperor. The *Acts* are quoted by *Justin Martyr*, *Ensebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *St. Chrysostome*, and this Letter was made in all probability when the Original *Acts* were lost.

Epistle of Seneca to St. Paul, and of St. Paul to Seneca.

BUT we have reason to reject the Thirteen Epistles, as well those of *Seneca* to *St. Paul*, as the others of *St. Paul* to *Seneca*, as undoubted Forgeries; altho' *St. Jerome*, and *St. Augustine* seem to own them as Authentick. For (1.) These Epistles are not written according to the style of *St. Paul*, nor in that of *Seneca* (2.) It is declared therein, that in the Fire that happened in *Rome* under *Nero*, there were only 122 Houses burnt, which is a manifest falsehood since it is certain, that a great part of the City was consumed as *Tacitus* informs us (3.) The date of these Letters is false (4.) They contain nothing that is worthy of *Seneca*, or of *St. Paul*. (5.) Lastly, it may be easily discerned, that they were forged by some Persons, merely to gratify their Fancy, and to Exercise their Faculty of Invention.

A late Author acknowledging, that the Epistles extant at this day under the Name of *Seneca* to *St. Paul*, and of *St. Paul* to *Seneca* are counterfeit, and yet not daring to affirm, that *St. Jerome* and *St. Augustine*, who believed them to be Genuine were deceived, hath imagined that the real Letters of *St. Paul* to *Seneca*, and of *Seneca* to *St. Paul* were lost since their time; and that those that we now have in our Possession, were substituted in their room. But besides that the respect that we have for these two Fathers, ought not to hinder us from believing, that they might be mistaken in a matter of so little moment (6.) it is also to be observed, that they do not positively assert, that those Epistles were Authentick, but only that they were generally reputed to be so; and that they were read under their Names: (7.) Moreover it might be easily demonstrated, that the Letters which remain in

(9.) Are not written according to the style of *St. Paul*, nor in that of *Seneca*. The style of those that are attributed to *Seneca* is Barbarous, and full of words that are scarce Latin: The Epistles ascribed to *St. Paul*, do not suit with the Gravity of this Apostle, and contain Complements rather than solid Instructions.

(8.) It is related by *Tacitus*. He informs us, that of Fourteen quarters of the City of *Rome*, there remained but four entire, that there were three, the Houses whereof were wholly consumed, that very little was left in the other Seven, and that those that were left were half burnt.

(7.) The Date of these Letters is false. One of them is Dated under the Consulate of *Agrippinus* and *Cephis*, that is, *Vespasian* and *Cephis*, Five years before the burning of *Rome*, and the other under the Consulate of *Phrygius* and *Basilius*. But it was under the Consulate of *Lucius Bassus*, and *Lucius Crassus*, that this Fire happened: And the Letter is Dated in *March*, whereas the Fire did not begin (according to the report of *Tacitus*) till May following.

(6.) They contain nothing that is worthy of *Seneca* or of *St. Paul*. There is scarcely one Moral Sentence in

those of *Seneca*, or one Christian Precept in those of *St. Paul*.

(5.) In a Matter of so little moment. It is certain, that the Fathers have often cited Apocryphal and counterfeit Books, as we have already seen; *Natalis Alexander* himself the Author of the Opinion, which we now confute, Confesses it, and on the very same Account rejects the Epistle of *Jesus Christ* to *Agrippinus*, and that of *Agrippinus* to *Jesus Christ*, that are more Authorized by the ancient Writers than those Letters of *Seneca*.

(4.) But only that they were generally reputed to be so. *St. Jerome* in Catalog. I reckon *Seneca* in the number of Ecclesiastical Authors, by reason of certain Letters which are read by many under the Name of *Seneca* to *St. Paul*, and of *St. Paul* to *Seneca*. *St. Aug. Ep. 14. num. 163.* *Seneca* of whom certain Letters are read written to *St. Paul*. But in *Lib. de Croit. Dei*, Chap. 11. He declares that *Seneca* neither commended nor censured the Christians, and that he hath made no mention of them; therefore he did not believe that these Letters were his.

Epistles of Seneca to St. Paul, and of St. Paul to Seneca.

our hands at present, and those that were extant in the time of *St. Jerome* are the same, for he declares that *Seneca* wished in one of his Epistles, to be among his Followers; what *St. Paul* was to *St. Paul* (7.) It is not known, when or by whom these Epistles were forged, and it is difficult to determine, whether it were on their Account, that there is this passage in the false *Acts* of the *Passion* of *St. Lazarus*, that *Seneca* and *St. Paul* wrote divers Letters one to another; or whether the Narrative of this Author, gave the hint to those that forged these Letters, as *Cardinal Baronius* conjectures.

1. Lastly among all the profane Monuments that might be quoted for the Confirmation of the Truth of the Christian Religion, none seems to be more considerable than this passage of *Josephus*, taken from Book 18, chap. 4. of his Jewish Antiquities, wherein he declares: That, at that time there was a wife, *Mas* named *JESUS*, (if we may only call him a *Mas*;) for he wrought many Miracles, and taught the truth to those that received it with joy, who had a great number of Disciples, as well among the Jews as the Gentiles; that he was the CHRIST, and that being accused by the chief of his Nation, he was crucified by *Pilate's* Order: That nevertheless, he was not abandoned by those that loved him, because he had appeared unto them alive on the Third day, as was foretold by the Prophets; and that he was the Author of the Sect of the Christians, which remains at this day.

This Testimony of *Josephus* is produced by *Ensebius*, *St. Jerome*, and several others after them, as a Record very important for the establishing of the Christian Faith; but in these later times, when Matters began to be examined more accurately, there have been, and there are even at present many learned Men, who maintain that this passage doth not really belong to *Josephus*, and it must be Confessed, that their Conjectures are not altogether to be disallowed, for they affirm;

1. That the style is intricate, not very fluent, and different from that of *Josephus*, whose Expressions are generally clear and elegant.

2. That it is evident, that this passage was inserted afterwards into the Texts of *Josephus*; because the Coherence of the following Sentence is interrupted; for immediately after the end thereof, we read, About that time the Jews began to be afflicted again, with another Calamity, words that have no manner of Relation to what went before, concerning our Saviour: but which manifestly appertain to the Account of the Massacre of the Jews, whom *Pilate* had caused to be slain in *Jerusalem*; that came just before this passage concerning *Jesus Christ*; which plainly shews (say they) that it doth not belong to *Josephus*, and that it hath been afterwards added.

3. They argue, that in case this passage were taken separately, yet even then it might be easily perceived, that those are the words of a Christian, and not of a Jew; since *Jesus Christ* is therein called God, his Miracles and Resurrection acknowledged, and it is declared, that these things were foretold by the Prophets; How can it be imagined that this should proceed from a Jew, especially *Josephus*, who seems to doubt of the Miracles recorded in the Books that were written by Hebrew Authors?

4. What probability there, that *Josephus* a Person extremely addicted to the Interest of his own Nation, should speak so honourably of *Jesus Christ*, whom he did not believe to be the *Messiah*, (as is observed by *Origen* in his Book against *Celsus*) and that he should accuse his Country-men, as having unjustly put him to Death?

5. *Josephus* describing in the same Book, Chap. 8. the Martyrdom of *St. James*, declares, that he was the Brother of *Jesus Christ*; now if he had made mention of him in some of his preceding Chapters, he would not have failed to take notice thereof; or at least, he would in this place have added somewhat in his Commendation.

6. This Testimony (say they) is not only unknown to the Authors that lived before the time of *Ensebius*; but *Origen* expressly denies, that *Josephus* wrote any thing concerning our Saviour; It is very strange, (says he in *Tom. 2. in Math.*) That *Josephus* who did not acknowledge *Jesus Christ* as the *Messiah*, should give so Authentick a Testimony concerning the Innocency of *St. James*. Would he have spoken to this effect, if there had been in his time so remarkable an Evidence of the Divinity of *Jesus Christ* in the Works of *Josephus*, as that which is now extant therein? *Theodoret* hath also observed, that *Josephus* knew not our Saviour. But nothing is more considerable than the silence of *Photius* as to this Matter, who making an exact Epitome of the Books of *Josephus*, takes no notice of this passage concerning *Jesus Christ*, which he would not have omitted, if it had been then found in all the Copies of the Writings of *Josephus*, and if he had believed that it was written by him.

Lastly, that which deserves a more particular Reflection is, that it is remark by *Photius* in another place, that there was extant in his time a Book concerning the Universe attributed to *Josephus*, which he judged to be fictitious, in regard that *Jesus Christ* is too honourably mentioned therein, and he adds afterwards, that he hath been since informed that this Book was written by *Catus* a Priest of

(9.) Which bears a great Analogy with that which we find in the 11th. Letter of *Seneca* to *St. Paul*. I according to *St. Jerome*: Optare se dicere servus ejus esset apud suos, ejus in Paulus apud Christianos. In the 11th Letter of *Seneca* we find the following Expression. Cum sit vortex, et altissimum montium cacumen haud te indignum in prima facie Epistoliarum in-

minandum censeat—nam qui meus tuus apud te levis, qui tuus velum ut meus. If apud tuos were put instead of apud te, these words would express *St. Jerome's* Sense; and they seem not to be capable of admitting any other; however it is evident, that he alludes to this place.

Biblioth. Cod. 238.

A Passage
of Josephus
concerning
Jesus Christ.

Rome: Perhaps this passage, which is at present in his Antiquities, was taken from this *clauso*, who bore the Name of *Josephus*, and was used as a *Testimony* to the *Truth* of *Origen*, *Theodoret* and *Photius*, that those Authors happened to meet with certain Manuscripts of *Josephus*, in which this passage had been struck out by the Jews: But the Author seems rather to weaken his Authority; for if there were ancient Manuscripts, wherein it was not expunged, we have yet more reason to doubt of its Veracity; and the Arguments that have been already produced sufficiently show, that it is more probable, that it hath been added in some Manuscripts by the Christians, than left out in others by the Jews. However, I shall not undertake to decide this Question, but shall leave it to the Judgment of the Reader to determine; whether the Authority of *Josephus*, (St. Jerome, and all the Manuscripts of *Josephus* that we have at present in our Possession, ought to be preferred before the above-cited Conjectures of the learned, the general Testimonies of *Origen*, *Theodoret* and *Photius*, and perhaps some ancient Manuscripts of *Josephus*, that are long since lost.

HERMAS.

THESE are Three things to be examined in this Book of the *Pastor*, attributed to *Hermas*, which is one of the most famous Books of Antiquity. (a) 1. Who is the Author thereof? 2. Whether it is Canonical or not? 3. Whether it be a useful Book; as also, whether it deserves the Esteem and Reputation that it formerly had?

The first Question may be easily determined. It bears the Name of *Hermas*, and all the ancient Writers have cited it under this Name; it appears likewise from the Antiquity thereof, that it might possibly be written by that *Hermas*, whom St. Paul salutes at the end of his Epistle to the Romans; *Origen*, *Eusebius* and St. Jerome have made no difficulty of asserting it; however, it cannot be doubted, but that the Author of this Book was called *Hermas*, and that the Name of *Hermes* hath been attributed to him by some Authors through a mistake, which gave occasion to certain Modern Writers, to ascribe this Book to one *Hermes*, the Brother of Pope Pius I. (b) But this Imagination is sufficiently refuted by the Testimony of all the ancient Fathers, who constantly call him *Hermas*, besides the Author of this Book was a Greek, and his Writings were more known amongst the Greeks, than

(a) One of the most famous Books of Antiquity. The Book of *Hermas* entitled *The Pastor* hath been admitted by many Churches as Canonical. S. Irenaeus cites it under the Name of Scripture, Lib. 4. chap. 3. *Bene erga pronuntiavit Scriptura quae dicit primo omnium rege, quoniam unus est Deus, &c.* This Passage is found in the *Pastor*, Lib. 1. Mand. 1. *Clement Alexandrinus* produces several other Expressions, as taken from a Book of great Authority, Lib. 1. Stromat. p. 311, and 316. Lib. 2. p. 360, 374, and 385. Lib. 4. p. 503. Lib. 6. p. 679. It is likewise cited by *Origen* as a Book of Holy Scripture, *Homil.* 10. in *Jes. Homil.* 1. in *Psalm.* 37. *Homil.* 13. in *Ezek.* Lib. 1. *Epist.* *Apocryph.* c. 3. Lib. 2. c. 1. Lib. 2. in *Matth.* c. 24. 42. c. 1. *Comment.* in *Joannem*, Lib. 10. in *Ep. ad Rom.* where he declares, that the same *Hermas* mentioned in this place of the Epistle of St. Paul, is the Author of the *Pastor*, *Item* in *Origen*, *Philocal.* c. 8. Although he observes in other places, that it was not generally received in *Antioch*, 8. in *Numb.* Lib. 4. *Epist.* *Apocryph.* *Philocal.* c. 2, and *Homil.* 35. in *Luce*. It is reported by *Eusebius*, Lib. 3. *eb.* 3. that some reckoned it among the Canonical Writings, and others in the number of good Ecclesiastical Books that were necessary for new Converts, Lib. 3. c. 25. He placeth it amongst the Apocryphal Books, and observes, Lib. 5. c. 8. that it is quoted by S. Irenaeus. St. Athanasius cites it in *Lib. de Interim. Verbi*, and in *Lib. de Decret. Synodi Nicenae*, p. 252. *Edit. Parisi.* 266, where he expressly declares, that it is not included in the Canon. He quotes it again in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Phrygia*, p. 396, and in his Paschal Epistle he inserts it in the Catalogue of Books that are not Canonical. S. Jerome, in *Lib. de Scripturis*, affirms, that it is a useful Book, but almost unknown to the Latins. In its Prologue, he placeth it in the rank of Books that are not Canonical. In *Comment.* in *Isaiam*, c. 7. v. 9. he cites it, adding these words, *Si cui hominem placet ejus rescribere*

Latine. In his first Book on *Hebraeos*, ad c. 1. v. 14. he calls it *Apocryphal*, and finds fault with a foolish Thought in the Book. *Ruffinus* on the Creed reckons it among the Ecclesiastical Books, though not Canonical. It is cited by *Cassian*, *Collat.* 8. c. 12, 13, and 17. And S. Propper rejects it as a Book of no Authority, *Ubi nullius Auctoritatis, contra Collat.* c. 30. *Geleus* inserts it in the List of Apocryphal Books. And lastly, *Maximus* cites it in *Lib. 4. De divinis nominibus*. This shews, that notwithstanding its various fortune, it hath been always very famous.

(b) To impose this Book to one *Hermes*, the Brother of Pope Pius I. The Author of *Damasus's* Pontifical, *Regime*, the Author of the Letter of Pope Pius I. and some other modern Writers, are in this Error, and they seem to have taken it from the Author of the Poem against *Marcion*, who affirms, that *Hermas*, who wrote this Book, was the Brother of *Pius*; *Possit hunc deinde Pius, Hermas cui Germine frater Angelicus Pastor cui tradita coram laicis*. But he calls him, *Hermas* and not *Hermes*; It is true indeed, that we find in the Version of *Origen* *Epist.* *Apocryph.* made by *Ruffinus*, Lib. 1. c. 3. and *Lib. 4. c. 2.* *Hermes* instead of *Hermas*; but it is a fault of the Transcriber, for in the Greek Text of the last Fragment that is extant of the *Philocalia*, it is read *Hermas*, and not *Hermes*; and *Ruffinus* himself in other places calls him *Hermas*. Moreover all the ancient Writers, as St. Clement, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, S. Jerome, and others above-mentioned, always call him *Hermas*, and never *Hermes*, *Irenaeus* and some others distinguish two Books, one written by *Hermas*, the Brother of *Pius*, which Treated of *Esse*, and the other by one *Hermas*; but since they ground their Opinion only on the Authority of modern Writers, in attributing a Book to this pretended *Hermas*, a Person unknown to all Antiquity, their Conjecture seems to be without any Probability.

the

Hermas.

the Latins, as is observed by S. Jerome, which would not have happened, if it had been Composed by the Brother of Pope Pius.

As for the Authority of this Book, it is certain that it hath been heretofore received in many Churches as Canonical, and that S. Irenaeus, S. Clement Alexandrinus, *Origen*, and even *Tertullian* in *Lib. de Oratore*, cite it as a part of Holy Scripture; nevertheless it cannot be doubted, that it hath been rejected by divers other Churches, (c) and esteemed only as a Treatise, that might be used to very good purpose for the Edification of Christians: But there have been very few ancient Authors, that have not felt a high Esteem on this Book, and it hath been almost always cited by the Fathers, as a Work of great Authority (d).

It hath not been so much valued by Modern Authors, and there are very few at present that commend it; or that have the same regard to it, as those that lived in the primitive Ages of the Church. And indeed, if we may judge by the Method according to which it is written, and by the things therein contained, it doth not seem to deserve much Esteem. The First part Entitled the *Visions* is full of many Revelations, that are explained to *Hermas* by a Woman representing the Church; they all relate to the State of the Church, and the manners of the Christians. The Second part which is most useful, is called the *Ordinances*, wherein are comprized divers Precepts of Morality, and pious Instructions, which the Pastor or Angel of *Hermas* prescribes to him. The Third Part is called *The Similitudes*, because it begins with several *Similar* or Comparisons, and concludes with *Visions*. These three Books comprehend very many Moral Instructions concerning the Practice of Christian Virtues; but the great number of *Visions*, Allegories, and Similitudes, make them tedious, and all these Moral Truths would, in my opinion, have been more useful, if the Author had propounded them simply, as the Apostles have done in their Epistles.

We have lost the Original Greek Text of these three Books; and there remains only a Version which is printed in the *Orthodoxographia*, as also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and hath been likewise published separately by *Barthius*, and lastly by *Cotelierus*, together with the Greek Fragments extracted from ancient Authors. It is not known when, nor by whom this Translation was composed; some attribute it to *Ruffinus*; and others affirm, that it was made in the Primitive Ages of Christianity, when the Writings of *Hermas* were not altogether unknown to the Latins. However it be, this Version is not amiss, since it exactly agrees with the Greek Passages cited by St. Clement, *Origen*, *Antiochus*, and some other ancient Writers.

[There have been other Editions of *Hermas's* Pastor, besides these which M. Du Pin mentions: It was first published by *Jacobus Faber* at Paris, 1513. Then at Strasbourg, 1522. And it was lately published from two MS. Copies at Oxon, with short Notes in 12°. A. D. 1685.]

(c) It cannot be doubted that it hath been rejected by divers other Churches. *Origen* acknowledgeth, that it was Thrown out of the Canon of Holy Scripture by many Christians; *Tertullian*, in *Lib. de Pudicitia*, replies to certain Persons, who objected to him, that this Book was rejected by divers Orthodox Churches. *Eusebius*, S. Athanasius, S. Jerome, and *Ruffinus* above-cited, reckon it among those Writings that are not Canonical, yet such as may be useful for the In-

struction of Christians; and *Geleus* placeth it amongst the Apocryphal Books.

(d) It hath been cited as a Book of great Authority. *Origen* censures it, but after he turned *Manichee*, *Origen* observes that it was condemned by some Christians, but that it had a great Esteem for it; S. Jerome in one place accuseth it of Nonfence, but in others he commends it. S. Propper throws it aside as a Book of no Authority; but it was because he scarce knew it.

S. CLEMENTS ROMANUS.

S. Clement the Disciple, and Coadjutor of the Apostles (a), was ordained Bishop of Rome after S. Anacletus (b), in the year of our Lord 93. Divers Books are attributed to him, some of S. Clements (which are really his, others are ancient too) supposititious, and others are both counterfeit and modern: And indeed we can only reckon among those that were certainly composed by this Bishop the two Epistles to the *Corinthians*, the first whereof, so famous among the ancient Authors (c), was undoubtedly written by him. *Irenaeus* Book 3. chap. 8. speaks thus. In the time of S. Clement,

(a) St. Clement the Disciple and Coadjutor of the Apostles. This is the same Clement whom S. Paul mentions, *Phil.* 4. v. 3. reckoning him in the number of those that had laboured together with him in propagating the Gospel, and that had assisted him in his Ministry; *With Clement also, and with other my Fellow-Labourers, whose Names are in the Book of Life*.

(b) Was ordained Bishop of Rome after Anacletus. [He is reputed by S. Irenaeus, *Eusebius*, and other ancient Writers, to have been the third Bishop of Rome, tho' some affirm, that he was the immediate Successor of S. Peter; but it is better in my opinion to adhere to S. Irenaeus.

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(c) So famous among the ancient Authors. S. Irenaeus hath cited it; *Lib. 3. chap. 3.* S. Clement *Alex. Lib. 1. Stromat.* p. 289. and *Lib. 4. p. 516. Lib. 5. p. 686. Lib. 6. p. 647.* *Origen*, *Lib. 2. Tractat. apocryph.* chap. 3. In *Joan.* 1. chap. 29. *Euseb.* *Lib. 3. chap. 16.* and 36. *Lib. 4. chap. 22.* and 23. *S. Cyril.* *Catech.* 18. *Epiph.* *Hier.* 27. N. 7. *Hieron.* in *Lib. de Viris Illustribus*, and *Lib. adversus Joann.* c. 7. *Comment.* in *Isaiam*, *Lib. 14. chap. 52. vers. 13. Comment.* in *Ep. ad Ephes.* *Lib. 1. chap. 2. vers. 2. Lib. 2. ad chap. 4. vers. 1. Auto. Resp.* ad *Orthodox.* apud *Just.* *Quadr.* 74. *Photius*, *Cod.* 113.

(Iay)

(*Epistle*) upon occasion of a great Division that happened in the Church of *Constantinople*, the Church of Rome wrote a very pathetic Letter to the Corinthians, to restore them to Peace, wherein the strongest their Faith, and precious their Tradition; that they had lately received from the Apostles. This Epistle which is cited by S. Clement, *Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom*, and *Phoebus*, was for a long time concealed, until at length M. *Parvot* Young having found it in an ancient Manuscript (*a*), caused it to be printed at *Oxford*, *Anno Dom.* 1633.

After the Holy Scriptures, it is in my opinion one of the most eminent Records of Antiquity. S. *Clement*, therein exhorting the Faithful of the Church of *Corinth*, that was in a Disturbance by the revolt of some Christians, who refused to submit to their lawful Pastors, he exhorts them, I say, to a Re-union, and to seek after Peace; particularly he admonisheth them to persevere in the Obedience and Submission that they owed to their Spiritual Guide, he censures those that disturbed the Church, and that promoted secret Cabals against their Ministers on purpose to upbraid them; He begins with putting them in mind of the Happiness of that Peace which they had formerly enjoyed; afterwards he represents to them the misfortune of their present Divisions, and proceeds to shew by many Examples, what lamentable Consequences have always attended it, and how displeasing it is to God: Moreover he adviseth them to repent, in practising Humility, Obedience, and Charity, in imitation of the Humility of *Jesus Christ*, and the Mercy of God, through the Hope of a Return: From thence he takes an occasion to recommend to the Faithful the Practice of many Christian Virtues, and the Observation of a Regular Discipline: He declares to them, that it was very ill done to rise up against the Pastors and Bishops that were Constituted by the Apostles, or Elected by the Faithful after their Death: He aggravates the heinousness of their Crime that were the first promoters of this Division, and earnestly sollicit them to return to their Duty by obeying their Ministers, and by reuniting themselves with the rest of the Believers. Thus you have an account of the Subject of this Epistle written by S. *Clement* in the name of the Church of *Rome* to that of *Corinth*, about the end of the Persecution raised by the Emperor *Diocletian*. The Style thereof (*bays Pottius*) is simple and clear, and it comes very near the natural and artless manner of Expression used by the ancient Ecclesiastical Authors: I shall add, that one may discern a great deal of Energy and Vigour, accompanied with much Prudence, Gentleness, Zeal, and Charity.

The second Epistle of S. *Clement* is not so certainly known to be his; *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom*, and *Phoebus* observe, that there is reason to doubt of its being Genuine, because it is not mentioned by the ancient Writers; nevertheless some of the Fathers have cited both these Epistles, as if they were of equal Authority (*c*). The Fragment that is now extant of this last Letter published in *Latin* by *Wendelinus*, and in *Greek* by *Mr. Young*, is an Exhortation to the Practice of Repentance, and of divers Christian Virtues on the account of the Mercy of God, and the Reward that is promised to the Faithful.

Besides these two Epistles, several voluminous Books have been attributed to S. *Clement* even in the Primitive Ages of the Church, that were not his; such were (as *Eusebius* declares in the third Book of his History, chap. 38.) the Disputes of S. *Peter* and *Apollon*, whereof the ancient Authors have made no mention, and which contain Matters that are far from the Purity of the Apostolical Doctrine: We may conjecture, that these Writings were part of the Book, Entitled, *Recognitions Clementis*; which is likewise called, *The Voyages, Itinerary, or Acts of S. Peter*: This Work, tho' fictitious, is ancient; being cited by *Origen* (*d*), *Eusebius*, S. *Athanasius*, S. *Epiphanius*, S. *Jerom*, and the Author of *The Commentaries on St. Matthew*, ascribed to S. *Chrysostom*: *Ruffinus* hath made a Translation thereof which is still extant. *Galatas* hath inserted it in the Catalogue of Apocryphal Books; and *Photius* observes, that there are Absurdities and Errors to be found in it: And indeed it is a Writing full of Fables, Tales, Conferences, and ridiculous Disputes, feigned at pleasure, and pretended to be holden between S. *Peter* and *Simon Magus*, concerning certain Events and Occurrences that are related after a childish manner; But that which is more dangerous is, that we may easily discover in several Passages thereof the Opinions of the *Ebionites*, tho' much palliated, together with many other Errors. In short this Book is of no use, if we reflect on the Style and Method in which it is written, or on the Things that are contained therein.

To avoid the Inconvenience of this Work, I shall not mention it. It is called *The Homilies of Thecla*, because it was written with the hand of an ancient Virgin called *Thecla*, who lived, (as is generally believed) in the time of the first Council of *Nice*. These Epistles have been since printed in the Collection of *Galeries*, in Lubbe's Edition of the Councils; and at *Hainstadt* in the year 1654. (As also at *Oxford* in 1673.)

(*e*) Some of the Fathers have cited both these Epistles, as if they were of equal Authority. The Author of the Apostolical Constitutions, c. ult. S. *Epiphanius* Harp. 23, chap. 6, and 33, chap. 15. S. *Jerom*, *adversus Jovin.* chap. 7. *Phoebus* Cod. 126. *Damasus*, Lib. 4. *Orth. Fid.* S. *Dionysius of Corinth* makes notice but of one single Epistle, and there is some difference in the style of

the second, which makes us doubt of its Veracity. The Style was heretofore cited therein, if we may give Credit to the Author of the Questions attributed to S. *Justin*; but he doth not declare, whether it were in the first Part, or in the second, and part of the second is lost. Moreover S. *Epiphanius* seems to mention other Epistles of S. *Clement*:

(*f*) Being cited by *Origen*, Tom. 3. Comment. in *Genes.* in *Philippi*, chap. 22, and in *Matth.* chap. 26. *Euseb.* lib. 7. *Hist.* chap. 3, and chap. 38. *Alphragus*, in *Synopsi*, *Epiph.* Harp. 33, chap. 25. *Alphragus*, in *Galatas*, and Lib. 1. in *Joann.* chap. 14, and Comment. in *Ep. ad Galat.* Lib. 1. chap. 18. *Ruffinus* de *Adversariis*, Lib. *Orig.* *Aut.* c. ult. in *Matth.* chap. 10. *vet.* 15, 16, 24, and 42. *Phoebus*, Cod. 123, and 124.

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I shall

I shall not pass the same censure upon the Apostolical Constitutions that are likewise falsely imputed to S. *Clement*, and which, tho' written by a later Author (g) yet contain many things very useful to the Discipline of the Church; it is not known by whom nor when they were composed (*h*); All that can be certainly affirmed is, that they are cited by S. *Epiphanius* (*i*), and the Author of *The Commentary on S. Matthew*, falsely attributed to S. *Chrysostom*; but the passages which are produced by them not perfectly agreeing with those that are found in the Constitutions which are extant at this day, we may be induced to conjecture that they have been since corrupted, and so much the rather, because they are infected with the *Arian Heresy* (*k*), and several other Errors. This is the judgment that was given concerning them by the Greek Bishops in the Synod that was convened in the Imperial Palace of *Constantinople* after the fifth General Council. However I admire that the Learned *Phoebus* (*l*) hath not made this Observation, and that he hath imputed the Errors of this Book to its Primitive Author.

It remains only to enquire, whether this Book be the same as that which is mentioned by *Eusebius* (*m*) and S. *Athanasius*, Entitled, *The Doctrine, or the Precepts of the Apostles*, *et. Sanctiones*, *et. Ordines*. This is the Opinion of *Nicephorus* (*n*), *Zonaras*, and *Matthaeus Blastares*; but it seems to me to be most probable, that *The Constitutions of the Apostles*, and the Book called *their Doctrine*, were two different Works which the likeness of their Titles hath caused to be confounded (*o*).

(*g*) Tho' written by a later Author. The Author of the *Recognitionis* is not the same with the Author of the *Constitutions*, tho' some have been of this Opinion; for their style is different; the later is well versed in the Principles of the Christian Religion, and in the Rites of the Church, but the other is ignorant of these matters; moreover they maintain a contrary Doctrine of the Constitution, in the *Constitution*, c. 8. c. 46. reckons the Sun, Moon, and Stars, in the number of inanimate Creatures; whereas the Author of the *Recognitionis* imagineth, that they have a Soul, in lib. 5. chap. 16. Lastly, the Author of the *Constitutions* was not an *Ebionite*, but he that writ the *Recognitionis* was.

(*h*) It is not known by whom, or when they were composed. It is certain that they do not belong to the Apostles, as has already been evidently demonstrated.

(*i*) They are cited by S. *Epiphanius*. In *Harp.* c. ult. this Father produceth a passage that is found in the beginning of the *Constitution*, and in *Harp.* 80. he cites another, which we read in *Lib. 1. Constitut.* chap. 3. concerning the Beards of Priests. In *Harp.* 25. he quotes a passage taken from *Lib. 5. chap. 14*, and 17. relating to the Fasts enjoined on *Wednesday* and *Friday*, as also on the Days before *Easter*. In *Harp.* 70. he observes, that the *Antients* made use of certain Constitutions, which, tho' dubious, ought not altogether to be rejected, as containing nothing contrary to the Faith or Discipline of the Church. This may induce us to believe, that the *Constitutions* which are now extant, have been corrupted since the time of *Epiphanius*, because the same thing could not be affirmed of those. Add to this, that in the same place *Epiphanius* cites a passage concerning *Easter*, wherein the Christians are admonished to celebrate that Feast together with the Jews, and the contrary is expressly declared in *Constitut.* Lib. 5. chap. 12. Moreover in the same place, he produces other Testimonies, out of the *Constitutions* that are not found therein: Perhaps S. *Epiphanius* had not sufficiently examined this Work, or perhaps he cited it without Book, or on the Report of another; However it be, he acknowledged it to be dubious.

(*k*) *Brants* they are infected with the *Arian Heresy*. In *Lib. 6. chap. 25*, the Author reasons in the number of Heretics, those that believe that *JESUS* is the same with the God of the Universe, but this might have been said in opposition to the *Sabellians*; and so much the rather since he adds, *and do not distinguish between the Holy Ghost*. Many other Passages are likewise alleged, wherein he affirms, that the Son and the Word is the Servant, and Minister of God the Father. These are the Phrases used by the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers; but they have been suspected ever since the Council of *Nice*.

(*l*) That the Learned *Photius*. He censures them on Three several Accounts, in *Cod. 112*. First, *ex malefactions*, from which (as he says) they may be vindicated; Secondly, by reason of some Expressions filled by the Author, which are Contradictory to the Book of *Dionysius*, and for these he might likewise be excused; and Lastly, he chargeth him with *Arianism*, from which he cannot be cleared without offering him some violence.

(*m*) Mentioned by *Eusebius*. *Euseb.* Lib. 3. chap. 25. *Athan.* in *Ep. Est. et Synopsi*.

(*n*) Of *Nicephorus*. *Niceph.* in *Stichometria*. *Zonaras* in *Ep. Ath. Mat. Blastares* in a Collection of *Canons* that is not Printed.

(*o*) Which the likeness of their Titles hath caused to be confounded. There are many Reasons to prove, that these are two different Works. First, S. *Athanasius* reckons the Book of the *Doctrines* in *Harp.* c. ult. among those that were usually read in the Catechumens; whereas the *Constitutions* were Compiled rather for the use of Bishops, and we find it prohibited in the last Canon to publish them, or to discover the Contents thereof to all sorts of People. Secondly, the Book of the *Doctrines of the Apostles*, contained only Two hundred Verses according to the *Stichometria* of *Nicephorus*, which cannot agree with the *Constitutions*, that are more voluminous. Thirdly, in the Index of Scripture made by *Anastasia Nicom.* *Epiphanius* and *Schadungia* *Klauder* are mentioned as distinct Books; and in some Manuscripts the *Constitutions* are Entitled *Didache*. Fourthly, in the Epitome of S. *Athanasius*, *Didache* and *Constitutions* are distinguished; therefore this Work was not attributed to S. *Clement*: Fifthly, when *Eusebius* Discourses of the Writings of S. *Clement*, he takes no notice of the Apostolical Constitutions; neither have the Ancients mentioned them. The *Arians* might have objected them in Vindication of their Heresy, and the Orthodox would have been obliged to make a Reply, but this is not done by either Party; therefore they are of a later Date, than the *Doctrines of the Apostles*, that was known to *Eusebius*, and S. *Athanasius*. These Reasons however probable they may seem to be, are not altogether Irresolvable; to the First it is replied, that the *Constitutions* were made for the use of all Christians, as appears from the first Words thereof; that the last Canon might perhaps be of a later Date; that S. *Athanasius* observes only that this Book was useful for the instructing of Catechumens in the Discipline, and Faith of the Church, tho' it was not Canonical, which may be very fairly affirmed of these *Constitutions*. In Answer to the Second it is alleged, that there were two Editions of the *Constitutions*, one more large being that which is now extant; and another, that was in Epitome thereof, and perhaps *Nicephorus* makes mention

mention of this list under the Name of *The Doctrine of the Apostles*. Besides that there are some Manuscripts wherein there are 6000 Verses, and besides the Length of every particular Verse is not known. Thirdly, that the Distinction of *Adversus* and *Adversus* is nothing to the purpose, the one possibly was an Abridgement of the other, neither is it certain, whether *The Constitutions*, be the Book now called *Adversus*. Fourthly, the *Clementine* is a Work different from the Constitutions, as well as *The Doctrine of the Apostles*. Lastly, the ancient Writers have not cited every

thing that occurred to them; the *Arians* have not made all the Objections that were obvious; and the Orthodox have not replied to every particular Circumstance that might be objected against them. These are the Answers, that are propounded to those that distinguish this Book of *The Doctrine of the Apostles* from *The Constitutions*, and I shall leave it to the Determination of the Reader, whether they do not cause greater Difficulties; for my part, I believe the former Opinion to be more probable.

It is therefore extremely difficult to determine when the Constitutions ascribed to the Apostles first appeared; since the Author of them is absolutely unknown, neither can it be proved whether they were at first the same as they are now. We can only conjecture, that it is most probable that the Constitutions ascribed to the Apostles, or *St. Clement* belong to the third, or rather the fourth Century, and that they have been from time to time corrected, altered, and augmented, according to the various Customs of different Ages and Countries (p).

Those that we have at present are not in Greek. *Crabbe* gives us a Latin Epitome of them in his second Edition of the Councils, Printed Anno 1557. The first entire Version that ever appeared, was made by *Bovine*, and inserted by *Sirius* in the Collection of Councils, which he set forth in the years 1567, and 1585. *Nicellinus* published another Translation of the Constitutions composed by *Turrianus*, together with the Annotations of the same Author; this was Printed at Venice in 1563, and at Antwerp in 1578. Afterwards *Binius* caused it to be Re-printed in his first Edition of the Councils, Anno Dom. 1606. but he did not think fit to allow it a place in his second Edition of the year 1608. *Fronto Ducaeus*, a Jesuit, is the first that published a Greek and Latin Edition of those Constitutions at the end of *Zouavris*, which was annexed to the new Collection of Councils. They are divided into eight Books, containing a great number of Precepts relating to Christian Duties, especially to those of Pastors, and concerning the Ceremonies and Discipline of the Church, of all which it would be too tedious to give a particular account. They that are desirous to be further informed, may have recourse to the Titles of the Chapters that are prefixed to these Tracts.

The last Work attributed to *S. Clement*, is a Collection of divers Pieces, Entituled, *Clementine*, and there hath been a Book under this Title for some time: The Author of the Epitome of the H. Scriptures attributed to *S. Athanasius* mentions them, and after him the Chronicle of *Alexandria*; *Nicéphorus Callistus* in the third Book of his History, chap. 18. *S. John Damascen*, and some others (q).

Perhaps this is the second Part of the *Recognitions* cited by *Rufinus*, for it is a Continuation of the Preachings and Acts of *S. Peter*. The Greek and Latin Collection, published by *Cotelierius* under this Name, contains divers Tracts full of Errors in Philology, as also of the Heresie of the *Ebionites*, and is such another Book as the *Recognitions*. There must needs have happened some Alteration in these *Clementine*, as well because they do not agree with that which is cited from them by *Maximus*, and by the Author of the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, as because they are infected with the Errors of *Enochianus*; besides, there is a Passage cited by an Author in the Library of the College of Clermont which is not to be found there; and we are informed by *Nicéphorus*, that the *Clementine* are an Orthodox Work, whereas this (as we have already shewn) abounds with Errors. It contains, first, two Apocryphal Letters, one of which is attributed to *S. Peter*, as written to *S. James*, wherein he adviseth him not to deliver the Book of his Preachings to the Gentiles, which is followed by a Proposition of *S. James*. The other is a Letter of *S. Clement* to *S. James*, which tho' it be ancient, and translated by *Rufinus*, yet is certainly counterfeit; as we shall hereafter shew when we give an account of the Forgeries of the Decretals of the Popes. To these two Epistles there are nineteen Homilies annexed relating to the Voyages, Preachings, and Disputes of *S. Peter*. Moreover at the end of this Work is likewise inserted an Epitome of the Actions of *S. Peter* extracted from the *Clementine*, the *Recognitions*; and the Epistle of *S. Clement*. *Cotelierius* found three of them in the King's Library, and hath published but one, which is the shortest, formerly published by *Turmelius*, and Printed at Paris Anno Dom. 1555. All these Writings, which are of very little use because they are full of Errors, are only a Contexture of Fables and idle Tales. Lastly, *Cotelierius* hath added the Records of the Martyrdom of *S. Clement*, concerning the Antiquity whereof we have no assurance, and which appear on the contrary to have been composed by the modern Greeks (r).

(p) That they have been from time to time corrected &c. according to the various Customs of different Ages and Countries. It is on this Account, that the *Ebionites* have certain Constitutions different from *Others*, which are cited by *Anastasin Nicæus*, Cod. 169. in the King's Library, and in his *Epistolas*, p. 160. where they are much commended.

(q) *S. John Damascen* and some others. *S. Epiphanius* seems to quote *Hebr.* 26. n. 16. as also *Anastasin*, Q. 26. p. 242. *Maximus* in *Homil.* 53. and 55. *Cotelierius* in *Compend. Hist.* p. 170. and 171. Moreover it is inserted in a Collection of the Works of the Fathers, which

is in the Library of the Jesuits College at Clermont, and by *Nicæus* in his *Pandect.*

(r) Which appear on the contrary, to have been composed by the modern Greeks. It is related in these Acts, that *S. Clement* was sent beyond Sea, (*ultra mare*) and afterwards into a Desert near the City, (*in desertum ubi solitudo*). That he found there some Christians condemned to live Marble out of the Quarries, who entreated him saying, *Ora pro nobis Pauciores, ut digni efficiamus promissione Christi*. Pray for us O Priest, that we may be made worthy of the Promise of Christ. That *S. Clement* caused a Spring to rise up in that place,

because

because these Christians were obliged to fetch water Six Miles off from thence, that they built there within one Year 75 Churches, that they demolished the Temples, and cut down consecrated Trees to the Number of 300000, that the Emperor *Trajan* being astonished at these Actions, sent thither the President *Aspasiatus*, who caused *S. Clement* to be drowned; that whilst his Disciples sought after the Relicks of his Body, the Sea withdrew, and they found it laid in a Tomb of stone, and that it was revealed to his Disciples, that his Body should not be taken away, and that the Sea should retire after the same manner every Year during seven Days, which it continues to do (says the Author of these Acts) even unto this Day, and this was accompanied with divers Miracles. Here are many Fables that do not agree with the time of *S. Clement*. Who can imagine that People should be transfused to new Stones should find means to Erect 75 Churches, and to pull down an infinite Number of

Temples? *S. Epiphanius*, or rather the Author of the Narrative, which is fully said to be his, gives an Account of the same *Martyrdom*, concerning the Sea that was dried up, to discover the Body of *S. Clement*, and adds that his Child being left in a Tomb, was found alive, and in good health at the end of the year following: But this pretended *Epiphanius* is an Author not less addicted to Fables, who calls himself Archbishop of *Chersina*, tho' he never was in that place.

[There have been several Editions of *S. Clement's* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, besides Mr. Young's and *Cassellius's*: *Joachim Madrian* Printed it at *Helmstadt*, 1654. in Quarto; *Colemeus* likewise set it out at *London* in Octavo, with some few Notes 1687; and it was Printed at *Oxon* in 1677 in Twelves. All these Editions are in Greek and Latin; Mr. *Burton* who writ Notes upon *Jerome's* Itinerary as far as it concerned *Britain*, was Translated it into English, and Printed it with Notes in Quarto 1647, at *London*.]

Now it will not be amiss briefly to recollect all that hath been said concerning the Works of *S. Clement*, and to declare our Opinion in this matter. The first Epistle to the *Corinthians* was certainly written by him, and is a good and useful Treatise. The second is very ancient, tho' not of the same Authority. The Constitutions are an ancient and useful Book fully imputed to *S. Clement*, in which many things have been added and altered in process of time, for which Reason several Errors have crept in amongst them. The *Recognitions* are an Apocryphal Work, ancient indeed, but abounding with Errors and Fables. The same Judgment ought to be given concerning the *Clementine*, which are not perhaps so ancient, as also the second Part of the *Recognitions*. The Book Entituled, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, may be the same with the Original Constitutions, but it is more probable that they are a different Work. We can give no account of the Book that bears the Title of *The Precepts of S. Clement*, *Διακοναία Κλημεντος*. The Voyages or Itinerary of *S. Peter* are the same as the *Recognitions* and the *Clementine*. The Epitome is an Abridgment of these Apocryphal Writings. The Acts of the Martyrdom of *S. Clement* were composed by the modern Greeks; The Discourse of *Epiphanius* is likewise of a later Date. There were also certain Sermons ascribed to *S. Clement* concerning the just Judgment of God and Divine Providence cited by *Anastasin Ambraseus*, Quæst. 96. but there is no probability of their being his. The five Decretals are counterfeit; and the Revelations or Apocalypse of *S. Peter*, heretofore thought to have been written by *S. Clement*; is likewise spurious. Thus we have given in short the Judgment that (according to our Opinion) ought to be given of all the Books that are, or have been, attributed to *S. Clement Romanus*, and all that we judge necessary to be propounded or explained concerning them in this place.

S. DIONYSIUS the Areopagite.

DIONYSIUS the Areopagite; who is reputed to have been a Native of *Thrace*, (a) after he had been converted by *S. Paul*, as it is recorded in the *Acts* (b) of the *Apostles*; was made *S. Dionysius*, Bishop of *Athens* (c), and suffered Martyrdom (d) in that City. I shall not spend time in proving that he never came into *France*, and that that *S. Denys* who was the first Apostle of this Kingdom, is different from the *Areopagite*; this Question has been so clearly discussed in our time (e), that there is scarcely any one, tho' never so incredulous that can question it. I could also very willingly forbear to give any Account of the Books that are attributed to him, or to shew how they have been forged, were it not that the Design of my Work obligeth me to this undertaking; therefore I shall do it with as much Brevity and Moderation as is possible.

(a) A Native of *Thrace*.] *Cassius* Dialog. 2. interregat. 112. in *Thracia* ex qua *Dionysius Areopagite* oritur (b).

(c) Act. 17. (d) Was constituted Bishop of *Athens*.] *Dionysius Corinthius* in *Euseb. Hist. lib.* 3. cap. 4. and lib. 4. cap. 4. (e) And suffered Martyrdom.] *Arifides* in *Ujardis*, and the other ancient Writers of Martyrologies.

(f) The question hath been so clearly discussed in our time, I Simplicius published a Discourse wherein he proves it beyond contradiction; and *him* *Lanzy* wrote several Tracts to confirm his Opinion, and to shew the fallhood of the Records produced by *Hildanus*, which are urged to authorize the vulgar Opin-

ion; and in a word, to confute all the Arguments that are usually brought. To which we may add what *Morinus* hath said concerning this Question in the beginning of his Book of Ordinations; And though I inferred nothing relating to this matter in the Text, yet I thought it convenient to set down the Opinions of the Learned Men above-mentioned, for the benefit of those that have not read their Works. The first Proof is, that it is certain that the Gospel was Preached later in *France*, than in the other Regions of the World, and that there was no Persecution in that Country before that of *Valerian*, as it is expressly attested by *Sulpician Severus* an Author who lived in the Fourth Century. Now if *St. Dionysius* the

Areopagite

S. Dionysius
as the A.
Areopagite.

Areopagite had been in *France*, the Christian Religion would have been introduced there very early, and there would have been many Martyrs in this Kingdom before the Persecution of *Diocletian*. Secondly, it is evident that *Justinus* was the first that propagated Christianity in *France*; that during his Life, and that of his Successor *Marcellus*, the Faith was only established in the Provinces of *Probus* and *Lyon*; and thus there was no Martyr but in these two Churches in the time of the Persecution of *Maximianus*; therefore there were no other Churches then planted among the *Gauls*. And indeed *Enochius* mentions no other Churches, or any other Martyrs in *France*, no more than the Christians of the Church of *Lyon* in the Epistle that they wrote concerning their Martyrs called by them *Pro-Martyrologio*. Thirdly, it is related by *Gregory of Tours* in his *Book of the History of the Church* on the credit of an ancient Author, that composed a Treatise concerning the Passion of *St. Sacerdotis*, that *St. Denis* and his Companions the Apostles of *France*, came thither under the Reign of the Emperor *Diocletian* about the year of our Lord 156, to the Establishment of Jesus Christ in that Country, which was at

most entirely christian, after the death of *St. Irenaeus*. Fourthly, there are great numbers of Martyrologies, in which the Festivals of *St. Dionysius the Areopagite*, and of *St. Denis the Apostle of France*, are described as on two different days, and wherein the place and circumstances of their Martyrdom are distinguished. We may likewise draw the same Argument from the ancient *hierarchia*, *hystoria*, *Kalendar*, and *Lectiones* in which *St. Denis the Apostle of France* is related after the Saints that suffered under *Maximianus*. Fifthly, the Author of the Life of *St. Fulgentius*, *Eulbertus*, *Carmatensis*, and *Leobaldus*, distinguishes two *Dionysii*. Sixthly, the opinion of those that affirm, that *St. Denis the Apostle of France* is the same with the *Areopagite*, was unknown before the Ninth Century, neither doth the Monk that wrote the Life of our *St. Denis* in the year 756, say one word concerning this matter. *Baldamus*, who is the first that mentions it, is a very Eubulous Author, who tells abundance of Lies, and cites a Book written by one named *Vithius*, which is plainly forged, on the credit of which wretched Author he builds up the Opinion of those that confound the two *St. Denis's*.

We must observe first, that the manner of the first appearing of these Books ought to be suspected; for it is certain, that being unknown to all Antiquity, they were first quoted by the *Socretian* Heretics, in a Conference holden between them, and the Orthodox Bishops at *Constantinople* in the Palace of the Emperor *Justinian* 532 Years after the Nativity of Jesus Christ. The silence of all the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, is without doubt a very great prejudice to them; for who can imagine that so considerable an Author as *S. Denis* (if these Books had been really Composed by him) should have been unknown to *Enochius* and *S. Jerome*. And who can believe, that if they had known them, they should take no notice of them, when they Composed an exact Catalogue of all the Authors, of whom they had any knowledge; not omitting even those, that had so little Reputation that they were scarcely heard of in the World? Is it possible that *Enochius* in making mention of *Dionysius the Areopagite* in two several places, should not have observed according to his usual Method, that he had written several Books. *S. Jerome* in his Epistle to *Magnum* doth not omit the Testimony of one single Author, to prove that it is lawful to make use of profane Books, whereas the Writings of *S. Denis*, might have served as a notable Proof; why then doth he not speak so much as one word concerning them? He gives us an Account in his Catalogue, of *Quadratus* Bishop of *Athens*, and of *Arifides* the *Athenian* Philosopher; it is possible that *S. Denis* should be more obscure than these two Writers, or less esteemed by *S. Jerome*? How could it happen, that all the ancient Writers that mention *S. Dionysius the Areopagite*, as *Dionysius Corinthius*, *S. Chrysostom*, *S. Ambrose*, *S. Augustine*, and the Author of the *Dialogues* ascribed to *S. Caelestinus* the Brother of *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, should give us no Intimation of these Books? In short why were these Books which contain many things relating to the Doctrine, and Discipline of the Christian Church, and that would have been of great Authority, as proceeding from so ancient and considerable an Author as *S. Dionysius the Areopagite*, never cited, either for or against any Heretic, or for the Illustration of any point of Discipline before the sixth Age of the Church? Furthermore admitting, that they had appeared even at that time, as Books of whole Antiquity and Truth there could be no dispute; if they had been then produced by the Orthodox as ancient Records, if they had been rejected by none, would not this be a matter of great moment? But who are they that produce them? are they Heretics who have been used to quote counterfeit Records. How do they cite them? As uncertain Books, *sicut suspicamus*, say the Catholics. To what end do they produce them? To establish their Errors against whom do they cite them? Against the Orthodox. And what do they reply? This ought to decide the Controversy; let us then hearken to them, and let us give Credit to their Testimony, rather than to that of the Heretics: How can you prove (say the Orthodox Bishops to the *Socretians*) that these Records which you affirm to belong to *S. Dionysius the Areopagite*, are Genuine, as you imagine; for if they were *his*, they could not have been unknown to *S. Cyril of happy Memory*; but why do we only mention *S. Cyril*? If *S. Athanasius* had believed that they had been written by *S. Dionysius*, would not he have made use of their Authority in the Council of *Nice*, to prove the Constancy of the Trinity against the blasphemy of *Arius*? If they have not been cited by any of the ancient Writers, how can you demonstrate, that they were written by him? Thus the Orthodox then argued; but having since perused these Books, and finding nothing therein, that is contrary to the Catholic Faith, they admitted them without much Examination; tho' there have always been some Critics, who have questioned them. *Philostratus* says in the beginning of his *Bibliotheca*, that one *Theodorus* wrote a Book by way of reply to the Objections that were generally urged against these Books, and he produceth the Objections that were propounded by this Author, but takes no notice of the Answers that he had annexed to them, which is an Argument that he thought them to be of no great strength.

2. The style and method of these Books, is very far from the manner of writing used in the First and Second Centuries, as being swelling and too much affected; the Author purposely leaves ordinary

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and natural Expressions, to make use of those that are lofty and figurative; he Amplifies every thing, even that which ought to be recited after the most simple manner; he uses a great deal of Allegory in the disposing of his Periods, and observes an exact Method in the Order of his Arguments; which shews that it was written by a Philosopher, who had leisure to revise and polish it with much Care and Study, which doth not agree with the Character of *S. Dionysius the Areopagite*, nor with the way of writing in his time.

3. Neither are the Contents of these Books conformable to the *Genius* of the Age, wherein *S. Dionysius the Areopagite* lived. The Christians were employed in their primitive Times, in Composing Three sorts of Books, Apologies for their Religion, Epistles for the Instruction of the Faithful, and to exhort them to suffer Martyrdom; and lastly, Treatises against the Heretics: Now these Writings attributed to *S. Denis* plainly relate to another Subject, and have a quite different Design; for his principal Intention is to treat of Mytheries after a curious and exquisite manner, and to expound them according to the Principles of *Plato's* Philosophy, and even in *Platonic* Terms. He is not content to propound them with the simplicity of the ancient, but he applies himself nicely to enquire into all the Difficulties that might occur thereon, and to raise divers Questions more curious than useful concerning the nature of God, and the different Orders of Angels: He explains the Doctrine of the Trinity more distinctly, even than *S. Athanasius* himself: He plainly rejects the Errors of the *Nestorians*, *Euchyrians*, *Anthropomorphites*. He speaks of the Church as in a prosperous Condition, and enjoying Peace; neither doth he make any mention of Persecutions or Martyrs: He distinguishes the several Orders of Angels, and observes their difference, things that were unknown to the ancient Writers, and concerning which they were not solicitous to be informed, as *S. Irenaeus* assures us, in *Lib. 2. chap. 55.* and *S. Cyril Catech. Illum. 11.* Upon the whole matter, if we compare these Writings with those of the other ancient Authors, we shall find that there can be nothing more different, either as to their style, and method, or as to the matters therein contained.

We shall now proceed to give particular Proofs whereby it will plainly appear, that these Books were not written by *S. Dionysius the Areopagite*, and there are Two sorts of these, some proving that they cannot belong to *S. Denis*, others shewing that the Arguments which prove that these Books do not belong to the Fourth Century. I shall begin with the Arguments which prove that these Books do not belong to *S. Denis*. 1. The Author of the Book, de *Divinis Nominibus*, Dedicates it to *Timothy*, and then cites an Epistle of *S. Ignatius*. Now *Timothy* was dead when *S. Ignatius* wrote his Epistles, and *Onesimus* succeeded him; and besides, he calls *Timothy* his Son, and yet he must needs be older than *S. Denis*. 2. He cites and explains the Gospel according to *S. John*, and the Apocalypse, which were scarcely written when *S. Dionysius the Areopagite* was alive: And yet he declares in those Books, that he was but a young Man. He cites the Revelation, as undoubtedly included in the Canon of Holy Scripture, and yet it was very much questioned in the primitive Ages of the Church, whether it were Canonical or not. The same Reflection may be likewise made upon his Citations, taken from the Second Epistle of *S. John*, and that of *S. Jude*. 3. He rejects the Error of the Millenaries which could not have appeared in his time. 4. He expressly produceth in *Lib. de Divinis Nominibus*, chap. 4. certain Passages out of the Epistle of *S. Ignatius* to the *Romans*, written by this Bishop a little before his Martyrdom; whereas *S. Ignatius* was put to Death under the Reign of the Emperor *Trajan*, and *S. Dionysius the Areopagite*, under that of *Damianus*, and consequently the latter was dead, when the former wrote this Epistle. *Maximus* replies that this Citation is added, but there are Three or four entire Lines that relate to this matter, which there is no reason to disallow. 5. This Author affirms, that he was present at the Death of the Virgin *Mary*, but *S. Dionysius the Areopagite* was not Converted at that time; for it is generally believed, that she died fifteen years after the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ, and *S. Paul* who Converted *S. Denis* came not to *Athens* till Seventeen years after our Saviour's Passion.

Lastly, there are many Reasons, by which it may be proved, that this Author wrote after the Fourth Century; For, 1. He treats of the Mytheries of the Holy Trinity, and the Incarnation in such Terms as were not known till after the First Age of the Church; he used the word *Hypostasis* to signify the Divine Person, (c. 7. *Catech. Hier. c. 1. de Divinis Nominibus*) whereas it is well known, that this word was not used in this Sense, till after the end of the Fourth Century. 2. In *Lib. de Catech. Hierarchia* cap. ult. He confirms the Baptism of Infants by an ancient Tradition: We declare that (says he) which our Bishops have taught us according to an ancient Tradition. Could this have been written by *S. Dionysius the Areopagite*, or rather, doth not this shew, that he that discoursed thus, is a much later Author than this Bishop of *Athens*? 3. He describes the solemn Administration of Baptism as it was, when the Church being delivered from Persecution, began to practice the ancient Ceremonies with exterior Pomp and Splendour. 4. He speaks of Churches built on purpose, wherein there was a Sanctuary separated from the rest of the Churches; as also of the perfuming of Altars with incense, and of divers Ceremonies relating to the *Emergences*, *Catechumens*, and *Penitents*, which were not observed in those primitive times. 5. It is certain, that the Institution of Monks is not so ancient as *S. Denis*, and that they were not consecrated till long after the Age wherein he lived. Yet the Author of the *Divine Hierarchia* in chap. 6. mentions them, as being more ancient than himself, and adds, that his Instructors called them *Therapeutes* or Monks; and he gives an Account of the manner of their consecration, and distinguishes several sorts of them. 6. He often cites the Ecclesiastical Authors that lived before him, who wrote concerning matters that were only debated in the 4th Century, such were the distinctions between Love and Charity, the Opinions relating to the several Functions and Orders of Angels, as also the Lot by which *St. Matthias* was elected, the Prayers that were

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was written by Mac, which is known to have been received from their Ancestors by Tradition. The Reason of this, or which he affirms the same thing: The Funeral Rites and Solemnities, the Ceremonies of Baptism, and many other Customs. Lastly, he cites St. Clement Alexandrinus under the name of Clement the Philosopher, and the Passage of this Author produced by him, is taken from Stromata lib. 8. which shews that he speaks of St. Clement, who lived in the Third Age of the Church.

However many Arguments are adduced to prove the Verity and Antiquity of these Books, which nevertheless may be very easily confuted in a few words. It is objected first, That it is affirmed by Mac, that St. Athanasius and Epiphanius that St. Dionysius Alexandrinus composed *Scala* or *Ladder* of the Books of Dionysius the Areopagite, de *Nominibus Divinis*. 2. That St. Athanasius in his *Epistola ad Marcellinum* in the first Homily on St. John quotes the Writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, and that St. Gregory the Great calls him an ancient Father; St. Gregory Nazianzen likewise to cite him in Rom. 38. and 43, where after having declared that the reputation of the world is due, relative to one and the same Lordship and to one and the same Divinity, he adds, *in apostolice fidei doctrinam, et veris philosophis, philosophis before us*, which may well be applied to the Author of the Hierarchy, who lived before the time of St. Gregory Nazianzen, and whose Philosophy was very sublime; Moreover S. Denis is cited by S. Chrysostom in his Sermon of false Prophets; Where he says he St. Ignatius the Tabernacle of God, where is Dionysius the Areopagite, the Eagle of Heaven, denoting by this Expression to set forth the magnificence of his style. There is a comparison in 12. de *Divinis Nominibus*, chap. 3. of an Anchor that attracts us to it more than we drew it to us, which S. Clement Alexandrinus seems to have taken from S. Denis. Lastly, Nicephorus affirms, that *Reverend* Bishop of Jerusalem, who assisted at the Council of Chalcedon, in replying to Fulcheria concerning the Sepulchre and Death of the Virgin Mary, made use of the words of S. Dionysius the Areopagite. All these Arguments seem to prove, that the Books of *Hierarchy* & de *Nominibus Divinis*, were written by S. Denis, or at least that they are more ancient than the Fourth Century.

But if we examine these Objections, they will appear all very weak: For, 1. We ought not to believe on the Testimony of *Anastasi* and *Maximus*, that *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, the Disciple of *Origen*, composed any Annotations upon the Writings of *Dionysius the Areopagite*, since *Eusebius* and *S. Jerom*, who took a Catalogue of the Works of this Saint, did not mention it; whence we ought to infer, either that it was another *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, or that some Grecian hath forged Commentaries on the Books attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite, under that name. 2. The Book is entitled *Stromata ad Marcellinum*, cited under the name of St. Athanasius, and the Homilies on several places of the New Testament ascribed to *Origen* are alleged to no purpose, because it is certain that these Books are falsely attributed to St. Athanasius and *Origen*, as it is generally agreed. 3. St. Gregory Nazianzen doth not cite St. Denis by name, *Elias Cretenus* is of opinion that St. Athanasius is here meant; and indeed the passage quoted by St. Gregory Nazianzen concerning the *Trisagion* is found word for word in one of the Homilies of St. Athanasius, who living before St. Gregory might be cited by him. 4. The Sermon quoted under the name of St. Chrysostom, was without question not written by this Father, but by *John the Faster*, Patriarch of Constantinople; and though it really belonged to the former, yet he takes no notice of the Writings of St. Denis, but only extols him as a great Saint. Lastly, it is more probable that the Author of the Treatise de *Divinis Nominibus*, hath borrowed the similitudes from St. Clement Alexandrinus, whom he cites in another place, than that St. Clement should have taken them from him.

As for the Authority of *Nicephorus* and other modern Writers, it proves nothing else, but that these Books were attributed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite when they wrote, and this is agreed on all sides, for after they first appeared in the beginning of the Sixth Century, they soon got a great deal of Reputation and Authority: they are cited by St. Ephrem in a Treatise that he composed in vindication of the Synod of Chalcedon; The Monk *Johannes Andreas Calasienfis*, *Leontius*, *Anastasi Sinaita*, *Suidas*, *Nicephorus*, and many other modern Greeks, make honourable mention of them; and *Joannes Scythopolitanus*, *Maximus*, and *Pachymeres*, wrote Commentaries on this Author. Among the Latins, *Gregory the Great* cites them with great applause; *Joannes Scotus Erigena* translated them into Latin, and *Anastasi* the Library-Keeper sent this Version to *Charles the Bald*, with a Preface and Annotations. But the Testimony of these modern Authors is of very little moment in this matter, and only proves, that these Books were then thought to belong to St. Dionysius the Areopagite; On the contrary, the Reasons that we have already alleged are sufficient to convince all Persons that are Ingenious and of a clear Judgment, that they were forged about the end of the Fifth Century, or at the beginning of the Sixth, for the time when they first appeared cannot be precisely determined: but it is certain, that they were written since the Fourth Century, and before the middle of the Sixth. Moreover it cannot be affirmed, that the Works of some other *Denis* might accidentally be imputed to St. Dionysius the Areopagite, it being evident that the Author of these Books affects to seem to have lived in the time of the Apostles.

We shall here subjoin a Catalogue of the Works that have been published under the name of St. Dionysius the Areopagite; A Book concerning the *Celestial Hierarchy*, another of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, a Treatise of the *Divine Attributes*, another of *Mystical Divinity*, together with Ten Epistles, whereof the Four first are written to the Monk *Cajus*, the fifth to *Dorotheus*, the sixth to the Priest *Sophianos*, the seventh to the Bishop *Polycarp*, the eighth to the Monk *Demophilus*, the ninth to the Bishop *Titus*, and the tenth to St. *John*. All these belong to the same Author, who hath likewise

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likewise composed some others which are cited by himself; A Book concerning *Symbolical Theology* (f), another treatise of the *Soul* (g), another of *Divine Hymns* (h), another of *Theological Instructions*; a Treatise concerning the just Judgment of God (i), and another of those things that are understood by the Mind, and of those that may be perceived by the Senses (k); but these are lost. The others have been often Printed in Greek and in Latin separately (l), and were published in Greek and Latin by *Lanfrancus* at Paris, Anno Dom. 1615, afterwards at *Antwerp* in 1634, and again at Paris 1644, by the Jesuit *Cordeiro*, together with the Commentaries of *Pachymeres* and *Maximus*.

(f) Cited cap. 15. lib. de *Celest. Hier.* cap. 1, and 13. de *divo. nom.* cap. 3. de *Myst. Theolog.* and Ep. 9.

(g) C. 4. lib. de *divo. nom.*

(h) C. 1, and 3. de *divo. nom.* and cap. 3. lib. de *Myst. Theolog.*

(i) Lib. de *Celest. Hier.* c. 7.

(k) C. 1, and 2. de *Celest. Hier.*

(l) Often Printed in Greek and in Latin separately.

In Greek by *Morrellus* in the year 1562, with the *Scholia* of *Maximus* and *Pachymeres*; at *Basil* in 1539, and at *Paris* in 1558, in Latin, of the Version of *Ambrusius Camaldulensis* at *Strasbourg* in 1468, and in 1502, with the Notes of *Jacobus Fiter Stapulensis*; in 1504

at *Alcala*, of the Translation of *Scivius*; at *Calen* by *Quantillus* in 1546. In this Edition they have put in the Version of *Scivius Erigena*, *Petrus Sarrafinus*, *Ambrusius Camaldulensis*, and *Martinius Ficinus*, together with a Paraphrase by the Abbot de *Veret*, and the Annotations of *Dionysius Carthusianus*. *Pontius* finding these Versions too obscure, made a new Translation, which was Printed at *Calen*, at *Paris* in 1557, and 1567, and at *Lyon* in 1585. *Claverus* likewise made another Translation that was Printed at *Strasbourg* in 1546. The Book de *Mystica Theologia* was Printed with the Notes of a Divine at *Paris*, in Quarto, in the year 1626.

ST. IGNATIUS.

IGNATIUS Surnamed Theophorus (a), was the Successor of *Evodius* (b) in the Episcopal See of Antioch, about the year of our Lord 70. He governed this Church for the space of almost Forty years with admirable Prudence and Constancy, and at last suffered Martyrdom in the Tenth year of the Reign of *Trayan*, when this Holy Prelate having professed the Faith even in the presence of the Emperor himself with great Courage, (if we may believe the Acts of his Martyrdom) was condemned to be expedit to wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre at Rome: And he is reputed to have wrote his Epistles to several Churches in the way as he was carried a Prisoner in Chains to that City, for maintaining the truth of the Christian Religion; but since there are very great difficulties concerning the number and different Editions of these Epistles, it will be necessary to draw up their History, and to produce the Testimony of Authors that have mentioned them since his time.

Immediately after the death of this holy Martyr, *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*, his Disciple, collected these Epistles, and sent them to the *Christians of Philippi*, as appears from a Letter that he wrote to them, and which cannot be questioned without contradicting not only *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom*, and *Phoebus*, the most renowned Critics of Antiquity, but also S. *Irenaeus* himself the Disciple of S. *Polycarp*, who cites this Epistle, and commends it in these words: There is an Epistle of *Polycarp* to the *Christians of Philippi*, which is extremely accurate, and very proper to shew the character of the Faith, and the Doctrine of the Truth, to those that take any care of their Salvation. Moreover, we have not only an approbation of S. *Polycarp's* Epistle by S. *Irenaeus*, to prove the Authority of S. *Ignatius*, but it is likewise evident, that this Father had read these Epistles: *Irenaeus* (says *Eusebius*) was not ignorant of the Martyrdom of S. *Ignatius*, and mentions his Epistles in these words: Thus one of our Brethren being condemned for maintaining the Faith, to be expedit to the wild Beasts, said, (c) I am the Wheat of God, and shall be ground by the Teeth of wild Beasts, that I may become the Bread of Jesus Christ. The words recited by S. *Irenaeus* in Lib. 5. contra *Haereses*, cap. 28. are also found at present in the Epistle of S. *Ignatius* to the *Romans*. *Origen* hath cited the Epistles of S. *Ignatius*, and that which he produceth in two several places, is read in those that are now extant. There found it written (says he in his 6th Homily on S. *Luke*) in the Epistle of a certain Martyr, I mean *Ignatius Bishop of Antioch*, who was expedit to wild Beasts at Rome, I have found it written (1 say) very elegantly, that the Virginity of Mary was unknown to the Prince of this World. This passage is word for word in

(a) Surnamed Theophorus.] This is not an an Epistle, but his Surname. Some have believed, that he was that young Child, whom Jesus Christ placed in the middle of his Apostles, and that from thence he took the Name of Theophorus, but this is a vain Imagination without any Ground, not supported by the Testimony of any ancient Author; and besides, it contradicts the Opinion of S. *Chrysostom*, who declares that S. *Ignatius* never saw our Saviour in the Flesh.

(b) The Successor of *Evodius*.] S. *Chrysostom*, *Theodor*, and the Author of the Chronicle of *Alexandria*

affirm, that he was ordained by S. *Peter*; but *Eusebius*, S. *Jerom* and the other ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, place *Evodius* between S. *Peter*, and S. *Ignatius*. (c) Wild Beasts, said.] In citing the Testimony of any Author, we say, as he says, or as he writes, without using any Choice; and it ought not to be concluded from thence, that S. *Irenaeus* only produced a remarkable Expression of S. *Ignatius*, without taking it from any of his Works, for it is much more probable, that he took it from his Epistle to the *Romans*, because it is found there word for word.

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the Epistle of S. Ignatius to the Ephesians. The Second passage quoted by Origen is in his Commentary on the *Epistles*. We remember (Gy) he the Expression of a Saint named Ignatius in speaking concerning Jesus Christ, *my Love is Crucified, and I do not believe that he ought to be represented by this Accents*. These are the Testimonies taken from Authors who wrote in the Second and Third Centuries; in the Fourth, Eusebius cites the Epistles of S. Ignatius, declares their number, and gives us a Catalogue of them. He says in the Third Book of his History, chap. 36, that this Holy Martyr being carried from Asia into Italy confirmed the Churches of the several Cities, through which he passed, in the Faith, and admonished them to avoid Heresies by constantly adhering to the Tradition of the Apostles; and that being arrived at Smyrna, where (b) Polycarp was then Bishop, he wrote four Letters. The first to the Church of Ephesus, wherein he mentions Onesimus their Pastor; The second to the *Admirable*, wherein he speaks of Damas their Bishop; The third to the *Trallians*, where he names Bishop Polycarp; And the last to the Church of Rome, wherein he intreats the Romans not to deprive him through the fervour of their Prayers of the Crown of Martyrdom. Afterwards he recites a large Fragment of this Epistle; and adds, *that being departed from Smyrna, and arrived at Troas, he wrote to the Philadelphians, as also to the Church of Smyrna; and particularly to S. Polycarp their Bishop, recommending to him the care of the Church of Antioch, as unto a good pastor worthy of those Apostolical times*. He cites likewise a Fragment of the Epistle to the Inhabitants of Smyrna, and confirms what he had before alleged by the Attestations of S. Irenaeus and S. Polycarp. It is evident from this passage, that in the time of Eusebius there were Seven Letters, which were esteemed undoubtedly to be S. Ignatius's, and that they were the very same with those that are still extant, because they were written from the same places, to the same Persons, and on the same Subject, and contain all the Passages that are produced by Eusebius word for word, after whom these very Epistles were unanimously allowed by the whole Church, and cited by an infinite number of Ecclesiastical Authors. S. Athanasius who could not be led by the Authority of Eusebius, whose History perhaps he had never seen, sets down in his Book of the Synods, a passage of this ancient Bishop, which is in the Epistle to the Ephesians. S. Chrysostom in the Orations, that he made in Commendation of S. Ignatius, recites this famous Sentence taken from his Epistle to the Romans: *Would to God that I might see long life, much benefit, and in another Orations, if that be really his, (d) he quotes a passage of the Epistle to S. Polycarp*.

S. Jerome acknowledgeth the Seven Epistles of S. Ignatius mentioned by Eusebius to be Genuine: they are reckoned in his Catalogue of Authors, and cited by him in divers other places of his Works. The Learned Theodoret uses the Authority of the Letters of this Father, as certainly written by him, against the Heretics, and in his Dialogues produceth many large Passages out of the Epistles to the *Smyrnaeans*, *Ephesians*, and *Trallians*; that are expressed after the very same manner, as they are Printed in the Editions of Vossius and Bishop Usher. Galassi likewise cites a passage of the Epistle to the Christians of Smyrna on the same Subject in his Treatise concerning the two Natures of Jesus Christ: The Author of the Book of the *Divine Attributes*, ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, produceth a Sentence taken from that to the Romans. S. Epiphym in the sixth Century (according to the report of Photius, Cod. 228.) hath cited the Writings of S. Ignatius: Gildas de Excidio Britanniae, produceth a large passage of the Epistle to the Romans: The Monk Jobinus (as it is related by Photius, Cod. 222.) quotes another of that to the Smyrnaeans: Leontius opposeth the Authority of S. Ignatius to the Heretics in Lib. de Sect. Ali. 3. Anastasius Sinaita of the Seventh Century, in his Book Entitled *Enchiridion*, (The Guide) sets down a passage taken from the Epistle to the Romans, and Anicetus a Monk of Palestine, in his 12th Homily to Eusebius, concerning the Honour, that is due to the Bishops, recites many passages of those to Polycarp, the Philadelphians and Trallians. S. Maximus acknowledgeth the Works of S. Ignatius, and Theodoret in the Eighth Century (whom Photius mentions Cod. 1.) produceth divers passages thereof, as also Andreas Cretenus a Writer of the Ninth Century, in Hom. 2. de Virgine; and Singulius, in his Panegyric upon S. Dionysius the Areopagite: To these may be added, Simon Metaphrastes in the Tenth Century, Hieronymus Bishop of Autun in the Twelfth, Nicetas Choniates in the Thirteenth; and Lastly, Nicephorus Callistus in the Fourteenth: This shews that the Epistles of S. Ignatius have been allowed by the Church in all Ages, as authentic Records; but the modern Grecians since the time of S. Joannes Damascenus have used other Letters, that are not named by Eusebius, whereas before, the Seven Epistles mentioned by Eusebius and S. Jerome were only cited.

Having produced the several Testimonies of the Ancients, concerning the Epistles that are attributed to S. Ignatius, we shall now proceed to shew what Judgment hath been given by the Moderns concerning the same, and for the better understanding of this matter, it seems to be necessary in the beginning, to set down a Catalogue of the different Editions of these Epistles that have been made in our time.

The first Edition of the Epistles of S. Ignatius, was published at Paris, Anno Dom. 1494. which did not contain any of the Seven that are recited by Eusebius, but only the Three Latin Letters, one whereof

(d) If that be really his. We find this Orations in the sixth Tome of his Works, it is Entitled, *Quod cum sit Petrus & Nostri Testamenti Epistola*. It hath been cited by Pope Adrian 1. in his Epistle to Charles the Great. Epiphymus the Deacon hath likewise alleged it against Gregorius Nyssensis; it is quoted also by Theodorus in the Second Council of Nice. The style doth not seem to be that of S. Chrysostom,

as being full of Allegories; some say that it seems to have been written about the time of the declining of the Roman Empire, through the Incursions of the Barbarous Nations, which are mentioned therein: nevertheless, it may be understood of the words of the *Arabians* that were made under the Reign of the Emperor Valens. Others think that this passage is put in sine.

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was written to the Virgin Mary, and the other two to S. John. In the Year 1498, Eleven were Printed, in Latin, which being revised by Clitowius, were Reprinted at Strasbourg in 1502, 1515, and 1527, as also by Henry Peter at Basil, in 1520. Not long after Chamberlain added three others, and one written to Maria Collopolia, which he caused to be Printed at Coley, by Quenelius in 1536. together with the Commentaries of Dionysius Carthusianus on the Works attributed to S. Dionysius the Areopagite; afterwards they were Printed at Antwerp in 1540. at Alcalá in 1541. at Basil in 1530, and 1540. at Zurich in 1546, 1550, 1557, and 1560. at Paris in 1569, 1575, and 1610. at Colon in 1570, at Basil in 1569, and 1628. at Louvain in 1568. and at Antwerp in 1572. In the Year 1557, they were let forth at Colon, according to the Version of Perionius, Paccius gave us the Greek Text. In 1557, 1558, and 1562 Marcus procurated them to be Printed in Greek, at Paris in Octavo. Moreover Gesner published them in Greek, in 1559, with the Translation of Brunnerius. In the Year 1566, they were published at Antwerp, being corrected from certain Manuscripts by Fairclius, and Printed by Plantin. Melancthon set forth a new Edition of them in 1608. Vedeulin a Protestant caused them to be Printed with large Annotations in Quarto, at Geneva, Anno Dom. 1623. Lastly, Usher having observed, that three English Divines had formerly quoted a passage of S. Ignatius, in the very same words as it is expressed by Theodoret, which was not inserted in the Greek Text, nor in the Vulgar Translations, judged that it might not be difficult to find some Manuscripts of the Original Epistles of S. Ignatius in England; Whereupon having made Enquiry, he happened to meet with two, one in the University of Cambridge, (in Caius College Library,) and another in a private Library of one Richard Atonmagne, which contained an ancient Version of those Epistles very different from the Vulgar; and afterwards having compared this Translation, with the passages recited by the Fathers, he perceived that it exactly agreed with them, quite through; for which reason, when he set out a new Edition, (e) of the Epistles of S. Ignatius he used them, and caused the places that were added by the Modern Grecians, to be distinguished, in the Greek Text by red Characters. Not long after, the Learned Isaac Vossius found in the Library of Florence a Greek Manuscript of the same Epistles, which had been perused about an Hundred years before by Theodoret, wherein the Greek Text perfectly answered to the Version published by Usher, and so he published the Greek Original of S. Ignatius. (f)

We may learn from the knowledge of these Editions, that the Epistles of S. Ignatius ought to be divided into three Classes. The first contains those Three that are only extant in Latin, written to the Virgin Mary and S. John. The Second comprehends those that are in Greek, whereof Eusebius and S. Jerome make no mention, which being five in number (g) are cited by some Modern Grecians. In the Third Rank, are comprized those seven Epistles mentioned by Eusebius (b), but these are either such as were published before the Editions of Vossius and Usher; or such as are conformable to their Copies, that is to say, more concise, and more simple.

We must likewise distinguish three several Opinions concerning these Epistles: The first is, of those that allow them all, even the three which are written only in Latin, as Faber, Rossini, Driedo, Mariannus Vittorini, Cassius and Hallixius. The last of whom, tho' Living in a clearer Age than the former; yet was not a better Critick than any of them that were before him. We may also reckon amongst in the same Rank, those that admit all the Greek Letters, wherein they follow the Opinion

(e) He made use thereof in preparing a new Edition. The first Edition of Usher was Printed at Oxford, Anno Dom. 1644. It contains 1. A preliminary Dilection.

2. The Six Epistles of S. Ignatius in Greek, wherein all that is not in the ancient Version is distinguished by Red Text. 3. The counterfeited Letters. 4. The ancient Latin Translation. 5. Several Notes. In the Year 1647, he published another Edition which he calls *Appendix Ignatiana*, in which he inserted the Greek Text, published by M. Vossius in 1646. as also a new Translation. He added therein 1. The ancient Records of the Martyrdom of S. Ignatius, which bear the Name of Philo. 2. The Letters of Theodoretus, Pity and Trajan concerning the Constancy of the Martyrs. 3. The entire Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, concerning the Martyrdom of S. Polycarp. 4. Annotations on the AGs of the Epistles of S. Ignatius.

(f) To publish the Greek Original of S. Ignatius. His Edition was Printed at Amsterdam, Anno Dom. 1646. It contains, 1. The seven Original Epistles, excepting that to the Romans, as they were written in his Greek and Latin Manuscripts. 2. The Greek Epistles falsely attributed to S. Ignatius, which are recited by Eusebius. 3. The three Latin Letters to the Virgin Mary, and S. John. 4. The seven Greek and Latin Epistles, as they were in the former Editions. 5. The Epistle of S. Barnabas, together with Notes on the whole Work. The Editions of Cotelierius and of Maderus at Hallesstadt in Octavo, are not different

from that of Vossius, which hath been lately Reprinted at London, in 1680.

(g) Which being five in Number. We find at the beginning, the Epistle of Maria Collopolia; afterward the first Epistle of S. Ignatius to this Mary; the Second to the Inhabitants of Trallis; the Third to the Antiochians; the Fourth to Hera; the Deacon of the Church of Antioch; and the last to the Philippians.

(b) The seven Epistles mentioned by Eusebius. They are written according to the Order observed by M. Vossius, First to the Christians of Smyrna; the Second to S. Polycarp; the Third to the Ephesians; the Fourth to the Magnesians; the Fifth to the Philadelphians; the Sixth to the Trallians; and the Seventh to the Romans. Moreover we may distinguish Four ancient Editions of the Epistles of S. Ignatius; the First contained only these seven that were known to Eusebius, and the other ancient Writers, without any Additions; the Second comprehended only these seven Epistles, but with several Additions; Paccius had a Manuscript of them; which Copy had been used by Golarus, Anastasius Asiacabenus, and the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, in the Third there are the seven Authentic Epistles without Interpolations, together with the counterfeited; such are those of the Version of Usher, and the Greek Manuscript of M. Vossius, and these were perused by S. Joannes Damascenus and Antonius: The Fourth is that of the seven Genuine Epistles, together with the Additions, and the others that were forged, which is the Vulgar.

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of Cardinal *Bellarmin*, *Barnard* and *Poffinus*. The second is of those who reject all. *Calvin* was the chief Promoter of this Opinion, being followed by the *Centurion*; by *Socinus*; and even, after the Editions of *Usher* and *Poffinus*, by *Salmasius*, *Blondel*, *Abercius* and *Daille*, who have used their utmost Endeavours to turn the Credit of their Copies. The Third Opinion is that of those who keeping the middle way, ascribe to *S. Ignatius* only the Seven Epistles, that are recited by *Eusebius* and *S. Jerom*, disallowing all the rest as Suppositions; and owning that there were some Additions in the others. This has been formerly observed by very Learned Men, even before the Editions of *Poffinus* and *Usher* appeared, as by *Cheremius*, *Perkins*, *Cook* and *Feideli*, who tho' separated from the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, yet were very able Critics. But since their Editions, the judicious of both persuasions as *Ripen*, *Grinius*, *Petavius*, *Labbent*, and the Author of the *Offices of the Holy Sacrament*, have acknowledged that the Seven Epistles of *S. Ignatius*, which had been corrupted by many Additions, were restored to their Original purity in *Poffinus*'s Greek Edition, and in the Version published by *Usher*. *Marius* is the only Person among the Learned, that maintains the contrary Opinion, affirming that the Original Text of these Letters is contained in the ancient Greek Edition, whereas it is enriched and corrupted in the later of *Poffinus*. I had almost forgotten to observe that *Usher* and some others after him, have rejected the Epistle of *S. Ignatius* to *S. Polycarp*; and therefore reckon only six as Genuine. Thus we have represented the different Opinions concerning the Epistles of *S. Ignatius*; let us now consider which side we ought to take.

First it is certain, that the Three Latin Epistles, whereof Two are written to *S. John*, and the Third to the Virgin *Mary* are forged. *S. Bernard* is the First that quotes them in his 7th Sermon, on the Psalm *Qui habitas*; they were unknown to the ancient and modern Grecian Writers; they were never extant in Greek, and the affected ginging of words that appears therein, shews that they were Composed in Latin, and by one of that Nation. Besides they are written in a mean Style, and they are full of useless Notions unworthy of *S. Ignatius*.

Secondly, neither can it be doubted, but that the Five Greek Letters, which are not quoted by *Eusebius* and *S. Jerom* are in like manner counterfeit. For had they been extant when these Authors lived, it were impossible but they should have seen or heard of them. And is it credible that having seen them, they should take no notice of them, when they made a Catalogue of the Epistles of *S. Ignatius*? They were not only unknown to *Eusebius* and *S. Jerom*, but likewise to all the Greek Fathers, whose Testimonies we have produced, and who have all cited only the Seven Epistles mentioned by *Eusebius*; the others being quoted only by the more modern Writers: They contain many things that do not agree with the time of *S. Ignatius*, for there are some Heresies named, which did not appear until a great while after his Death: We find an account of *Subdeacon*, *Letterer*, *Chamberlains*, *Porters*, *Exorcists*, and of those that were called among the *Grecians* *εργαστοι* or Readers. Now who knows not that these Orders were established after the Decade of *S. Ignatius*? They mention all Assemblies of *Virgins*, *Lent*, the *Sabbath*, *Festivals*, &c.

Thirdly, it must be confessed that the Epistles of *S. Ignatius* such as they were before the Editions of *Usher* and *Poffinus*, were corrupted, and different from those that are cited by the ancient Writers. 1. Because the passages cited by *Theodoret* and others, are not conformable to those which we may find in the vulgar Edition. 2. Because if we compare the ancient Edition with *Poffinus*'s, it will evidently appear, that the later is not an Epitome of the former, but that the other is a kind of a Paraphrase of this last: for the greater part of the passages which are extant in the ancient Edition, and are not to be found in *Poffinus*'s, are Explanations and Paraphrases, or thoughts added afterward, that have no manner of coherence with the rest, and wherein one may find a plain difference in the Style and Doctrine. 3. There are divers things contained in the vulgar Edition, that cannot belong to the time of *S. Ignatius*, and which might give an occasion justly to doubt of their Authority, before the Editions of *Usher* and *Poffinus* were published. As for Example, in that to the *Trallians* we find the Names of *Theodotus* and *Cleobulus*; there are certain passages that confute the Opinion of *Satur-ninus* concerning Marriage, and the Errors of *Praxeas*, mention is also made therein of the *Nicolasians*, of the lesser Orders, &c. things that by no means suit with those primitive Ages of the Church.

I have now only to enquire whether the seven Epistles, according to the Edition of *Poffinus* were written by *S. Ignatius*, and the first Question that offers it self to our Examination, is whether this Father wrote any Epistles at all: To which I reply, that it cannot be reasonably doubted: For, 1. This matter of Fact is attested by all Antiquity. 2. It is proved by the above-cited Tradition, that the Authors who saw *S. Ignatius*, as *S. Polycarp*, and those that lived immediately after him, as *Irenaeus* and *Origen*, knew and quoted these Epistles. Now to believe that they were falsely attributed to him even in their time, is in my opinion great Non-sense; therefore it ought to be taken for granted, that *S. Ignatius* wrote Epistles: And who can imagine, that those are not Genuine that were collected by *S. Polycarp*? Or what likelihood is there that they were lost between *S. Polycarp*'s death, and *Eusebius*'s time, and that others were substituted in the room? Wherefore *Eusebius* had the Original Epistles of *S. Ignatius*, and they that succeeded him, whose Testimonies we have already alleged, having without doubt preserved the Seven that are mentioned by him, it cannot be affirmed with any probability that they have cited fictitious Epistles. From whence we ought to conclude, that since all the Passages produced by them may be found word for word in the Editions of *Usher* and *Poffinus*, it is very probable that they contain the Authentick Epistles of *S. Ignatius* in their Original Purity. And this Argument is of so much the more force, because this is not only true in the resemblance of one or two Passages, for it were not to be admired that they should agree, since they might have been inserted by an Impostor; but in a very great number that are cited by different

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Authors, which makes it much more certain. Besides, there is nothing in these Epistles that does not agree with the Person, and Time of *S. Ignatius*; there are no Defects in the Chronology, nor any Anachronisms, which are usually found in Supposititious Works; there is no mention made of any Heretic that lived after *S. Ignatius*; the Errors that are refuted belong to his time, as that of the *Simonians* and *Ebionites*; concerning the Passion and Divinity of *Jesus Christ*; the Tradition of the Church is confirmed according to *Eusebius*: He speaks of those Gifts of the Holy Spirit that were visible in the Church; he cites very few Passages out of the Holy Scriptures; he imitates the Style of *S. Paul*, and intermingles nothing of prophane Learning. Upon the whole matter, these Epistles are written with great simplicity, and bear an Apotolitical Character; thus all the Arguments that evince the Falsification, or the Corruption of the other Epistles, invincibly prove the Truth and Purity of these. But this will appear yet further from the Answers to the Objections propounded by *Salmasius*, *Blondel*, and *Daille*, which we shall set down and confute in a few words, replying only to those that may be alleged against the seven Epistles, as they are Printed in the Edition of *Poffinus*, and omitting the others which do not relate to our Opinion.

Objection 1. Our Adversaries not being able to produce any considerable Testimonies, at least such as can be esteemed to be of sufficient Authority, and being unwilling to appear to be the first Authors of the Opinion which they maintain, have sought for the Author of the *Stichometria*, which is prefixed to the Works of *Synecellus* and *Theophanes*, and is commonly attributed to *Nicephorus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, tho' it is not certain whether it is his or not. This *Stichometria* is a Catalogue of the Sacred Books both Canonical and Apocryphal, together with the number of their Verses; at the end whereof are annexed, *The Apocryphal Books of the New Testament*, the *Forages of St. Peter*, and *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, of *St. Clement*, *Ignatius*, *Polycarp*, and *Hermas*; from whence *M. Daille* concludes, that this Author hath inserted the Epistles of *S. Ignatius* among the Apocryphal and Counterfeit Writings.

Answer. First, This Author calls all those Books Apocryphal that are not Canonical, and in this sense the Epistles of *S. Ignatius* may be reckoned under this Denomination, as the Book of the *Bartholomew*, which is styled Apocryphal by those that do not receive it as Canonical, tho' it is very ancient; and was certainly written by him whose Name it bears.

Secondly, This Author doth not mention the Epistles of *S. Ignatius* or *S. Polycarp*; and there is no probability that he intended to do it, because his design is to make a Catalogue of the Sacred Writings both Genuine and Apocryphal; now what Analogy is there between this and the Epistles of *S. Ignatius*, which being written a long time after the Death of the Apostles, could not be comprized amongst the Books of the Holy Scripture? And indeed if the Epistles of *S. Ignatius*, and *S. Polycarp* ought to be rejected as fictitious, because this Author hath inserted their Names among the Apocryphal Books of the *New Testament*, we must likewise reject the Epistle of *S. Clement*, whose Name is found immediately before; therefore it must necessarily be inferred, that he intended to reject some other Books that were ascribed to *S. Clement*, to *S. Ignatius*, and to *S. Polycarp*; and that the Word *Δωδεκα* ought to be understood with relation to these three last; for after having said *Δωδεκα ἀποστόλων*, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, he adds without specifying any thing else, of *Clement*, *Ignatius*, and *Polycarp*, that is to say, the Books in like manner Entituled, *The Doctrine of Clement*, *The Doctrine of Ignatius*, and *The Doctrine of Polycarp*; this is the plain sense of that Passage.

Thirdly, Altho' it were granted, that this Author had rejected the Epistles of *S. Ignatius*, which is not true, of what weight could his Testimony be, against the Tradition that we have even now alleged?

Objection 2. It is said, that these Epistles were unknown to *S. Justin*, to *S. Clement of Alexandria*, and to all the ancient Writers before *Eusebius*.

Ans. Tho' this were true, yet there are many Books whose Truth is not called in question, that are mentioned by *Eusebius* alone, and by no other ancient Author; but besides, we have already shewn, that these Epistles are cited by *S. Polycarp*, *S. Irenaeus*, and *Origen*; and that the Passages which they produce, are found in those Letters that we have.

Objection 3. The Style (say they) of the Epistles attributed to *S. Ignatius*, is very different from that of this Father; it is full of lofty Expressions and affected Epithets, which is very far from the simplicity of the Apotolitical Times. They say moreover, that the Inscriptions of these Letters are long and full of pompous Epithets.

Ans. The Objections taken from the Style are of little moment; for who hath informed these modern Critics how *S. Ignatius* wrote? However it is not true, that the Style of these Epistles is far from the simplicity of the ancient Christians; on the contrary, it is very simple, and extremely natural: It must be confessed indeed, that there are some Epithets and compound Words, but this agrees with the Asiatick style, which is generally more florid than that of other Nations: It might also be added, that we find the like Epithets in the Epistle of *S. Clement*, and in other ancient Authors. The inscriptions are not longer than *S. Paul*'s Epistles, and in the Editions of *Usher* and *Poffinus* they are not so large nor so magnificent as in the vulgar, as well as in that of the Epistle to the *Romans* recited by *Metaphrastes*.

Objection 4. This Objection is the first of those that are taken from the Contents of the Epistles themselves. It is said, that the Author writes against the Opinion of *Satur-ninus*, who believed that *Jesus Christ* suffered only in Appearance; and of *Theodorus*, who imagined that our Saviour was a mere Man. Now these two Heretics are later than *S. Ignatius*.

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The last of these Errors was maintained by *Simon Magus* and *Menander*; the other was asserted by *Cyprian* and *Epiphanius*; Hereticks who lived in S. Ignatius's time.

Obj. 5. The Epistle is the only Epistle that hath any difficulty; it is taken from an Epistle in the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*; but the *External Word* proceeded not from Silence, as *Simon Magus* says; which seems to be said purposely against the Errors of the *Valentinians*, who put the word *Silence* in a Term of Art.

Ans. If there were no Answer to be given to this Objection, I should rather chuse to affirm, that this Passage is added, not merely on this account to reject the Epistles that are acknowledged as Authentic by all the Ancients. There are many Books wherein some Editions have been made, which make them appear false than they really are; and we find some of this sort in the Bible, in Homer, and in almost all the Ecclesiastical and Profane Authors. But there is no necessity to make use of this answer, since we have several others that are sufficient to afford reasonable Satisfaction to the Impartial and judicious Reader.

For 1. It is not true that S. Ignatius here speaks of the Silence of the *Valentinians*; or of any other Notion of the Hereticks that is like it; he only declares, that the Word of God is not like unto that of Men, which comes from, or follows after Silence. There are his Words: *There is but one God who hath made himself manifest by his son Jesus Christ, who is the Eternal Word of God, that hath not proceed from Silence, and lives in all things like unto him, that sent him.* The main design of S. Ignatius in this place, is to Establish our Saviour's Divinity against the *Ebionites*. He shews that he is God; because he is the Word or the Speech of God, which being Eternal, is not preceded by Silence; as that of Men. This Explication is natural and liable to be difficulty, though M. Daillé hath thought fit to confute it as Impertinent; however there is none that reads this Passage but will readily grant, that this Sense is most proper and very conformable to the Intention of the ancient Writers, who endeavoured to demonstrate the Difference that there is between the Word of God and that of Men. S. Augustin, in his Homily concerning the Nativity of Jesus Christ, makes use of the very same Comparison, without having any regard to the *Valentinians*; *Quod est (says he) hoc Verbum? Quod dicitur, ante omnia secula, non erat quod diceretur.* And S. Fulgentius, Lib. 3. ad Trasim. cap. 28. *Item Verbum nullo modo potest esse finitum, quia ipse Pater est sempiterna Veritas.* That which is affirmed by M. Daillé, that the word *Logos* was used by the *Valentinians*, may be true, but they oftener used the word *Verbum*; neither is the word *Logos* peculiar to the *Valentinians*; it is commonly applied in Greek to signify *To go, or come forth.* Besides S. Ignatius says not *in verbis*, but *in verbis*, which may signify, that the Word of God came not forth after Silence as that of Men.

2. *Valentinus* and his Disciples did not affirm, that the Word came from Silence. The Word according to their fantastical Imagination, came from the Spirit and the Truth, and not from the Deep and from Silence.

3. The Opinion of *Valentinus* concerning Silence, was devised and propagated before his time, for all that speak of this Heretic observe, that he revived the ancient Errors of the *Gnosticks*. *Eusebius* declares in Lib. 2. de Theod. Eccl. cap. 9. that *Simon Magus* often talked of Silence among his Followers: *Secundum simonem (says he) hereticorum principum, qui impia dogmatizant, pronuntiavit dicent, erat Deus, et Sige;* which comes nearer to the Error, that is supposed to be confuted by S. Ignatius. S. Irenaeus attributes this Opinion to all the *Gnosticks*; as also *Tertullian*, S. Epiphanius, and S. Augustin, S. Gregory Nazianzen, Orat. 32. and after him *Elle Gressius*, charge it upon the *Gnosticks*. This shews, that the Author of the Epistle to the *Magnesians* should have opposed the Error of those that maintain that the Word proceeded from Silence; yet this doth not hinder but that it might have been written by S. Ignatius.

4. It is not certainly known, whether *Valentinus* had not already begun to divulge his Errors even before the Death of S. Ignatius; since it is evident that S. Polycarp survived this Arch-Heretic, and tho' he was not declared to be the Ring-leader of this Party till afterwards, yet he might even then have taught some of his pernicious Doctrines, to which S. Ignatius might allude. These four Answers are solid, and every one of them separately might be sufficient to convince any Man; but the first in my opinion is most natural.

Obj. 6. In the Epistle to the Christians of *Smirna*, mention is made of certain visible Princes that shall be judged, if they do not believe in Jesus Christ. Now what probability is there, (say they) that S. Ignatius should speak thus of the Emperors and Kings of his time?

Ans. Why may not this be affirmed of the Unbelieving Emperors and Kings that were Contemporaries with S. Ignatius? Since *Tertullian* and S. Justin have declared as much of the Emperors of their time, and that too in the presence of the Emperors themselves. Moreover it is not necessary to understand the word *Argere* only of Emperors and Kings, since it may signify all that are invested with any Authority.

Obj. 7. In the Epistle to the *Romans* we find this Expression, *That he was led by the Leopards, which are soldiers.* This Explication (say they) is needless, and the Comparison is childish.

Ans. And I say that the Similitude is very natural, and that the Explication was necessary. *nocher* indeed affirms, that the word *Leopard* was not used until the time of *Constantine*; but how does he know, it? It is in the Acts of the Passion of S. Perpetua and S. Felicitas; *Alnus spartanus*, in the Life of *Geta*, thinks, that it was an old Word at the time when he wrote his History.

Obj. 8. In the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, he speaks of Penitents that were publicly received by the Church, whereas (say they) in the first Age, they that had once fallen were not after readmit-

readmitted into the Communion of the Church; neither was there any Penance that ended in Reconciliation.

Ans. There is nothing in the Epistle to the *Philadelphians* concerning publick Penance who had committed enormous Crimes; this is a mere Imagination. It is only declared, that they that had departed from the Church should obtain Pardon for their Fault, if they repented thereof by returning into it, that is to say, if they reunited themselves to the Church, from which they were separated. It is certain, that Hereticks and Schismatics returning to the Church were always readmitted. Beside, the Example of the young Man who was reconciled by S. John, after he had been for a long time Captain of a Troop of Highway-men, and of many others, shew, that Penance was then in use; and *Morinus* evidently proves, that in the two first Centuries Absolution was granted more easily than in the third.

Obj. 9. *Onesimus* Bishop of *Ephesus*, who died before S. Ignatius, is cited by Name in this Epistle.

Ans. This *Onesimus* is not he that was the Disciple of S. Paul, whom others affirm to have been Bishop of *Beraa*. And besides even the *Onesimus*, mentioned by S. Paul, might be living when S. Ignatius wrote this Epistle, since that of S. Paul to *Philemon* was written from *Rome* about the year of our Lord 64, therefore tho' *Onesimus* might be 26 years old then, yet he could not have been above 70 years of Age about the year 107, or 108, when S. Ignatius Composed these Words, which is no very extraordinary thing.

Obj. 10. The Author of the Epistles attributed to S. Ignatius cites (as they say) several Apocryphal Books. He produceth in the Epistle to the *Smymneans* a Sentence concerning Jesus Christ, taken from the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. Who can believe this of S. Ignatius?

Ans. This is no unusual thing among the Ancients. S. Jerom gives us the same passage of S. Ignatius, and *Papias* hath likewise quoted the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. S. Clement, in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, uses some Expressions as taken from the Holy Scriptures which are not there, as is observed by *Phorinus*, Cod. 126. S. Jude also cites the Book of *Enoch*. And besides, we cannot positively affirm, that the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* is cited by S. Ignatius, for he only produceth a Sentence, as knowing by Tradition that it was uttered by Jesus Christ. Thus S. Clement and S. Barnabas set down the Words of our Saviour, which they had either heard spoken by him, or had received from those by whom he was seen in the Flesh. Lastly, this Passage in S. Ignatius is quoted by S. Jerom, as belonging to the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*; but *Origen* produces it out of the Book, entitled, *The Doctrine of S. Peter*, which shews that it was a very common Expression.

Obj. 11. The ardent desire of suffering Martyrdom, expressed by S. Ignatius, is (according to their judgment) too extensive.

Ans. This hath been admired in the Epistle to the *Romans*, by the ancient Christians, the same Ardor appears likewise in S. Cyprian, in *Germanicus* a Martyr of *Smyrna*, and in many others. Certainly they must needs have but a very little knowledge of Antiquity, who deny that the Primitive Christians were inflamed with a fervent desire of suffering Martyrdom, and a Man shews that he is but meanly skilled in Divinity, if he blames this Passion, when it neither does, nor says any thing that is impudent or indecent. And this is the case of S. Ignatius, who, in testifying an earnest desire of becoming a Martyr, uttered no Expressions but such as were very prudent, and very moderate: Let us read his Epistle to the *Romans* with the same Spirit as he wrote it, and we shall be so far from censuring it with the modern Critics, that we shall admire it as much as the Ancients did.

Obj. 12. S. Paul doth not mention the *Ephesians* in all his Epistles, as it is affirmed by the Author of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*: Therefore, &c.

Ans. He doth not say that S. Paul mentioned the *Ephesians* in all his Epistles, but throughout the whole Epistle that he wrote to them, (*ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐπιστολῇ*) and composed altogether for their use.

Obj. 13. He declares that he saw Jesus Christ, which S. Chrysostom says, is not true.

Ans. The passage which is meant by them signifies only, that he knew and believed the real Incarnation of Jesus Christ. And after all, it was not impossible for S. Ignatius to have seen our Saviour.

Obj. 14. He gives an account of the Errors of certain Hereticks that obtained from the *Emperors*; now there were not any such (says M. Daillé) in the time of S. Ignatius, but afterwards when these Epistles were counterfeited.

Ans. Who hath informed him, that there were no such at the time when these Epistles were forged, and none before? These Hereticks are the *Docetae*, who believed that Jesus Christ suffered only in appearance, whose Heresie was very ancient.

Obj. 15. He affirms, that the *Romans* might easily have delivered him from his Persecutor, why then did they not do it?

Ans. He doth not declare that they were absolutely able to deliver him, but only that he was ready to undergo Martyrdom, if they did not prevent it; that they might easily do whatever they thought fit, that is, use their endeavours to rescue him from Death; but for his part, he could not find a better opportunity of suffering for Jesus Christ.

Obj. 16. He promiseth to send a Book to the *Ephesians*; but how could he do it when he was going to be put to Death?

Ans. His meaning is, That he would write a second Letter to them, *Autem Epistolam, a second*

first Epistle, upon two Conditions: First, that should be sent to Rome, and secondly, that the Epistle should want it. He might well hope to write another, having had the liberty to write the former; but he was not to be so much affected by the Affection in these Epistles, as the Reader might be. He had the knowledge of Celestial things, *de multis secretis Dei*, and thus he knew the Orders, Customs, and Stations of the Angels. All this might be affirmed by an ancient Bishop, that had acquired the Reputation of *Sophist*, and the Christian might likewise boast that they were endued with the knowledge of Celestial Things, and most especially Bishops. *S. Ignatius* immediately adds after the Words, cited in the Objection, *whomsoever I have, I do not possess up, but I measure myself.* He says nothing of Angels, but what had been said before by *S. Paul*.

Objection 13. What reason is there, that *S. Ignatius* should be sent to Rome to be exposed to wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre of that City, as if Persons condemned to this sort of Punishment, were not executed in all the great Towns, where Shows were exhibited? Why must he be brought thither by Sea and Land, the way so far about?

Ans. If we may believe the History of the Martyrdom of *S. Ignatius*, he was sent to Rome by the express Command of the Emperor. However, if this were not true, it is ordained by the Law, *Capitaliter se Punitur*. These Criminals, condemned to be torn in pieces by wild Beasts, should be conveyed to Rome with the Emperor's Permission (which ought to be understood of considerable Malefactors,) such were the Ring-leaders of Factions, and the Bishops among the Christians, especially *Primitus* Bishop of *Antioch*. The way through which he was conducted, thither was the ordinary Road, for to come to Rome out of *Syria*, it is necessary to go to *Smyrna* or to *Ephesus*, afterward to cross the *Philippians*, and to go to *Brundisium*, and from thence to Rome.

Objection 14. The last Objection, which is the cause why all the others were made, is taken from the different Orders of Bishops and Priests, who are often distinguished in the Epistles that are attributed to *S. Ignatius*. It is supposed, that this distinction was not made until the third Age of the Church, from whence it is concluded, that these Epistles are none of his.

Ans. This Supposition being false, the whole Objection must consequently fall of itself; and thus we had no other Proof of the distinction of Bishops and Priests in the second Century, than the Epistles of *S. Ignatius*, and yet we are not to doubt thereof; and instead of inferring from thence that these Letters are Spurious, it may well be concluded on the contrary, that the different Orders of Bishops and Priests, were established in *S. Ignatius*'s time, since they are found in the Epistles that have been acknowledged by all the ancient Writers as certainly belonging to him; but there are many other Testimonies, which make it appear, that there was a distinction between Bishops and Priests even in the second Age of the Church. *Hegesippus*, for Example, gives us a Catalogue of the Bishops of *Jerusalem*; can this be said to be a List of the Priests of that City? *Eusebius* hath made mention of the ancient Bishops of *Alex* and *Eusebius* hath compiled that of the principal Cities throughout the whole World since the time of *Jesus Christ*. Therefore there must of necessity have been always in the Church, Persons called Bishops, who presided over Churches and Priests. The Martyr of *Lyons* style *Pothinus* Bishop, and *S. Irenaeus* Priest. The anonymous Author, cited by *Eusebius* against the *Catechetical*, distinguishes Priests from Bishops. And there are infinite numbers of Testimonies and Arguments, by which it may be proved that there was some difference made between Priests and Bishops even in the second Century; but we shall insist no longer on this Subject. And I am afraid that I have already tired the Reader's patience in refusing all the Objections that have been alleged against the Epistles of *S. Ignatius*, but I judged it necessary for the confirmation of their Authority.

It remains only, for the conclusion of our Critical Enquiries concerning these Epistles, to give some account of that of *S. Polycarp*. I know not what reason *Usher* might have to reject it, since it plainly belongs to the number of the Seven that are mentioned by *Eusebius*, who clearly distinguishes it from that which was written to the Inhabitants of *Smyrna*. *S. Jerome* follows *Eusebius* in this particular. *Er. propriè* (says he) *ad Polycarpum*. It is true indeed, that here he cites a Passage of the Epistle to the *Smyrnaeans* as appertaining to that of *S. Polycarp*, but this may only be an Error as to matter of Fact; and it very frequently happens, that in Citations one Work is taken for another. A notable mark of the Truth of this Epistle is that in the Manuscript of *Florence*, it is found to be different from the Vulgar Edition; as well as the six others that are esteemed Authentick, whereas all the rest which are forged do not vary in this Manuscript from the ordinary Editions; this shews, that the Author of these Letters, is the same Person that made the Additions in the real Epistles of *S. Ignatius*; and that all those that are purged from these Additions in the above-cited Manuscript of *Florence*, and in the Edition of *Vossius*, are undoubtedly genuine.

The Chronological Order of these seven Epistles is this: First, it is certain that they were all written by *S. Ignatius* when he was in Bonds, and as he was conveyed from *Antioch* to Rome to be exposed to wild Beasts in that City. Secondly it is likewise evident, that four of them were made at *Smyrna*, where he resided; perhaps, for some considerable time; these four in the Edition of *Vossius* and in *S. Jerome* are put in this following Order; the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, to the *Magnesian*, to the *Trallians*, and the last to the *Romans*. It cannot be precisely determined, whether this be the Order wherein they were written, or whether they were all composed at the same time. It is probable that the Epistle to the *Romans* is the last, because he declares therein, that he wrote to the other Churches, and that he went cheerfully to suffer Martyrdom: It seems to have been made when he was ready to depart, being wearied with the long stay of his Guards in that place; so great was his Passion to suffer Martyrdom.

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He wrote the three others at his departure from *Smyrna* whilst he layed at *Tras*, from whence he was obliged to go to *Naples*. The Epistles to the *Smyrnaeans* and to *S. Polycarp* seem to have been written together, and that to the *Philadelphians* last, because it is expressed in the latter, that the other Cities had sent several Bishops and Priests into *Syria*; and in the Epistle to *S. Polycarp*, he chargeth him to depute a fit Person for the Episcopal Function in that Country. However there is a more probable conjecture to prove, that the two others were written after that to the *Philadelphians*, according to *S. Jerome*'s Opinion, because *S. Ignatius* declares therein, that he was ready to embark for *Naples*, and that this was the reason why he could not write to the other Churches, which shews, that the time of his departure drew near when he Composed them. He there mentions his Martyrdom, as a thing certainly to be accomplish'd. *S. Ignatius* in his Epistle to the Christians of *Smyrna*, confutes the Error of those that denied that *Jesus Christ* took upon himself the human Nature; that he assumed a real Body, and that he actually suffered: He affirms, that those Heretics neglected the Poor and the Widows, and separated themselves from the publick Prayers of the Church, and from the Eucharist, because they did not believe that it was the Body of *Jesus Christ*, which had been nailed to the Cross for our sakes, and afterwards rose again from the Dead: He admonisheth the *Smyrnaeans* to avoid Divisions as the Original of all Evil, to obey their Bishop, to honour the Priests and Deacons, and to do nothing contrary to the Precepts of their Bishop, without whose Assistance (saith he) it is not lawful even to baptize, or to celebrate the *Agape* or *Love-feast*.

In the Epistle to *S. Polycarp*, he gives excellent Counsels to this Bishop; he advises him to endeavour to preserve Unity in his Church, to watch continually over his Flock, and to apply convenient Remedies to their Dilempers, to reprove those that offend, with Charity and Gentleness, to pray to God incessantly and to live for his Grace. In short, to labour without Intermission as a faithful Servant and Soldier of *Jesus Christ*, who being invincible and impassible, made himself visible and mortal for our sakes. He admonisheth him to take care of the Widows, not to despise the meaneest People; not to suffer any thing to be done without his Concurrence, and to do nothing himself but what is conformable to the Will of God, to enjoy Women to please their Husbands, and Husbands to love their Wives, as also to recommend to them Chastity, accompanied with Humility; and to inform the Christians, that their Marriage when performed, according to the Will of God, ought to be solemnized in the Presence of the Bishop. Afterward he exhorts all the faithful, to submit to their Bishop, Priests and Deacons, and to work out their own Salvation. Lastly, directing his Discourse to *S. Polycarp*, he adviseth him to call a Synod, and to ordain a Bishop to be sent into *Syria*.

In the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, he testifies his Joy in seeing *Onesimus* their Bishop, who came to him with a Deacon named *Burrus*, and two other Believers; he admonisheth them to live Holily, in perfect Unity among themselves, and in Obedience to their Bishop and Priests; he declares, that they that do not joyn with the Bishop and are not present at the publick Service of the Christians, over which the Bishops preside, are without the pale of the Church, and deprived of the Celestial Food. Afterward he warns them to beware of Heresies, to avoid the Company of Heretics, and to believe that *Jesus Christ* is God, who was incarnate, that he is impassible as he is God, and passible as he is Man. Lastly, after having commended their Piety, he exhorts them to pray to God; for all sorts and conditions of Men, frequently to assemble together, to make publick Prayers and Supplications; and inviolably to preserve Faith and Charity; he affirms that the Prince of this World, that is to say, the Devil, was ignorant of the Virginity of *Mary*, of her Child-birth, and of the Death of our Lord: He prometh to send to them a little Book, that is to say, a Letter concerning the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*; and he intreats them to pray to God for him.

In the Epistle to the *Magnesian*, he exhorts the Christians of that Church to be obedient to their Bishop *Damas*, who came to see him, to do nothing without him, and to live in Unity one with another. He admonisheth them not to suffer themselves to be led away with vain Opinions, nor to live like Jews but as Christians, to believe in *Jesus Christ*, who is the Word of God that doth not proceed from Silence, but was sent by God the Father, and is our only hope. At last he desires them to remember him in their Prayers.

In the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, he Congratulates their Union, he exhorts them to avoid corrupt Doctrines, and advises them not to follow those that are the Abettors of Schisms and Divisions amongst them, and to concur in every thing with their Bishop. Lastly, he refutes the Arguments of those that refused to believe any thing, but what was written in the Old Testament, and declares that the Gospel is the perfection of that which was prefigured in the old Law.

In the Epistle to the *Trallians*, he commands their Union; and the Submission and Respect that they shewed towards their Bishop, Priests and Deacons, and exhorts them to persevere in this Union, and to beware of Heretics. He expands the Orthodox Doctrines of the Catholic Church, that *Jesus Christ* was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that he was really Man, that he actually suffered and died, and not in appearance, as some Heretics said.

Lastly, in the Epistle to the *Romans*, he expresseth his Zeal, and ardent desire of suffering Martyrdom; and entreats them not to take this glorious Crown from him, by preventing his being exposed to wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre of Rome.

Upon the whole matter, all these Epistles are full of very wholesome Precepts, and useful Exhortations; they are extremely worthy of a Christian, of a Bishop, and of a Martyr, and are all full of Warmth and Piety. One cannot read them, without perceiving every where, that this Holy Man was animated with a Zeal truly Divine for the Salvation of Souls, for the fulfilling of the Law of *Jesus Christ*, and for the preservation of his Doctrine. In every thing that he says, he appears to be full of Love to

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S. Ignatius.

our saviour, of affection towards his Brethren, of Care for the Discipline of the Church, and of Ardour for the blessing of Peace. In short, let Critics that are of a contrary Opinion say what they please, I dare maintain that these Epistles deserve to be well esteemed, and to be admired by all those who profess to have any Respect for Books of Piety.

S. POLYCARP.

S. Polycarp.

S. Polycarp (a) the Disciple of S. John the Evangelist (b), and by him ordained Bishop of Smyrna, was after the decease of this Apostle, esteemed as the Head of the Churches of Asia; (c) when he went to Rome, under the Pontificate of Anicetus about the Year 160 (d) he converted several Marcionites, and obliged them to return to the Bosom of the Church. He had several Conferences with Pope Anicetus, probably about several particular Customs of the Church of Rome; They debated the question of the day when they should keep Easter, which was afterwards disputed under the Pontificate of Pope Victor, but each of them having judged it to be most convenient to observe his own custom, they amicably communicated one with another; and Anicetus to do the greater honour to S. Polycarp caused him to officiate in his own Church (e), and in his own place.

This Holy Bishop always abhorred Hereticks; and he used to tell a Story, That S. John having seen Cerinthus entering into a Bath, speedily fled from thence without bathing himself therein, fearing lest the building should fall because Cerinthus the Enemy of the Truth was there; and he himself having once accidentally met with Marcion, who desired that he would vouchsafe to take notice of him, he replied, I know that thou art the eldest Son of the Devil. He had a very particular respect for the Memory of S. John; he took much delight in telling over the Discourses that he formerly had with him, and with others that had seen Jesus Christ in the flesh; he related every thing whereof he had been informed by them concerning his Doctrine and Miracles, and if he had heard any one maintaining any Principles contrary to the Apostolical Faith, he was wont to cry out, O God to what times hast thou reserved me! and would immediately depart from the place where he was. All this is recorded by S. Irenaeus, and cited by Eusebius in the 14th Chapter of the fourth Book of his History, and in Book 5. Chap. 20.

The illustrious Martyrdom of this Saint, which happened in the year 167, after the Nativity of Jesus Christ on the 23d day of February, is described after a most elegant manner in the Excellent Epistle of the Church of Smyrna to those of Pontus, produced in part by Eusebius, in the Fifteenth Chapter of the fourth Book of his History, and published entirely first by Archbishop Usher, and afterwards by P. Leuclaus. They there give an account that S. Polycarp did not voluntarily surrender himself to his Executioners, but that he waited after the example of our Saviour, until he was delivered into their hands; that many Christians suffered before him with admirable constancy, all the Torments imaginable; that there was only one Quintus, who had persuaded the others to present themselves before the Tribunal of the Judge, that was overcome in the great Trial, which Irenaeus (as it is observed in the same Epistle) that although we cannot but admire the constancy of those that have generally suffered, after they had presented themselves, yet their Conduct ought not to

(a) S. Polycarp Hellenicus says that S. Polycarp was originally of Smyrna; that he was born in the East, and that he was a Slave in his youth, that he was bought by a certain Lady named Calpistris, who gave him his Liberty, and caused him to be instructed in the Christian Religion; that the afterwards made him her Secretary, and at last her Heir. He enlarged on the liberal donations of this Lady; he affirms that Basilus Bishop of Smyrna was at first Tutor to S. Polycarp, and afterwards S. John; he writes much in the commendation of this Eminent Basilus, and declares, that he ordained S. Polycarp who is the Angel of Smyrna. These Tales and many others are extracted from the false Acts of the Life of S. Polycarp forged under the name of Pinitius from the *Meningium Græcorum* by the modern Greeks.

(b) The Disciple of S. John the Evangelist. S. Irenaeus tells us, lib. 3. cap. 3. that he was constituted Bishop of Smyrna by the Apostles; and this could be done by no other than S. John.

(c) The head of the Churches of Asia. S. Irenaeus says that he was Princeps Ecclesiarum Asiae, that is, no say, that he was the most considerable Bishop, and (as I may say) succeeded in the Authority of S. John.

(d) About the year 160. He died in the seventh year of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius in the year 167. he had then served Jesus Christ 85 years, as he declares him-

self in the Acts of his Martyrdom; Thus he might have begun to serve God in the year 81 after the Nativity of our Saviour, and then he might be Ten years old. He conversed with all the Apostles, if we may believe the Testimony of S. Irenaeus. S. John died in the year of our Lord 101, and in the second of Trajan; he was banished in the fourteenth of Domitian, Anno Dom. 95, and returned into Asia after the death of this Emperor. These Observations may serve to fix the Chronology of the Life of S. Polycarp. He was born, about the year of our Lord 70, he began to consecrate himself to the service of God in the year 81. At that time he conversed with the Apostles, and became the Disciple of S. John; after the return of this Apostle he was ordained Bishop of Smyrna, however it is not precisely known in what year, but this must of necessity have happened before the year 101, since S. John died that year. He undertook his Journey to Rome in the beginning of the Pontificate of Anicetus, who presided in that See from the year 158 to the year 169.

(e) In his own Church. All these Circumstances are related by S. Irenaeus. There are some who affirm, that the Expression of S. Irenaeus signifies only that Anicetus administered the Holy Sacrament of the Lords Supper to S. Polycarp, but he would not thereby have done him much honour, it may be better understood according to our Explication.

he approved, since it is condemned in the Gospel. That S. Polycarp being informed of what had happened, determined to remain in the City; but being constrained to retire into a little House in the Country, he there continually prayed to God night and day for all the Churches, and for all Men; that three days before he was apprehended, being fervent in Prayer, he saw a Vision, wherein he perceived that his Bedstead was all on fire, which caused him immediately to foretell that he should long be burnt alive; that although he was removed from the place of his abode, yet he was seized by the Soldiers of the Provost-Marshal, led into the City and brought before the Pro-Consul, who endeavoured to persuade him to swear by the *Genius of Caesar*, and to curse Jesus Christ, whereupon Polycarp being encouraged by a Voice from Heaven, openly declares that he was a Christian; That the Pro-Consul having caused his profession to be proclaimed with a loud Voice, all the People who were in the Amphitheatre, cried out, that he should be burnt alive: That being tied to a Stake, he prayed to God, and concluded with Blessing the most Holy Trinity; that when the Fire was kindled it made a kind of a Circle round about the Body of this holy Martyr, who remained in the midst thereof without receiving the least hurt; And lastly, that the Pagans perceiving that the Fire could not burn or consume any of his Body, which continued whole and intire, left (as these deluded Heathens affirm'd) they should adore it in stead of Jesus Christ. Fools, as they were, (these are the words of the Epistle of the Church of Smyrna) they did not know that the Christians worship none but Jesus Christ because he is the Son of God, and only honour the Martyrs who are his Disciples and Followers, because of the Love which they testify to have for their King and Master. The Centurion having caused the Body of this Martyr to be burnt, the Christians carried away his Bones being more valuable than the most precious Stones, and more pure than Gold, which they buried in a place where they assembled together, to celebrate with joy and cheerfulness the day of his Martyrdom, thus honouring the memory of those that have fought gloriously for the defence of their Religion, and to confirm and instruct others by such Examples. These were the Notions of the Primitive Church concerning the Respect due to Martyrs and their Relicks, explained after a clear and exact manner, which are as far removed from the aspersions that are cast on them by the Protestants of our time, as from the superstition of some Roman Catholics.

S. Irenaeus assures us in his Letter to Florinus, that S. Polycarp wrote several Epistles to the Neighbouring Churches to confirm them in the Christian Faith, and others to some of his Brethren to encourage and exhort them to persevere in the Truth. We have at present but one single Epistle written by him to the Philippians, and particularly cited by S. Irenaeus, Eusebius, S. Jerom and Photius, (f) who have all commended and approved it as really belonging to this Primitive Bishop. And it cannot be doubted that it is the same with that which was extant in the time of the ancient Writers; wherefore I shall make no difficulty to affirm, that it would be great rashness to reject it, as M. Blondel and M. Daille have done; for by whom have these modern Authors been informed that this Letter was not composed by S. Polycarp? What reasons can they allege? Do they know S. Polycarp's style better than S. Irenaeus his Disciple? Have they a greater insight into this matter than Eusebius, S. Jerom, or Photius? Besides, if the Arguments produced by them had any weight, one might let them in the balance with the authority of the ancient Writers, but they are so weak that they scarcely deserve to be mentioned. This Epistle (says M. Daille) is disallowed by Nicephorus in his *Sichometria*: This is indeed an authority of great moment fit to be set against the testimony of Eusebius, S. Jerom and Photius! It is not certainly known by whom this *sichometria* was composed; and although we should allow that it was written by Nicephorus, yet he is a late Author, and of very little authority in comparison of those that we have now cited. After all, he doth not reject the Epistle of S. Polycarp, but only a certain Work that was attributed to him, and the Book of the Doctrine of S. Polycarp (as we have elsewhere observed) ought to be thereby understood, after the same manner as the Book of the Doctrine of S. Ignatius, and the Book of the Doctrine of S. Clement. Otherwise we must likewise disallow the Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians, whose name is found among the Apocryphal Writings immediately before that of S. Polycarp. It is certain also, that there was extant a Book, entitled, The Doctrine of S. Polycarp, as well as one called, The Doctrine of S. Clement, since it is cited by Maximus, Bede, Ado, Usuardus, Metaphrastes, Pachymeres, Homerus, and Nicephorus Callistus.

(f) By S. Irenaeus, Eusebius, S. Jerom, and Photius. S. Irenaeus in lib. 3. contr. Hæres. says thus, There is extant an Epistle of Polycarp to the Christians of Philippi, which is extremely accurate, and very proper to show the Character of the Faith, and the Doctrine of the Truth, to those that take any care of their Salvation. Eusebius adds in lib. 4. cap. 14. that S. Polycarp in this Epistle makes use of some Testimonies taken from the First Epistle of S. Peter. These References are found in that which we now have under his Name. S. Irenaeus affirms, that this Epistle was read in the Assembly of the Faithful of Ephesus. See Pinitius. Cod. 126.

S. Polycarp.

M. Duill receiving the witness of his objection against the Epistle of S. Polycarp, is obliged to suppose that the first part is genuine; but the second wherein he mentions those of S. Ignatius, is spurious; and to prove this he shows that the Epistle was concluded with the invocation of Jesus Christ; and that which follows ought to be esteemed as an addition made afterwards, being of no authority. But M. Duill cannot maintain this Hypothesis without rejecting the Testimony of Eusebius and Photius, who cite this second part; and more especially that which relates to the Letters of S. Ignatius; neither doth it seeme any thing to urge that the Epistle was concluded before, because, it is evident, that the invocation of Jesus Christ is frequently inserted in the middle of an Epistle, which is nevertheless continued after this sort of conclusion; this is very often to be found in S. Paul's Epistles, particularly in the Fifteenth Chapter of his Epistle to the Romans. The only objection alleged by M. Duill that hath any manner of probability is this; It is manifest (says he) that the Author who wrote that part wherein S. Ignatius is mentioned, supposeth him to be yet living, since he requires the Philippian to inform him concerning the translations of S. Ignatius, and of those that were with him; *De ipsos Ignatius de is qui cum eo sunt* (c) *quod certius agnoveritis significare*. But if we observe these words, it will appear, that they might as well be written after the death of S. Ignatius, as when he was alive, and that S. Polycarp only desired an account of the particular Circumstances of the Life and Martyrdom of that eminent Bishop, which were not unknown to the Christians of Philippi, through which City he had passed in his Journey to Rome.

This Epistle being full of admirable Counsels, Precepts, and Exhortations taken from the Holy Scriptures is written with a great deal of elegance and simplicity, as Photius has observed already. It was printed in Latin together with the Epistles of S. Clement and S. Ignatius in the years 1498, 1502, 1520, 1536, and 1550; at Basel in 1579, at Colen in 1530, at Paris in 1569 with the Works of S. Irenaeus, at Ingolstadt in 1546, at Paris in 1562, and at several other times, it is likewise infered in the Bibliotheca Patrum set forth by La Bigne. Besides it was Printed at Colen in 1557 of the Translation of Perionius, with the Works of Dionysius the Areopagite, and in 1585, with them and the Epistles of S. Ignatius. Hallucius first published part thereof in Greek from a Manuscript which Sirmondus had transcribed from a Copy written by Irenaeus. Usher hath Printed it in Greek and Latin afterwards with the Epistles of S. Ignatius in the year 1664. Cotelierus put it into his Collection of the ancient Records of the Fathers. Moderns hath likewise procured it to be reprinted at Helmstadt, and lately it was Printed in Holland in 1687, with a Dissertation concerning the Life and Writings of S. Polycarp, in a Collection of Treatises, entituled, *Varia Sacra*, set forth by M. Le Moine.

There are several other Works attributed to this ancient Bishop, as an Epistle to S. Dionysius the Areopagite, quoted by Suidas, and a Treatise concerning the Union of S. John, which is pretended to be kept in the Abby of Fleury; some Passages or Notes on the Gospels are likewise produced for his, which are taken from the *Catena of Fenanderius* under the name of *Viclor Capensis*. But it is very probable that these Tracts are fictitious. E. Jerome in his 28th Epistle to *Basilius* declares, that it was commonly reported in his time, that the Authentick Works of *Iosephus*, *Polycarp*, and *Papias*; were brought to him, but that it was a false rumour.

(c) *Qui cum eo sunt* It is expressed in the Greek, him, and who followed him when he passed through Thyatira, that is to say, they that had been with Philippi.

PAPIAS.

Papias.

Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis (a), a City of Asia, was a Disciple either of S. John the Evangelist (b), or of some other Person who bore the same name: He wrote five Books, entituled, *The Expositions of our Lords Disciples*, which were extant even in the time of Trithemius; but at present we have only some few fragments in the Writings of the ancient and modern

(a) Hierapolis. There are several Cities of that Name, but this lies between Phrygia and Lydia near Laodicea, being famous for Springs of hot Waters.

(b) A Disciple of S. John the Evangelist. S. Irenaeus, lib. 5, cap. 33. Hec Papias Joannis auditor Polycarpi consuevit scribere. S. Jerome, Ep. 29. Ad Theodorum. Refert Irenaeus vir Apostolicarum temporum & Papiam audierit Evangelista Joannis Discipulum. In the Martyrologies of Bede, Usherus, and Ado, as also in the Roman, in the Works of Trithemius and Andreas Casariensis, in Anastasius, Smar. lib. 7. in Huesner, Occurrit in Act. cap. 1. he is called The Disciple of S. John the Evangelist. Eusebius on the contrary, rejecting a Passage of Papias in his 1st lib. c. 30. observes that the Master of Papias was not John the Evangelist, but the other John called the Elder. His Reason, or rather

Conjecture, is that this Author in the beginning of his Books doth not assure us, that he was the Disciple of the Apostles, or that he had learn'd any thing from them, but only that, he had received that which he declares from those that were familiar with the Apostles, and who knew them. However, in the Passage alleged by Eusebius to prove his Assertion, Papias only affirms, that he interrogated the ancient Men who had seen the Apostles, demanding of them, What says Andrew? What says Philip? What says S. John? What says John the Elder? Therefore if it may be infered from thence, that he was not the Disciple of S. John the Evangelist, because he informs us, that he enquired of those that had seen him what were the Opinions of this Apostle; it may as well be infered that he was not the Disciple of John the Elder. However, the words of Papias may be interpreted

Papias.

Authors. He was the first that promoted the famous Opinion, or rather Dotage of Antiquity (c), conceiving the Temporal Reign of Jesus Christ, which they fancied should happen on Earth a thousand years before the day of Judgment, when the Elect should be gathered together after the Resurrection in the City of Jerusalem, and should enjoy there all the Delights imaginable during these thousand years.

S. Irenaeus produceth a fragment taken from the fourth Book of Papias, wherein he endeavours to prove this Opinion by a passage of the Prophet Isaiah: And Eusebius having cited a Paragraph of his Preface to these Books, in which he shews the great care that he took to be informed of the Doctrines of the Apostles, by interrogating their Disciples, adds; That this Author hath set down many things, which he pretended to have learnt by an unwritten Tradition, of which sort there are several new Fables and Instructions of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that are not contained in the Gospels, together with other fabulous Histories, among which we may reckon the Reign of Jesus Christ on Earth during the space of a thousand years after the Resurrection of the Body; That which led him into this Error (continues Eusebius) is that he understood the Disciples and Instructions of the Apostles too literally, not understanding that a mystical sense ought to be given to this sort of Expressions, and that the Apostles only made use of them as illustrations; for he was a Man of a very mean capacity, as appears from his Books, who nevertheless gave occasion to many of the ancient Fathers, and among others to Irenaeus, to follow this Error; which they maintained by the authority of Papias. Eusebius in the same place relates two Miracles, the account whereof Papias declares that he had received from the Daughter of Philip the Deacon, who resided at Hierapolis; That a dead Man was raised at that time, and that Barabbas, famous for his Treason, Elected to be an Apostle, together with S. Matthias, having swallowed deadly Poison, was not hurt by it: Moreover he assures us, that Papias had collected in his Books divers Expositions on some words of Jesus Christ composed by Arifton a Disciple of the Apostles, and the Traditions likewise of the Venerable Elder S. John; but omitting these things, he is content only to repeat a passage whereof this ancient Writer affirms, that S. Mark compiled his Gospel from what he had heard S. Peter tell of the Actions and Discourses of Jesus Christ, and this is the reason that he hath not observed an Historical Method. Lastly, Eusebius affirms, that he cited the first Epistles of S. Peter and of S. John, and that he explained the History of a Woman that was accused before our Saviour of several Crimes, which was found in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Thus we have given an account of all that is recorded by Eusebius concerning Papias. Andreas Casariensis and Occumenius have likewise produced some Passages (d) of his Works in their Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, but it is not certain whether they were Papias's or no.

The Judgment that ought to be given concerning him, is that which hath been already given by Eusebius, that is to say, that he was a good Man, but very credulous, and of very mean Parts, who delighted much in hearing and telling Stories and Miracles. And since he was exceedingly inquisitive, and inclined to believe every thing that was told him, it is not to be admired that he hath divulged divers Errors and extravagant Notions as the Judgments of the Apostles, and hath given us fabulous Narratives for real Histories, which shews, that nothing is so dangerous in Matters of Religion, as lightly to believe, and too greedily to embrace, all that hath the appearance of Piety, without considering in the first place how true it is (e).

expressed after such a manner, as to signify nothing else, but that he was careful whenever he happened to meet with any one that had familiarly conversed with the Apostles, to desire of them a particular account of their Doctrine or Judgment: Which makes me believe, that he was the Disciple of the Evangelist, and this is confirmed by the Authority of S. Irenaeus, who certainly means S. John the Evangelist; for S. Polycarp was his Disciple, and he asserts that Papias was the Companion of Polycarp, Polycarpi consuevit scribere.

(c) The famous Opinion, or rather Dotage of Antiquity. This was the opinion of S. Justin, Athenagoras, S. Irenaeus, S. Clement, Tertullian, Lactantius, and many other ancient Writers.

(d) Andreas Casariensis and Occumenius have likewise produced some Passages. Andreas Casariensis in

Serm. 12. in Apocalyp. cites a Passage of Papias, wherein he says, that the disposing of Sublunary Things was committed to the Care of the Angels that are round the Earth, but that they did not perform their Duty as they ought to do; Occumenius upon the Act observes, that Papias believed that Judas did not end his Life by hanging, but that he was run over with a Chariot, which is the Opinion of Theophylact, Euthymius and Occumenius.

(e) Without considering in the first place how true it is. This is conformable to an excellent Passage of S. Augustin: Non fit Religio nostra in Phantasmatis nostris; melius est enim qualescumque verum quam omne quicquid pro arbitrio fingi potest; melior est cura stipulas quam lux hominis cogitatione pro substantia voluntate formata: De ver. Rel. c. 55.

QUADRATUS and ARTISTIDES.

Quadratus
& Artistides.

These two Defenders of the Faith presented Apologies for Christians to the Emperor *Adrian*. The first was a Disciple of the Apostles (*a*), and it is said, that he had the Gift of Prophecy (*b*). *Eusebius* assures us, that the Apology of this Author was extant in his time, and that it shewed the Genius of this Man, and the true Doctrine of the Apostles. But we have only a small Fragment produced by *Eusebius* in the fourth Book of his History, chap. 3, wherein the Author declares, that none could doubt of the Truth of the Miracles of *Jesus Christ*, because the Persons that were healed or raised from the Dead by him, had been seen, not only when he wrote his Miracles, or whilst he was upon Earth, but even a very great while after his Death: so that there are many (says he) who were yet living in our time (*c*).

We have also left the Apology of *Artistides* which was preserved till *S. Jerome's* time. This *Artistides* was a very Eloquent Athenian Philosopher, (says the same *S. Jerome*) who when he changed his Religion, did not alter his Profession, and presented unto the Emperor *Adrian*, at the same time as *Quadratus*, a Volume in Form of an Apology, wherein he produced the proofs of our Religion, and being still extant, shews the Learned how excellent a Writer this Author was. The same *S. Jerome* observes in another place, that this Work was full of Philosophical Notions, and that it was afterward imitated by *S. Justin*.

(*a*) A Disciple of the Apostles.] *Heron. Ep. 84. ad Magnum*. This appears from the Fragment that is set down afterward. We must not confound this *Quadratus* with another of this Name, who was Bishop of *Athen*, and the Successor of *Publius* mentioned by *Eusebius*, Lib. 4. cap. 23. *S. Jerome* makes no distinction between them in his Catalogue, nor in his Epistle to *Magnus*; and they are likewise confounded in the *Meningium Græcorum*: But *Valerius* clearly proves that they are different: for the first was not a Bishop, as appears from the Testimony of *Eusebius*, Lib. 3. c. 27. and Lib. 4. c. 3. Besides the former *Quadratus* was a Disciple of the Apostles, and lived in the time of the Emperor *Adrian*, whereas the other never saw the Apostles, as being Contemporary with *Dionysius Corinthius* under the Reign of *Antoninus*.

And it cannot be doubted, but that it was the Elder who presented the Apology to *Adrian*.

(*b*) It is said, that he had the gift of Prophecy.] *Eusebius*, Lib. 3. cap. 37. assures us, that he was endued with the Gift of Prophecy, as were the Daughters of *Philip* the Deacon, and *Miltiades* in *Euseb. Lib. 5. cap. 17*. reckons him in the number of the Prophets of the New Testament.

(*c*) In our time.] *Eusebius Theodosianensis* cites this Author against *Arrian*, *Crescentius*, apud *Phot. Cat. 335. Bode*, who hath confounded him with the Bishop of *Athen*, declares, that he determined that there was no Man from which a Christian ought to Abtain, which is likewise Recorded in the *Meningium Græcorum* upon the 21st day of September.

AGRIPPA.

Agrippa.

AT the same time, and under the Reign of the same Emperor, lived *Agrippa* Simamed *Callisto*, a Learned Man, who wrote a very convincing Book against the Heresie of *Basilius*, in which he confuted the Errors of this Heretic, after he had discovered them, and detected all his Devices and Frauds. He observes, (says *Eusebius*) that *Basilius*, had written twenty four Books on the Gospels, and that he forged several Prophets that never were in the World, to whom he attributed extraordinary Names, such as *Barfabas* and *Barcorb*, on purpose to amuse the Minds of his Auditors. He affirmed also, that this Heretic taught his Followers, that it was a thing indifferent to eat Sacrifices that were offered unto Idols; that it was lawful to Renounce the Faith in the time of Persecution; and that, in imitation of *Pythagoras*, he imposed Silence on his Disciples for the space of five years. We have no further knowledge of this Author, since his Book is lost, and I know not whether we have any considerable Fragment of it left.

HEGESIPPUS.

Hegesippus.

Hegesippus appeared in the World a little after the Death of the Apostles, about the beginning of the Second Age of the Church (*a*). He left the Jewish Religion, in which he was born (*b*), to Embrace that of the Christians; he took a Journey to *Rome* under the Pontificate of Pope *Anicetus*,

(*a*) About the beginning of the second Age of the Church.] *Euseb. Lib. 1. cap. 23*. 'Ο ἡγούμενος τῶν δεινῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων ἡρώδης δ' αὐτοῦ. *S. Hieron.* *Hegesippus* videretur Apostolicorum temporum omnes a Passione Domini usque ad suam aetatem Ecclesiasticorum multum doceri Historiam, multaque alia ad utilitatem legentium pertinentia hinc inde congregant, quinque libros

[scriptis sermone simpliciori, et quorum vim scilicet, didandi quomodo exprimeret caracterem.]

(*b*) He left the Jewish Religion in which he was born.] *Euseb. Lib. 4. c. 22*. *Nomulla item in Hebraeorum Evangelio, & ex Hebraicis Lingua profert in medium, satis per hac aperte significans se ex Hebraicis ad Christi fidem transisse.*

Hegesippus.

and remained there until that of *Eleutherus* (*c*), that is to say, from the year 165, until the year 180, or thereabouts; he is the first Author that hath Composed an entire Body of Ecclesiastical History, which he divided into five Books (*d*), wherein he relates the principal Occurrences which happened in the Church from *Jesus Christ's* Passion to his own time. This Book was written in a simple Style (*e*), because he relolved (says *S. Jerome*) to imitate the Phrases and Dialect of those, whose Lives he wrote. We have only some few Fragments left, which are inserted by *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History.

The first Fragment extracted from the Writings of *Hegesippus*, and produced by *Eusebius* in the second Book of his History, Chap. 23. contains a Relation of the Martyrdom of *S. James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, but his way of telling it looks more like a fabulous Narrative, than a true History (*f*).

The second Fragment of *Hegesippus* is likewise to be found in the History of *Eusebius*, Book 3. Chap. 20. He therein informs us, that the Emperor *Domitian* caused a strict Search to be made after the Posterity of *David*, who were the Children of *S. Jude* the Brother of our Lord, but that perceiving them to be extremely poor, and very far from being able to make any attempt against the Empire, he soon dismissed them without any molestation (*g*).

The third is also found in the same Book, ch. 32. where he gives an account of the Martyrdom of *Simeon* the Son *Cleopas* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was Crucified under the Reign of *Trajan*, and adds, that hitherto the Church had remained a Virgin (*h*), but that after the Death of those that had heard and seen *Jesus Christ* in the Flesh, the first *Herefurch's* began openly to divulge their detestable Errors.

The fourth Fragment concerning *Antoninus*, whom *Adrian* caused to be Registered amongst the Gods, is cited, Book 4. Chap. 8. only to shew, that *Hegesippus* lived after the time of that Emperor.

The fifth is in Book 4. Chap. 22. where *Hegesippus* speaks of his Journey to *Rome* in passing through *Corinth*, where he saw *Primus* the Bishop of that City; he describes the Election of *Simeon* in the room of *S. James*, and makes mention of a certain Person named *Thebuthis*, whom he affirms to have been the first that rent the Church by his Errors, being incensed because he was not made a Bishop; he observes, that this *Thebuthis* had collected his Doctrines from the seven Sects that were among the Jews, as well as the other Heretics.

Eusebius adds, that *Hegesippus* produced divers Passages out of the Hebrew and Syriack Gospels, and that he speaks of several Traditions of the Jews; it is likewise observed by him, that he cites the Proverbs of *Solomon*, as well as *S. Irenæus*, under the Name of *The Book of Wisdom*, and that he mentions certain Apocryphal Writings composed by the Heretics of his time. This is all that is extant of the five Books of the History of *Hegesippus*, the order of which is also unknown to us; but, as far as we can judge by the remaining fragments of this Work, it was not very exact, and was rather filled with feigned and fabulous Relations, than with solid and real Histories.

We have besides, under the Name of *Hegesippus* an History of the Wars of the Jews, and of the taking of the City of *Jerusalem*, divided into five Books, which hath been often published, and particularly at *Colen* with the Notes of *Gallertius*, in the year 1559. It was likewise printed in a Collection of the Works of the Fathers, set forth by *Laurentius de la Barre*, A. D. 1583, as also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of *La Bigne*, &c. But it is certain that this Work does not belong to *Hegesippus*, it being evident that it was written by an Author who lived after the Reign of *Constantine* the Great. For first, The History of *Hegesippus* was merely Ecclesiastical, whereas this is an History of the Jews copied out in part from *Josephus*. Secondly, We do not find therein any of the Pas-

(*c*) And remained there until that of Eleutherus.] *S. S. Jerome* says; but *Hegesippus* only declares that he came to *Rome*, and resided there during the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, whose Deacon *Eleutherus* was at that time; that *Soter* succeeded *Anicetus*, and *Eleutherus Soter*. This shews, that he lived in the time of the *Antonines*, and wrote his History at least under the Pontificate of *Eleutherus*. In the Chronicle of *Alexandria* it is observed, that he died under the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus*.

(*d*) Which he divided into five Books.] According to the Testimony of *Eusebius* and *S. Jerome*; this Work was entituled, *ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἱστορία*, apud *Euseb. & Goharum* apud *Phot. c. 232*.

(*e*) This Work was written in a simple Style.] This *Eusebius*, Lib. 4. c. 8. and *S. Jerome* de Script. Eccl. both bear witness.

(*f*) But his way of telling it, looks more like a fabulous Narrative than a true History.] *Scaliger* proves by many Arguments that this Relation is fabulous, some whereof are not very solid, but others are so convincing, that the Answers of *Hallouxius* and *Petavius* are not sufficient to give satisfaction to any Man of a sound Judgment; for to omit the particular Circumstances of the Life of *S. James* recited by *Hegesippus*,

which cannot be true; as that he alone was permitted to enter into the Sanctuary, because he was not clothed in Woollen but in Linnen, and other Things of the like nature; the account of his Martyrdom being contrary to that of *Josephus*, the verity of whose History was never suspected by any, furnishes us with Arguments against which it is almost impossible to dispute. See *Valerius* his Notes on *Eusebius*.

(*g*) He soon dismissed them without any molestation.] This Narrative is likewise accused of Falshood by *Scaliger*, but his Arguments are not so considerable as those which he urges against the former: The Answers of *Hallouxius* and *Valerius* are indeed of some weight; yet I can scarcely persuade myself of the truth of this Relation.

(*h*) Hitherto the Church had remained a Virgin.] Not but that the Church always remains in this state. Therefore the meaning of *Hegesippus* is this; That until that time he was not torn in pieces by Heresies and Schisms, and that all those who were called by the Name of Christians, had one and the same Faith, whereas afterward the Arch-Heretics divided the Professors of Christianity, rent the Church, and propagated their pernicious Errors. It were a manifest Abuse of this Passage to interpret it otherwise.

S. Justin.

he seems to differ from us in following the Platonick Maxims; but it will appear to those who shall thoroughly examine his Opinions, and those of the ancient Fathers, that in the main they agree with ours (*s*), and that they are only different in the manner of Expression. He asserts with many of the ancient Writers, that the Souls of Men after their Separation from the Body, shall wait for the Day of Judgment, to be either entirely happy or miserable (*s*); but at the same time he acknowledges, that during this interval they shall receive Punishments or Rewards, according to their Deserts. Moreover, he believes, (according to the Opinion of the most part of the primitive Christians) that the just after the Resurrection shall remain for the space of a thousand years in the City of Jerusalem where they shall enjoy all lawful pleasures (*m*). He seems to have thought, that the Souls of the wicked should at last become capable of dying (*x*); tho' in other places (*y*) he affirms that their torments shall be eternal. He has a peculiar Opinion concerning the Souls of the righteous; which he affirms to have been before the coming of Jesus Christ, under the power of the Devil, who could cause them to appear, whenever he should think fit (*z*). He hath asserted, as S. Irenaeus assures us, (*a*) that the Devils were ignorant of their Damnation until the coming of our Saviour; inay, he goes further in his Apology to the Emperor, affirming that they are not as yet thrust down into Eternal Flames (*b*) &c. Lastly, he seems not to despair of the Salvation of those who have lived Virtuously among the Gentiles, having only the knowledge of God without that of Jesus Christ. (*c*) These are almost all the particular Points wherein he hath departed from the present Opinions of the Catholic Church.

The Works of S. Justin were first Printed all together in Greek (*d*), by Robert Stephen in the years 1551 and 1571; except the Second Treatise against the Gentiles, and the Epistle to Diognetus, which were printed by themselves, by Henry Stephen in the years 1592, and 1595. This Edition was soon followed by that of Commelinus in Greek and Latin, published by Fridericus Silbergius, Anno Dom. 1593. It comprehends the entire Works of S. Justin, divided into Three Parts, the first whereof contains the Books against the Gentiles, the Second, the Dialogue against Tryphon, and the Third, the Tracts that were Composed for the Instruction of the Christians: They are translated by Langus; except the Second Oration against the Gentiles, and the Epistle to Diognetus, which are of Henry Stephen's Translation: at the end are subjoined some Notes of Silbergius, Stephens, and other Learned men. Morellus followed this Edition in the Impression of the Works of S. Justin, which he caused to be made at Paris in the years 1615, and 1656. only he added the small Tracts of A. theodoras, Theophilus, Hermias and Tatian. This last Edition is thought to be the best, and yet it is very imperfect, and it were to be wished that another might ere long be published; to this end a

(i) In the main they agree with ours.] We need only examine his Discourse concerning the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity in his Apology to the Emperor, p. 26, 93, 94. as also concerning the Divinity of the Word, p. 67, 96. and in his first Apology, p. 44, 45. and more especially his Declaration concerning the Word in his Dialogue, p. 267. where he not only confutes the Opinion of those that imagined that Jesus Christ was a mere Man, but he likewise proves that he is really God; and in p. 358. where he plainly asserts, that the Word was begotten of the Father without dividing his Substance.

(z) To be either entirely happy or miserable.] In his Dialogue, p. 223. he declares, that the Souls of the just and of the wicked wait for the day of Judgment in a place where they suffer more or less, proportionally to the good or evil that they have done in the World.

(u) Where they shall enjoy all lawful pleasures.] See p. 306. of his Dialogue; This Opinion is common to him and almost all the ancient Fathers, and it was a fancy set on foot by Papias, and from him spread among the Primitive Christians, of the vanity whereof we are at present convinced.

(x) That the Souls of the wicked should at last become capable of dying.] We find this notion in the beginning of his Dialogue, p. 222, 223, and 224. where the old Man that instructs him, refutes the Opinion of Plato, that Souls are incorruptible of their own nature, and maintaining that they are so only through grace; from whence he concludes, that the Souls of the wicked are only tormented as long as it shall seem good to the Will of God; inasmuch that after many Ages they shall cease to be.

(y) Although in other places, &c.] In his Apology to the Emperor, p. 57. he affirms, that the torments of the Damned shall not only last for a thousand years, as he is mentioned by Plato, but that they

shall be everlasting. Observe likewise what he says concerning these torments in p. 64, 65, 66. and in other places, wherein he always calls them Eternal, opposing the word Eternal to the Pain that shall one day have an end.

(z) Who could cause them to appear, &c.] He asserts this in speaking of Samuel, whose Soul the Witch really caused to return, according to his Opinion in Dialogue, p. 332, and 333.

(a) According to the testimony of S. Irenaeus.] This passage is set down above.

(b) That the Devils are as yet thrust down into Eternal Flames.] We find this in his Apology to the Emperor, p. 71.

(c) Having only the knowledge of God without that of Jesus Christ.] In his second Apology, pag. 83. he declares that they that lived according to the Principles of Natural Reason, as Socrates, Heraclitus, Azarias, Misaël, &c. might be called Christians, and he seems to suppose that they were saved by living up to the Law of Nature.

(d) The Works of S. Justin were first printed all together in Greek.] I do not speak of the several Editions of the Versions which are common, and whereof there are three besides that of Langus. The first was Composed by Picus Mirandula, and printed at Basil by Henry Peter in the years 1528, and 1551. The second by Perizonius, and Printed by Nivelle, at Paris in 1554. The third by Gelenius was Printed at Basil in 1555. Lastly, a Translation of all the Works of Justin was set forth by Langus, and printed at Basil in 1565, and at Paris in the same year, and in 1578, together with large Commentaries. The Book of the Constitution of the Opinions of the Aristotelians was translated by Postellus, & printed by it self by Nivelle in 1552.

A Greek Edition of his Apologies and several other little Tracts of the Greek Fathers were Printed at Rome by Zamerus. The Exhortation to the Greeks in Greek is printed by it self by Guillard at Paris.

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S. Justin.

new Version ought to be made of all St. Justin's Works, because *Langus's* hath many defects, the ancient Manuscripts ought to be consulted (if any such can be found) and exactly compared with the Greek Text, which was not corrected by *Silbergius* from any Manuscript: Lastly, some Annotations ought to be added, and many of those that are already Printed should be cut off.

As for the disposing of these Works, the following Order may be observed; They should be divided into Three Classes. 1. Those that were really Composed by S. Justin. 2. Those that may be his, tho we cannot certainly affirm it. And, 3. Those that are manifestly Supposititious. His Apology to the Emperor Antoninus, that which ought to be called the first Apology, that so for the Future it may always be cited under that Name, ought to be placed in the Front: the other Apology that immediately follows, should be Entitled the Second; after this might be inserted the Fragment of the Books concerning Monarchy; the excellent Dialogue against Tryphon, should be the last Treatise of this Class at least, till some of those that are lost, happen to be found. The Second Class should contain the two Orations to the Greek, and the Epistle to Diognetus. The Third may take in all the Books that are undoubtedly forged, which also might be distinguished into two Parts; in the first whereof should be placed those Writings, that may be in some manner useful, such are the 146 Questions, the Exposition of the Faith, and the Epistles to Zena and Serenus; and then in the Second one may add the Philosophical Tracts above cited, if it should not be thought more convenient to omit them altogether.

MELITO.

Melito Bishop of Sardis in Asia, is one of those Fathers, who wrote the most concerning the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church; but there remains nothing of them at present but *Melito's* the Titles, and a few small Fragments produced by *Eusebius* in the Fourth Book of his History, chap. 26. The Titles are these; Two Books of the Feast of Easter, one of the Lives

of the Prophets (a) one of the Church, one of the Lords-Day, one concerning the Nature of Man, another of his Creation, one of the Submission of the Senses unto Faith (b), a Book concerning the Soul, the Body, and the Spirit, one of Baptism, another of Truth, another concerning the Generation of Jesus Christ, one of Prophecy, one of Hospitality, another entitled the Key, one of the Devil, another of the Apocalypse, one of God incarnate (c), and a Collection taken out of the Holy Scriptures. Lastly, an Apology presented to Marcus Antoninus, whereof we have a fragment in *Eusebius*, wherein *Melito* intreats the Emperor, that he would vouchsafe to examine the Accusations that were alleged against the Christians, and to cause the Persecution to cease by revoking the Edict that he had published against them: He represents to him, that the Christian Religion was so far from being destructive to the Roman Empire, that it was very much augmented since the propagation thereof; that this Religion was persecuted only by wicked Emperors, such as Nero and Domitian; that the Emperors Adrian and Antoninus had written several Letters in its behalf, and therefore he hoped to obtain of his Clemency and Generosity, the favour which he so earnestly requested. *Eusebius* also gives us another little Fragment out of the Book concerning Easter, to shew the time when this Author wrote, in which he mentions *Sagaris* Bishop of Laodicea, whom he affirms to have suffered Martyrdom, under *Servilius Paulus* the Proconsul of Asia. As also another Fragment more considerable, which is the Preface to his Collections, wherein he gives us a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, omitting those that are not included in the Canon of the Jews; these are the Books of Ecclesiasticks, Wisdom (for he calls the Book of the Proverbs by the Name of Wisdom) Judith, Esther, and the two Books of the Maccabees.

There is also another Fragment of *Melito's* preserved by the Author of the Chronicle commonly called the *Alexandrian* in Olympiad 236. wherein he says, that the Christians do not adore insensible Stones, but that they worship one God alone; who is before all things, and in all things, and Jesus Christ who is God and the Word before all Ages. It is not known from what Book this Fragment was taken; but it is probable, that it is in his Apology to the Emperor. Some other passages are likewise attributed to him, which are taken out of a *Catena* of the Greek Fathers upon Genesis, but they seem to me to be unworthy of this Author (*d*); we find also in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, another Book under his Name Entitled, *Of the Passage or Death of the Virgin Mary*, which is inserted

(a) A Book of the Lives of the Prophets.] Some reckon two Books on this Subject; but it is plain from the Greek Text of *Eusebius*, and the Authority of S. Jerom, that there was but one.

(b) One of the Submission of the Senses unto Faith.] S. Jerom, and Rufinus distinguish the Books of Faith, from that of the Senses, but it is more probable, that it was but one Book bearing the above-mentioned Title, as being Composed against some Hereticks, who asserted that we ought to believe only according to our Senses.

(c) Of God incarnate.] It is expressed in Greek. *Ἐστὶν ἐκασμὸς Θεοῦ*; of God incarnate, or invested

with a Body. Others expound this passage after another manner, imagining that he maintained that God was Corporeal; but this last is not the proper signification of the Greek word. However, *Origen*, cited by *Theodoret* in *Quest. 20. in Exodum*, says that *Melito* wrote a Book *ἡν ἐν ἐκασμῷ τῷ Θεῷ*, that God was Corporeal, which answers to the other Interpretation.

(d) Unworthy of this Author.] One of these passages is produced by *Hadolinus*, being a Comparison between *Isaac* and Jesus Christ, full of childish Notions and Expressions, that are more agreeable to the Modern, than the ancient Writers.

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Melito. by Pope Gelasius amongst the Apocryphical Writings, and rejected by Bede; But it is at present generally agreed, that this Book is not being cited by any of the ancient Writers, and containing many unchristian and absurdities, is a counterfeit Work. *Melito* lived under the Reign of Marcus Antoninus, he presented his Apology in the second year of this Emperor, that is to say, in the Year of our Lord 182. and died before the Pontificate of Victor, as appears from the Epistle of Ptolemy to this Pope, wherein he mentions him, as already dead in these Words: *Why should not I speak of Melito, whose Actions were rewarded by the Actions of the Holy Ghost, who has entered at Sardes, where he expels the Targumim and Resurrection?* This shews that *Melito* was esteemed as a Prophet, that is to say, as a Man inspired by God, according to the Testimony of *Tertullian* produced by S. Jerom. If the same *Tertullian* had not assured us, that this Author wrote Elegantly and was a good Orator, it would be very difficult to give any Judgment concerning his Style, by that little of his Writings which is yet extant.

TATIAN.

Tatian. TATIAN surnamed the Assyrian, (a) from the Name of his Country, was an able Orator, and S. Justin's Scholar. He remained in the Communion of the Church during the Life of his Master, but after his Martyrdom being puffed up with Pride, which often attends the Opinion of Knowledge, he became Head and Author of a new Sect (b), which was called the Heresie of the Encratites, or of the Continent, because these Sectaries condemned Marriage, as also the use of divers sorts of Meats and Wine, leading a sober and austere Life in appearance; besides this, they maintained some of the Errors of the Valentinians, and affirmed that our Fore-Fathers were Damned: This Sect was afterwards augmented by Severus (c), from whom they took the Name of Severians: these later rejected the Epistles of S. Paul, and the Acts of the Apostles. But to return to *Tatian*; he having got a great facility in writing, Composed a great number of Books, and among others an excellent Treatise against the Gentiles, which is most esteemed of all his Works, as also a Gospel Collected from the Four Evangelists.

There is yet extant the Treatise of *Tatian* against the Gentiles, which was first Printed at Zurich, in the Year 1646. together with the Version of *Conradus Gessner*, afterwards inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and Lastly, annexed to the Works of S. Justin, the Title thereof is as follows: *The Discourse of Tatian against the Gentiles, proving that the Greeks are not the Invention of any of the Sciences, as they boast themselves to be, but that they were all invented by those whom they call Barbarians.* This is indeed the Subject of the beginning of his Discourse, but then he adds, that the Greeks corrupted the Sciences, which they received from the Barbarians, and more especially Philosophy. Afterwards he proceeds to the Explication and defence of the Christian Religion; he Treats of the Nature of God, of the World, of the Resurrection of the Body, and Freedom of the Soul: He confutes the Opinion of Fate, he discourses of the Nature of the Soul, and of Devils, discovering the Snares that they lay for Men. He intermixeth all these things with several Satyrical Reflections on the ridiculous Theology of the Pagans, and the corrupt manners of their Gods and Philosophers, shewing at the same time, that the Writings of *Moyses* are more ancient than all other Histories, and giving an admirable Description of the Holy Convocation of the Christians. This Work is extremely full of profound Learning, and the Style thereof is Elegant enough, but superfluous, and not very elaborate: and the Matters therein contained are not disposed into any Order. It was certainly Composed by *Tatian*, before he fell into Heresie, tho' after S. Justin's Death, since he doth not condemn the State of Matrimony in that Book (d). He argues concerning the Generation of the World, in such Expressions as do not agree with our manner of explaining it; but they may be interpreted in a Sense which is not Heretical (e). He maintains that the Angels, and Devils consist of Bodies and Souls: He denies the Immortality of the later, affirming that they die, and that they shall hereafter rise again with their respective Bodies, which is a considerable Error.

As for the Gospel that was Compiled by *Tatian*, S. Epiphanius in his Description of the Heresie of the Nazarenes, hath confounded it with that which was Entitled: *The Gospel according to the He-*

(a) Surnamed the Assyrian.] At the end of his Treatise against the Gentiles, he declares that he was born in Assyria, and that he had been instructed in the Theology of the Grecians.

(b) Of a new Sect.] S. Irenaeus Lib. 1. Euseb. Lib. 4. c. 29. S. Jerom. in Catalogo.

(c) This Sect was afterwards augmented by Severus.] S. Epiphanius affirms, that Severus lived before *Tatian*, but he is mistaken.

(d) He doth not condemn the State of Matrimony in that Book.] On the other hand, Pag. 168. he seems to approve it.

(e) A Sense which is not Heretical.] He asserts that the Word was begotten in the time of the Crea-

tion of the World; altho' he was from all Eternity, calling the Generation of the Word his Application, (if we may so term it) to the exterior Works: He adds, that the Word was not begotten by way of Separation, but after the same manner, as one Fire is lighted or kindled by another; so that God did not remain without the Word, but that the Word proceeded from him, and remained in him altogether, or at the same time, this he explains by the influence of human Speech. These are the Principles of some of the ancient Christians. The Version of this Treatise was Printed together with the Greek Text at Basil, in the Years 1564, 1569, 1573, 1593. and at Geneva, in 1592.

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brews; and indeed they had this in common, that the Genealogy of Jesus Christ was not in either of them: But the Gospel according to the Hebrews was older than *Tatian's*; besides the later was only a kind of a *Catena* or Concordance, wherein this Author had gathered together, what he judged proper to be Collected out of the Four Evangelists. S. Ambrose seems to mention it in the Preface to his Commentaries on S. Luke; when he declares, that some Writers had made one single Gospel out of the Four, by Collecting those passages, which they believed to be most favourable to their Opinions, and omitting the rest. The Gospel of *Tatian* was Composed after this manner; in which he retrenched the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, together with all that which relates to his human Nature, and his Extraction from the Stock of David. Baronius thought that that was the Work of *Tatian*, which is in the Seventh Tome of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, under the Name of *Ammonius*; but this is a distinct Book; for as *Valerius* observes, it is an Historical Epitome of the Gospels, written by an ancient Orthodox Author, containing many passages, wherein Jesus Christ is called the Son of David; whereas *Tatian's* Gospel was a Rhapsody of the passages taken out of the four Evangelists, on purpose to induce us to believe that our Saviour was not descended from the Lineage of David. *Tatian* lived after the Death of S. Justin, and died about the time when S. Irenaeus wrote his Book concerning the Heresies. S. Clement in the Third Book of his *Stromata*, cites a Treatise of this Author Entitled, *Of Perfection according to the Saviour*, written by him after his Fall into Heresie; he produceth a passage out of it against Marriage, which he confutes in Pag. 460.

ATHENAGORAS and HERMIAS.

Athenagoras & Hermias. ATHENAGORAS an Athenian Philosopher, lived in the time of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, to whom he presented an Apology for the Christians (a). This Work and its Author, were unknown to Eusebius, S. Jerom, and Photius, but it is cited by S. Epiphanius in the Heresie of Origen. In this Apology he refutes the three principle Calumnies that were alleged against the Christians, as 1. That they were Atheists. 2. That they eat humane Flesh. 3. That they Christians were not Atheists, since they acknowledged and adored one God in Three Persons, and that they refused to worship Idols, and to offer Sacrifice to them, as being persuaded that they were of the Christians were very far from Murder and those infamous Crimes whereof they were accused. He plainly Establisheth the Unity of the Essence of God, and the Trinity of the three Divine Persons: He affirms that the Word, that remained in God from all Eternity departed from him, (if we may use such an Expression) to create and govern all things: He maintains the worship of Angels, and declares that they were created to take care of Affairs here below. He asserts that the Devils were ruined through the Love that they bore unto Women; he admits Free-will in its utmost Latitude; he makes divers Descriptions of the Holiness of the Conversation of the Christians; he commendeth second Marriages, calling them an honest Adultery; Lastly, he Treats of the Resurrection, and of the last Judgment.

There is another Treatise of this Father extant, concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, wherein he endeavours to prove, that it is not only not impossible, but even extremely credible: These two Books are written in a Dogmatical style; they were Printed separately in Greek and Latin (b), Translated by Gessner, Nannius, Marsilius Ficinus and Suffridus, and are inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, as also in Greek, in the Supplement to the *Bibliotheca*; and Lastly, after the Works of S. Justin, with the Annotations of Gessner, and Henry Stephen; there is another imperfect Tract annexed to them, which is a continual Series of Satyrical Reflections, on the Opinions and Philosophical Notions of the Gentiles, Composed by *Hermias*, a Christian Philosopher. But this Author is not known, nor the precise time when he wrote, however it is not to be doubted but that he is ancient, and that he lived before the Pagan Religion was extirpated. This little Book was Printed by it self in Greek and Latin, at Basil, Anno Dom. 1553.

(a) In the time of Emperor Marcus Antoninus, &c.] He joins Lucius Aurelius Commodus with Marcus. Labbe affirms that it was Lucius Verus; but it is more probable, that it was Commodus the Son of Antoninus, and that this Apology was presented after his being taken into the Government, about the Year 178.

(b) In Greek and Latin.] At Paris in Quarto, by Velle, Ann. Dom. 1541, and in Octavo, by Stephanus with Nannius's Translation in 1537. Also by Plantin at Antwerp in 1560, 1583, and 1588. The Translation of Suffridus was Printed at Colon, with Commentaries in 1567, and 1573. Nannius's Version of the Treatise concerning the Resurrection, was published at the end of the Works of Philo at Basil 1561, and in 1558 by Epiphanius, as also at Colon in 1599. There is a Version of the Treatise of the Resurrection

by Ficinus, and Printed at Basil in 1516, and another of Valerius in Italian, Printed at Venice in 1556. The Apology was Printed in Latin at Paris in 1498, in Greek and Latin in 1577. In Latin at Basil 1565. Translated by Gessner, and there again in 1578, in Octavo at Zurich in 1599. The Book concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, was Printed in Latin at Paris in 1498, at Basil in 1561. In Greek and Latin in Venice in 1498, and 1550. At Basil in 1593, and 1633. At Paris in 1615, 1618, and 1636. The Translation of the Treatise of the Resurrection, and Gessner's of the Apology.

[Athenagoras has also been Printed at Oxon Gr. Lar. in 1622; and at Leipzig 1684, in Oct. cum Notis Var.]

THEOPHILUS Bishop of ANTIOCH.

Theophilus
Bishop of
Antioch.

THEY that imagine (a), that this *Theophilus* whom we speak of is the same Man with him, to whom *S. Luke* dedicates the Acts of the Apostles, are grossly mistaken; for this Man was far from being Contemporary with *S. Luke* and the Apostles, that he was not Ordained Bishop of *Antioch* (b), until the Year 170, after the Nativity of Jesus Christ, and he governed this Church: Twelve or Thirteen Years, until the beginning of the Reign of *Commodus* (c); that is to say, until the Years of our Lord 181, or 182. This Bishop was one of the most vigorous Opposers of the Heretics of his time; he wrote a considerable Book against *Marcion*, and a Treatise against the Heresie of *Hermogenes* (d), wherein he cited the Apocalypse. He likewise Composed other small Tracts, for the Instruction and Edification of the Faithfull: All these Works are entirely lost; but we have Three Books still written by him to *Autolycus*, a Learned Heathen of his Acquaintance, who had undertaken to vindicate his Religion against that of the Christians.

In the first of these Books he answers the Request, that had been made to him by that Heathen, to teach him how to know the true God, and after having declared that to attain to the knowledge of him, we must be purified in mind and heart, he proceeds to Treat of the Nature of God, and of those things which the Divines call his Attributes, as his Eternity, Immenfity, Power, Invincibility; afterward he enlargeth on the Blessedness of the other Life, and on the Resurrection of the Body; he observes by the way, that Princes ought to be honoured as having received their Authority from God, and derives the Etymology of the word Christian from *Uction*. This first Book is properly a Discourse between him and *Autolycus*, in Answer to what this Heathen had said against the Religion of Jesus Christ. The second Book was written to convince him of the Falshood of his own Religion, and of the truth of the Christians. He begins with a Confutation of the Opinions that were maintained by the Pagans, concerning their Gods, and shews the Contradictions of the Philosophers, and Poets on this Subject; he explains at large the Creation of the World, and that which happened in the succeeding Ages; he Demonstrates that the History of *Moses* is the oldest, and truest History that ever was, and that the Poets have extracted many things from the Holy Scriptures, particularly their Relations concerning the Torments of the Damned. In the third Book, after having proved that the Writings of the Heathens are full of an infinite number of Notions, contrary to right Reason and good Manners, he shews that the Doctrine and Lives of the Christians, are very far from those Crimes that are laid to their Charge. Lastly, at the end of his Work he adds an Historical Chronology, from the beginning of the World unto his Time, to prove that the History of *Moses* is the ancientest and the truest. It is apparent from this little Epitome, how well this Author was acquainted with profane History. These three Books are filled with a great Variety of curious Disquisitions concerning the Opinions of the Poets and Philosophers: Tho' there are but few things that relate immediately to the Doctrines of the Christian Religion; not that *Theophilus* was Ignorant of them, for it appears from several passages that he was very skillful in these Matters, but in regard that he Composed this Book chiefly to convince a Pagan, he insists rather in proving our Religion, by Arguments from without, than by expounding its Doctrines. He is the first Author that hath applied the word *Trinity* (e), to the Three Persons of the Godhead, but he calls the Third by the Name of *Wisdom*: He asserts two things concerning the Word, which seem to favour of the *Arian* Heresie; the first is, that the Word

may be in a *Place*, and the Second, that he was begotten in *Time*; but these Expressions, which are common to him, and many of the ancient Fathers, had a different Signification (f) from that which was afterwards given them by the *Arians*.

Moreover these Books are full of Moral and Allegorical Expressions, the style is elegant, and the turn of the thoughts very agreeable, that whoever reads them, cannot doubt but that the Author was a very Eloquent Man. They are entituled in the Greek Manuscripts, *The Books of Theophilus to Autolycus concerning the Faith of the Christians against the malicious Detractors of their Religion*. They have been published in Greek and Latin, as also in Latin by *Comadus Gesner*, and Printed at Zurich in the Year 1546; afterward they were inserted in the *Orthodoxographia*, Printed at Basil in 1555. *Fron-10 Dmami* annexed them to the first Volume of the Supplement of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* set forth in 1624; and they were afterwards Printed at the end of the Works of *S. Justin* in the Edition of *Murellus*.

Besides these three Books, we have another Book in Latin attributed to *Theophilus*, consisting of Allegorical Commentaries on the four Gospels, which is in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; There was a Commentary on the Gospels under his name in *S. Jerome's* time, divers passages whereof are produced by him in his Annotations on *S. Matthew*; there were also Commentaries on the Proverbs of *Solomon*; but this Father observes in his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Writers, that they did not come up to the elegance or to the style of the Writings of *Theophilus*.

(f) But these Expressions which are common to him with many of the ancient Fathers had a different signification. They meant nothing else by the first Expression, as hath been already observed, but that God made himself manifest unto Men by the Word, therefore when *Theophilus* affirms that the Word is in a place, and that the Father cannot be there, he intended only to declare, that the Word appears unto Men in a place, as he heretofore appeared unto *Adam* in the Terrestrial Paradise, and that the Father doth not appear in that manner: This is the System of the ancient Christians: It would be more difficult to resolve the second Expression, were it not that they themselves have explained it, since they acknowledge that the Word is Eternal, and that he remained in God from all Eternity, as his Council, Wisdom, and Word.

But they say that the same Word who was in God, in some manner went out from him when he undertook to create the World, because he began to make use of this Word in Exterior Operations, and this is what they call the Procession, Prolation, and Co-generation of the Word, which does not hinder but that the Word might be from all Eternity, and eternally begotten of the Father after the same manner as we apprehend it, but this is not that which they call Generation.

These Expressions are not only used by *Theophilus*, but likewise by *Athenagoras*, *Tatian*, *Tertullian*, the Author of the Book concerning the Trinity, among the Works of the Father, *Lactantius*, the Compiler of the Homilies attributed to *Seneca*, *Venerius*, and afterwards by *Rupertus* in his Commentaries on *Genesis*.

APOLLINARIUS, or, APOLLINARIS of HIERAPOLIS.

Apollinarius, or, Apollinaris Bishop of Hierapolis, a City of Phrygia, wrote several Books under the Reign of *Marcus Antoninus*, the Titles whereof only remain at present; The first was an Oration dedicated to the Emperor in defence of the Christian Religion; The second a Treatise against the Gentiles divided into five Books; The third, two Books concerning Truth; The fourth, two Tracts against the Jews; The fifth was one or more Treatises against the Sect of the *Montanists*, which then began to appear. There are all the Works of this Author that are cited by *Eusebius* and *S. Jerome* (a), they were extant in *Photius's* time, who having read his Books against the Gentiles, as also those concerning Piety and Truth (b), declares, that he was much to be esteemed both for his Doctrine and his Style; wherefore I shall prefer the Judgment of this Learned Man before that of *Tribemius*, who without perusing the Works of *Apollinarius*, peremptorily asserts, that there seems to be more Zeal than Learning in what he has writ.

We find in *Eusebius's* Books. Chap. 16, a large fragment of a certain Author, whom he doth not name, against the Heresie of the *Montanists*, from whence *Ruffinus* and *Nicephorus* have asserted, that this Fragment was taken from the Discourses of *Apollinarius* against them, but they must of necessity be deceived; for *Apollinarius* compelled his Books to confute their Opinions, when they first began to be divulged, whereas the Anonymous Author of this Fragment, wrote after the death of *Montanus*, *Maximilla*, and *Theodotus*, who were the Ringleaders of that Party; besides, he makes mention of this Heresie as maintained in a Country far distant from his, and established a great while ago, which plainly shews, that this Fragment belongs not to *Apollinarius*, and consequently, that there is not any part of his Works now extant.

(a) By *Eusebius* and *S. Jerome*.] Lib 4. Cap. 27. *S. Jerome* in Catalogo omits the Books against the Jews, neither are they found in the Version of *Ruffinus*, nor even in some Greek Manuscripts of *Eusebius*.

(b) As also those concerning Piety and Truth.] *Photius*

Cod. 14. It is probable that the Book of Piety is the first of those two that are cited by *Eusebius*, under the Title of Truth. Besides, he affirms, that there were other Works of this Author, which he had never seen.

(a) They that imagine, &c.] This was the Opinion of *Gulielmus Tyrtius*, who in *S. Bernard's* time wrote the History of the Crusade, See lib. 4. c. 9. It is a gross error, for according to this account *Theophilus* must have lived above 150 years.

(b) Ordained Bishop of Antioch.] He was the sixth; The first (according to the testimony of *Eusebius*) was *Eudodius*, the second *S. Ignatius*, the third *Hero*, the fourth *Cornelius*, the fifth *Hero*, and *Theophilus* the sixth; *S. Jerome* indeed declares in one place that he was the seventh, but he is mistaken; *Eusebius* in his Chronicle, and in his History, refers his Ordination to the eighth year of the Reign of the Emperor *Marcus*, that is the 170 after Christ, according to the common computation.

(c) Until the beginning of the Reign of Commodus.] *Eusebius* affirms that *Maximinus* was his Successor in the seventeenth year of *Marcus Antoninus*, but in the Chronology of the Emperors composed by *Theophilus* at the end of his third Book to *Autolycus* he reckons nineteen years and ten days of the Reign of *Verus*, that is to say, of the same Emperor *Antoninus*, and it cannot be affirmed that 16 years ought to be put instead of 19, as it is in the Translation, for by computing the total Sum of the years of the Emperors which amounts to 237 years and one day,

it is apparent, that there must of necessity be 19. From whence it follows, that either he was mistaken in reckoning up a greater number of years of the Reign of this Emperor under whom he lived, than were really passed, which is not credible, or that he did not write these Books until after this time, under the beginning of the Reign of *Commodus*; and then, he could not have had *Maximinus* for his Successor until the year 182 of the Vulgar Account, unless he was taken in his Life-time to be his Coadjutor. There is more probability that *Eusebius* was deceived a year or two. *Nicephorus* in his Chronography of the Patriarchs of *Antioch* allows 13 years to *Theophilus*, which agrees with our Opinion.

(d) And a Treatise against the Heresie of Hermogenes.] *Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 24. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀγνῶστου αὐτοῦ καὶ Μαξιμίου τοῦ πατριάρχου καὶ Σέβ. S. Jerom. Sub Imperatore M. Antonino Vero librum contra Marcionem composuit, qui usque hodie extat. And Eusebius, καὶ ἄλλο πρὸς τὸν αἰρετικὸν Ἑρμογένην τὴν ἀποχρηστικὴν ἔχον. S. Jerom. Et contra Hæresin Hermogenes liber unus, καὶ ἄλλες τῶν ἀποχρηστικῶν ἀντὶ τῆς βίβλου. S. Jerom. Et alii breves, elegantisque tractatus ad edificationem Ecclesie pertinentes.*

(e) The word Trinity.] Lib. 2. p. 94. and 100.

DIONYSIUS of CORINTH.

Dionysius
of Corinth.

Dionysius Bishop of Corinth lived under the Reign of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus, and in the beginning of Commodus. 'He not only took care of his own Flock, (*say Eusebius, book 4. Chap. 23.*) but he also made the Christians of other Countries partakers of his Divine Labours, causing them to fructify every where by his Catholic Epistles, which he sent to many Churches. The first is written to the *Lacedæmonians*, containing an Instruction of the Catholic Faith, and an Exhortation to Peace and Unity. The second is directed to the *Athenians*, to exhort their Faith, and to induce them to lead a Life conformable to the Rules of the Gospel: He likewise reproves their negligence, whereby they had almost abandoned the Christian Religion ever since their Bishop *Publius* suffered Martyrdom in the Persecutions that were raised in his time: Moreover he mentions *Quadrantius*, who was elected Bishop of *Athens* after the Martyrdom of *Publius*, and testifies, that the Christians of this City owed the renovation of the ardour of their Faith to his Care. Besides this, he informs us, that *Dionysius the Areopagite* being converted by St. Paul, (as it is recorded in the *Acts of the Apostles*) was constituted the first Bishop of *Athens*. There is also another Epistle written by him to the *Nicomediensians*, wherein he confutes the Heresie of *Marcion*, and keeps close to the Rule of Faith. He likewise composed a Letter directed to the Church of *Gorynia*; as also to all those of *Crete*, in which he extremely commends *Philip* their Bishop, to whom his whole Church had given authentick Testimonies of his singular Abilities and Generosity, and he admonisheth them to avoid Heresies. In his Epistle to the *Amastrians*, and to the other Churches of *Pontus*, addressing his Discourse to their Bishop *Palma*, he explains divers passages of the Holy Scriptures; He therein lays down several Precepts concerning Marriage and Chastity, determining at the same time, that all Penitents should be received that returned from any Crimes whatsoever, and even from Heresie. In the same Volume is contained another Epistle to the *Glossians*, wherein he admonisheth *Pinytus* their Bishop not to impose on the Christians the heavy burden of the Obligation to preserve their Virginity, but to have respect unto the weakness which is incident to most of them. *Pinytus* in replying to this Epistle, extols and admires *Dionysius of Corinth*, and exhorts him at last to afford them more solid nourishment, and to send frequent Letters to him which might fill and satiate the People that were committed to his charge, lest being always nourished only with Milk, they should grow old, and yet remain in a kind of Infancy. This answer represents as it were a lively Portraiture of the Faith of *Pinytus*, his diligence in watching over the Flock, with which he was entrusted by God, his profound knowledge in Divinity, and his extraordinary Eloquence. We have also in our hand another Letter of *Dionysius* written to the *Romans*, and particularly directed to *Soter*, who was then their Bishop; a passage whereof it will be expedient here to produce, in which he recommends to them the continuation of a certain Custom, that had been always observed by them from their first plantation unto the perfection which happened in our time. This is (says he) a custom which hath been established among you, O ye Romans, ever since the beginning of your Church, to be charitable unto your Brethren, and to send to divers Churches throughout the World things necessary for their subsistence; you comfort the poor in their indigence, and relieve the urgent necessities of those that are condemned to the Mines; This custom you have received from your Ancestors, which the blessed Bishop *Soter* hath not only retained, but even augmented, by abundantly distributing the Donatives appointed for the relief of the Faithful, and cherishing as a Father would do his Children all the Brethren who came to Rome. 'He mentions St. Clement's Epistle to the *Corinthians*, which had been for a long time constantly read in the Church of Corinth, as he testifies in these Words. We have even now passed the Lords Day, when we perused your Epistle, which we shall hereafter read continually, as we do that of St. Clement, that we may be replenished with Precepts and wholesome Instructions: Afterward he observes, that his Letters were corrupted by Falsifiers in these Words: I wrote several Epistles at the Embracy of the Brethren, but the Ministers of the Devil have filled them with Tares, by retrenching and adding many things; they may well expect this terrible Sentence: Cursed be he that adds or diminisheth any thing from my Words. Wherefore it is not to be advised, that some have presumed even to corrupt the Sacred Writings, since they have done it in Books of much less Authority.' Besides these Epistles, there is another Extant, written to *Chrysophora* his faithful Sister, to whom he gave Instructions suitable, carefully nourishing her with spiritual Food. These are the Contents of this passage of *Eusebius*, concerning the Epistles of St. Dionysius, which I have set down entire, because he hath made use of the same Method as we should have done, in case those Epistles had been still Extant. Moreover *Eusebius* in his 2d. Book Chap. 25. recites another Fragment of his Epistle to the *Romans*, wherein it mentioned the Death of St. Peter, in the City of Rome in these Words. 'Thus says he as I may fo say, by your Exhortations you have mixed the Grain that sprung from the Seed of St. Peter and St. Paul, that is to say, the *Romans* and the *Corinthians*: for these two glorious Apostles entering into our City of Corinth, instructed us in dispersing the spiritual Seed of the Gospel, afterwards they passed together into Italy, and having given you also the like Instructions, they suffered Martyrdom with you at the same time. This is all that we certainly know concerning the Life and Writings of *Dionysius* Bishop of Corinth. In the *Menologium* of the Greeks, he is reckoned among the Martyrs, (a) but

(a) He is reckoned among the Martyrs. On the 29th of November, ἡ αὐτὴ ἡμέρα διονύσιος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐκκλησίας κορινθίων, on this day Dionysius Bishop of Corinth died by the Sword. *Gloss* affirms that he

suffered Martyrdom under the Reign of Antoninus Pius; and yet it is certain, that he lived under Marcus Aurelius.

since

since neither *Eusebius*, nor S. *Jerom* take any Notice of the matter, I am apt to believe that the Latin Church hath done more prudently in placing him in their Martyrology in the Rank of the Confessors.

Pinytus, Philippus, Modestus, Musanus, and Bardeſanes.

AT the same time lived *Pinytus* Bishop of *Gnosius* in the Island of *Crete*, who replied (as we have even now observ'd) to S. *Dens of Corinth*, in an Eloquent and Learned Epistle, *Philip Pinytus*, Bishop of *Gorynia*, mentioned likewise by the later, wrote a Treatise against *Marcion* &c. as well as *Modestus* (a), but less accurate.

Among these may be reckoned *Musanus*, who wrote a Work against the *Encratites*, and *Bardeſanes* (b) the Syrian, who Composed two Tracts translated into Greek by his Disciples, the First against *Marcion*, and other Heretics, and the Second concerning Fate; this last was dedicated to the Emperor Antoninus (c). Besides he wrote other Treatises upon the Persecution, that was then raised against the Christians of Syria: *Eusebius* observes, that this Author having been engaged in the sect of the *Valentinians*, tho' he had acknowledged and retracted the most part of his Errors, yet he retained some of them; wherefore he is accused by S. *Jerom*, of being the Deviler of a new Heresie: Tho' he owns that *Bardeſanes* was endued with a very quick Apprehension, and was extremely vehement in his Disputes. S. *Epiphanius* likewise makes him to be the Ring-leader of an Heresie. 'Bardeſanes (says he in *Heret. 56.*) is the Author of the Heresie of the *Bardeſanians*, he was a Native of *Mesopotamia*, and an Inhabitant of the City of *Edessa*; moreover he was a very good Christian (d); and wrote many useful Books, being well skill'd in the Greek and Syriack Tongues (e). He was intimately acquainted with *Agrippa* Prince of *Edessa*, and assisted him in his Studies; he lived until the time of Antoninus Veneris, and Collected many things concerning Fate against the Astronomer *Abidius*: There are also other Works written by him agreeable to the Faith: He Courageously withstood *Apollonius* the Friend of Antoninus (f), who advised him to deny that he was a Christian, and undauntedly replied, that he did not fear Death, which he could not avoid, tho' he should do that which the Emperor required: But at last this Man adorned with so many Vertues fell into Heresie, forsaking himself to be infected with the Errors of the *Valentinians*, inventing divers *Ænigmata*, and denying the Resurrection of the Dead. He acknowledged indeed the Law and the Prophets, together with the whole New Testament, but then he admitted several Apocryphal Books along with them. *Eusebius* in Lib. 6. *Prepara. Evangl.* produceth an excellent Fragment of the Writings of this Author against Fate, whereby it is evident that it was written in the Form of a Dialogue: He proves in this Fragment, that Men are not Conducted by Nature and Necessity as brute Beasts: one by Reason and Liberty, because, altho' the Nature of all Men be the same; yet there are infinite numbers of Manners, Customs, Laws and Religions among them, that are different even in the same Country, and under the very same Climate, which cannot proceed but from the different Choice that is made by them. Afterwards having alleged many Examples to evince this Truth, he adds: 'What shall we say, of the Society of Christians, who are dispersed throughout all the Cities of the World, and who cannot be induced by any Consideration, nor by any Arguments whatsoever, to follow the Manners and Customs of those among whom they reside; but on the contrary, wherever they are, they still adhere to peculiar Laws, and have Manners different from those of the People among whom they live, without being periwaded by any means to commit those things, which their Master hath declared to them to be Criminal, chusing rather to suffer Poverty, Dangers, Ignominy, Excommunications, and even Death it self? This passage set down by *Eusebius*, not only shews that *Bardeſanes* was a Person of a quick Apprehension, and of a vehement Temper, (as hath been observed by S. *Jerom*) but it likewise informs us, that he had acquired much Learning (g); and that his Style wanted neither Elegancy nor Ornament.

(a) As well as *Modestus*. S. *Jerom* affirms, that in his time there were other Tracts extant under the Name of *Modestus*; but that they were rejected by the learned as Supposititious.

(b) *Bardeſanes*. Porphyrius, Lib. de Abst. cites one *Bardeſanes* a Babylonian, who he says lived in the time of his Fore-fathers, and wrote concerning the *Brachman* and *Indian* Philosophers: But he must needs have been another Person.

(c) Was Dedicated to the Emperor Antoninus. It is asserted by S. *Jerom*, that he pretended it to him; but it is more probable, that being Translated, it was afterwards delivered by others; for since he wrote in Syriack, it is not credible, that he presented, or even Dedicated his Book to the Emperor; on the contrary, he Composed it at the Entreaty of his Friends; and in the form of a Dialogue.

(d) A very good Christian. S. *Epiphanius* is deceived; for it is otherwise affirmed by *Eusebius*, that he was at first a *Valentinian*; and that his Errors were the remainders of this Heresie.

(e) Being well skill'd in the Greek and Syriack Tongues. He did not understand Greek. Once, as *Eusebius* assures us; his Disciples Translated his Works.

(f) The Friend of Antoninus. Neither is there much certainty in this Relation.

(g) That he had acquired much Learning. This Fragment contains a Demonstration of the Manners, Customs, and different Laws of a very great number of People; which plainly shews his Learning, and it is written as agreeably as the Subject was capable of allowing it.

S. IRENEUS.

S. Ireneus.

WE know nothing of the Country of S. Ireneus (a), but only in general, that he was a Greek. It is probable, that he was at first Educated in the Christian Religion (b), or at least that he made profession thereof even from his Youth; during which he was a Disciple of S. Polycarp Bishop of Smyrna in Asia, who was then very Old. This induces me to believe, that this Father could not be born till about the end of the Reign of the Emperor Adrian, or the beginning of that of Antoninus Pius, some time before the Year 120, after the Nativity of Jesus Christ (c). He was also a Disciple of Papias, if we may believe S. Jerome (d), and perhaps it is he whom he frequently cites in his Work against the Heretics, under the Name of an Elder; that had seen the Successors of the Apostles (e). After he had thus spent the time of his Youth in the School of the most Learned of the Apostles (f) he went into France; where he was ordained Priest of the Church

of Lyons by Pothinus, who was Bishop of that See (g). And when this Holy Prelate had suffered Martyrdom in the 90th Year of his Age, being the 17th of the Reign of Marcus Antoninus, and the 178th Year of Jesus Christ, Ireneus was Elected his Successor upon his return from a Voyage that he made to Rome (h); having carried several Letters thither written to Pope Eleutherus, by the Martyrs of Lyons, concerning the new Sect of the Montanists. At the end of this Epistle, these Holy Men recommended S. Ireneus in these words: We have desired our dear Brother and Colleague Ireneus, to carry this Letter unto you; we commit him unto your Care; and we entreat you to esteem him as a Person that hath very much Zeal for the Gospel of Jesus Christ; if we believed that his Dignity would add any thing to his worth, we would have recommended him to you in quality of a Priest; but he is much more recommendable for his Zeal and Piety.

S. Ireneus being constituted Bishop, was not only employed in governing his particular Church with singular prudence, but he applied himself also to the preserving of all the other Churches in the World from the infection of Heresies, which were then spread abroad in great numbers. And it was on this account (i) that he Composed in Greek (k), under the Pontificate of Eleutherus (l) five

(g) By Pothinus.] *Halluzius* was of Opinion, that he was Ordained Presbyter by S. Polycarp. But there is more Reason to induce us to believe, that he was ordained by Pothinus, and therefore S. Jerome calls him the Presbyter of Pothinus.

(h) At his return from a Voyage that he made to Rome.] 'Tis certain, that the Martyrs had resolved to send him to Rome to carry their Letter, but we can't certainly tell, whether he went thither or no. *Valesius* thinks, that though they intended to send him, yet Pothinus's Death preventing him, he was detained there to be his Successor, and so never went to Rome at all. *Baronius* and *Petavius* say, that he went to Rome, and that he was not ordained till after his Return. They have the Authority of S. Jerome to support them, who says the same thing in his Book of the Ecclesiastical Writers in the following words. *Ireneus, Pothini Episcopi qui Lugdunensem in Gallicia regerat Ecclesiam Presbyter, a Martyribus ejusdem loci ut quaedam Ecclesie questiones regeret Romanis Missis, honorificis fere nomine suo ad Eleutherum perferre literas, postea cum Pothino propterea Nonagenario Martyrio Coronato in locum ejus succedidit.* *Eusebius* also seems to be of the same Opinion, since he mentions a Letter wherein it is said, that he was sent to Rome, without telling us, that his Journey was stopp'd by the Death of Pothinus. The Conjecture of *Valesius* is only founded upon the Improbability of the thing, that they would send S. Ireneus, who was the chief and the best known Member of the Church of Lyons, and who besides was to succeed Pothinus, at a time when that Church stood so much in need of his Assistance. But besides that in a Question of Fact, as this is, a Conjecture of this Nature is of little Consequence, so it may be replied, that he was sent at the beginning of the Persecution, and that he returned before the Death of Pothinus. *Fourdantius* imagines, that S. Ireneus carried Letters also into Asia and Phrygia, which the same Martyrs wrote to their Brethren in those Churches about the same Subject, but this is very improbable, and there is nothing in *Eusebius* to induce us to believe it. All that we Read there, amounts only to this, that the Churches of Vienna and Lyons, after the Death of Pothinus, and the other Martyrs, wrote a long Letter (which in all probability was Composed by S. Ireneus) to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia, cited by *Eusebius* towards the end of which, they passed their Consecration upon the Montanists, with a great deal of Piety and Devotion, setting before them (*Eusebius*) the Letters which these Martyrs had written, while they were at yet in Chains, as well to the Brethren of Asia and Phrygia, as to Eleutherus Bishop of Rome. But he does not say, that those first Letters to the Brethren of Asia and Phrygia, were carried by S. Ireneus, nor that they were sent at all, till the Letter concerning their Martyrdom was writ, and it seems to be very improbable

that they would send them the second time, if they had been carried thither once before. As for what relates to the Ordination of S. Ireneus it is certain, that he was only a Presbyter, when he went to Rome, and this appears by the Letter of the Martyrs by *Eusebius*, and S. Jerome. It is more difficult to know, who ordained him afterwards. Father *Quetif* in his Dissertation upon S. Leo, pretends that he was ordained by the Pope, and that he went purposefully to Rome upon that Account, others believe that he came back before the Death of Pothinus, and was ordained by him. It is more natural and more agreeable to the Testimony of the Ancients to believe that he was not Elected, and ordained Bishop of Lyons, till after the Death of Pothinus; and whereas Father *Quetif* pretends, that at that time there was only one Bishop of France, and therefore it was necessary for S. Ireneus after the Death of Pothinus to go and be ordained at Rome, all this is precarious, and the rather, because it appears that S. Ireneus was not thither while Pothinus was living, and upon another occasion.

(i) That upon this Account.] He himself tells us in his Preface to the fifth Book, that he Composed these Books to convert the Hereticks, and to preserve the Novices in the Faith; left they should be led aside by those, who would use their utmost Endeavours to pervert them, and seduce them from the Truth.

(k) In Greek.] *Exaratus* having found this ancient and barbarous Version, as *his* imagined, that these Books were Originally Written in Latin, but afterwards he altered his Opinion, and so hadly declares at present, but that the Greek was written in Greek. For S. Jerome places S. Ireneus amongst the Greek Authors. Secondly, *Eusebius* S. Epiphanius, Theodoret, Pothius and S. John Damascenus, read and quoted him in Greek. Thirdly, This Author was well known to the Latins, than to the Greeks; and Lastly, speaking of the number of the Letters, and the Name of Anti-Christ. Lib. 5; he says several things that could not be said but by an Author that wrote in Greek. We don't know who made this Version; some have attributed it to himself, but this is a foolish Chimerical; it was certainly Composed by a Man that understood neither Language, as he ought. It was not known in the time of Gregory the Great, who in his 50th Letter to *Eusebius* tells him, that he had searched a long time after the Writings of S. Ireneus, without being able to find them. *Gesta vel scripta* S. Ireneus jamdudum est quod sollicitè quaesivimus sed battemus ex eis inveniri disquis non valuit. S. Austin cites a passage out of S. Ireneus, Lib. 1. contra Jud. cap. 3, which is of another Version.

(l) Eleutherus.] This appears, because in his Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome, from S. Peter down to his own time, he ends with Eleutherus, who he says, was then living. *Nihil doctius hoc Episcopatum ab Apostolis sortitur Eleutherus, Lib. 3. c. 3.*

(a) That he was a Greek.] *Galactius* and some other Authors tell us, that he was of Smyrna, but this is barely a Conjecture. 'Tis certain, he was a Greek, and in all probability of Asia.

(b) He was at first Educated in the Christian Religion.] He always speaks of the Christian Religion, as if he had never been of any other, and he no where takes notice, that he had ever been a Heathen. Besides it is certain that he was a Christian, and a Disciple of S. Polycarp from his tender years, as he himself testifies in his Letter to Florinus, as it is cited by *Eusebius*, Lib. 5. c. 20. I have seen you, says he, when I was but a Child in Asia with S. Polycarp, I remember it very well, because we best retain what we have seen in our Youth; so that I can tell, what kind of a place it was, where S. Polycarp lived, what Disciples he had, and after what manner he lived. And in the Third Book against Heresies, Ch. 3. Polycarpus quidem constitutus ab apostolis in Asia Episcopus, quoniam Christus in illius regione etate ordinatus, multo magis potius reverat, et vultu sancto, gloriosissimo, et nobilissimo. *Idemque* *Episcopus* *exprobat* *et* *vultu* *Whit* *Episcopus* *Demosthenes* *et* *S. Ireneus* *was* *very* *young* *when* *he* *was* *first* *ordained* *by* *S. Polycarp*, *and* *that* *on* *the* *other* *hand*, *S. Polycarp* *was* *extremely* *old*.

(c) The Year of our Lord, 140.] 'Tis commonly believed, that he was born towards the end of Trajan's Reign, or in the beginning of Adrian's. But this does not agree with what we have observed concerning him; by which he evidently appears, that he only knew S. Polycarp in his old Age, when he himself was becoming young. Besides, S. Ireneus lived till the Year 200, or 203, wherein he suffered Martyrdom, and that he had Strength and Vigor enough still left, and the Pontificate of Eleutherus, towards the Year of our Lord, 178; And this abundantly discovers the Error of those Persons, who have imagined, that Ireneus was the Angel of Thyatira, of whom mention is made in her Apocalypse. 'Tis certain, that Book was writ before his Birth, for in his Fifth Book speaking of the Revelations, *It is not very long, says he, since it has appeared in the World, almost in our own time, at the end of Domitian's Reign.*

(d) He was a Disciple of Papias.] *Quetif* has shown, that he lived in the Third Dispensation upon this Evidence, in this manner. Ireneus speaking of S. John's Revelation says (Lib. 5. cap. 30.) *Necesse enim erat eum multum scriptis visum esse, idcirco ipse scilicet Scilicet de Regni Domitiani imperio, hoc est, ante finem eius, et ante Regni of the Emperor Domitian, was very near the time when S. Ireneus lived, whence it must follow, that he was alive at least under the former part of Domitian's Government. But then the words, Sub nostra seculo, are not so easy; because Domitian at that time signified as often the time of the present Emperors Government as any thing else. Ireneus says also, that when he was in Asia he heard S. Polycarp at*

Smyrna; when he was *multo magis*. Now S. Papias was an old Man in the beginning of Hadrian's Reign, to which time S. Ireneus being his Disciple must be referred. For S. Ireneus in his Letter to Florinus, says, that he saw him when himself was very young, making a very splendid Figure in the Emperor's Court. Now this can agree to none but Hadrian, who often went about his Empire, staying long in several places, where their Antiquities and Histories could afford him Entertainment. This of necessity must be about the Year CXXII. since no other time can be Assigned in Hadrian's Reign for such a Journey.

As for the time of his Death it must be carried a much higher as that of his Birth. The common Opinion is, that he suffered in the Persecution which Severus raised in Gaul; after he had Conquered Albius. But that is inconsistent with it self; and it is no ways probable, that Severus should raise Persecution against those Men, for favouring Albius, who as Tertullian assures us, made it a great part of their justification, that in all these Civil Wars they had never declared themselves of any one Faction against the Emperor Severus; and this he appeals to as a thing universally known. Besides none of the Ancients within 300 Years of Ireneus ever mention his being a Martyr; a thing never omitted in those Primitive times, whenever they had just grounds to give a Title, which of all others they thought the most Honourable. It is plain by the Controversies concerning Easter, and his Letter to Pothinus, that he lived to Commodus's time. And if he were 25 years old, when he saw Florinus at Smyrna about the Year CXXII, he must have been born near or in the Year CXXVII. In the Year CLXXII. (the 2d. of Commodus) he wrote against Blasius and Florinus, when by this Account, he himself was 85 years old. The last Controversies concerning the time of observing Easter were in the Year CLXXXIX. in the 10th year of Commodus, when we are sure that S. Ireneus was alive, because his Opinion was appealed to, and he gave it so loquently as to put an end to their Differences. Then he was by the former Account, in the XCL Year of his Age: After that we have no Memorials, either how long he lived, or what he did.

(e) S. Jerome.] Ep. 29. ad Theophrastum. Refer hunc, ut Agathinorum temporibus, Ep. Papias auditor Johannis Evangelistae discipulus.

(f) Who had heard the Successors of the Apostles.] Lib. 4. c. 45. *Quoniam quidam auditor S. Petri, qui aderat ab eis, et apostolicis videbantur, et rescripta Eleutheri Presbyteros etc.* Item 49. 50. 52. and Lib. 5. c. 33. and cap. 17. he cites Papias by Name, Lib. 5. c. 33.

(g) He went into France.] Gregory of Nyssa writes, that he was sent thither by S. Polycarp. We don't certainly know what Year, though 'tis probable he did not stay long in Asia.

S. Irenæus

Books against Heresies, bearing this Title (α). *The Confutation and Subversion of that which is falsely called Knowledge.* He wrote likewise at the same time two Epistles to two several Heretics of Rome, one whereof was directed to *Blasius*, and the other to *Flavianus*, whom he knew when he was the Disciple of S. Polycarp. In the first of these Letters he treated of *Schism*, and in the second concerning *Admarchy*. In the latter he proved, that there was but one God, and that he was not the Author of Evil; for this was at first the principal Error of *Flavianus*, tho' he soon fell into those of the *Valentinians*, which obliged S. Irenæus to dedicate another Work to him, Entituled, *mei schismatis*, because it was written against the Octonary of the *Acts of the Valentinians*.

Not long after, under the Pontificate of *Victor* the Successor of *Eleutherus*, the Controverſie that arose between the *Asiaick* Bishops and this Pope, gave occasion to S. Irenæus to use his utmost endeavours to re-establish Peace. The subject of this dispute was to know on what day *Easter* ought to be observed; The Bishops of *Asia*, according to their ancient custom, always celebrated that Festival on the 14th of the Moon of *March*, on whatever day of the week it happened, whereas the Western Churches waited for the Lords-Day before they celebrated it. This difference in point of practice, which seems to be but of little consequence, produced some disturbance among the Churches of the first Ages; and when S. Polycarp came to Rome in the time of Pope *Anicetus*, these two Bishops earnestly endeavoured to accommodate this matter; but not being able to persuade one another to leave their former Custom, (so jealous have Churches always been of their Ceremonies and Customs) they parted very good Friends, thinking that a difference of so little moment ought not to interrupt their mutual Agreement. But under the Pontificate of *Victor*, this Contest was revived with greater heat; and had well nigh caused a division in the Catholic Church. For this Pope, incensed because the Bishops of *Asia* being very far from submitting to the Threats and Penalties which he had denounced against them, in case they refused to abolish their own Custom, and to conform to that of the Western Churches, had procured a large Epistle to be written to him by *Polyrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* in vindication thereof; took a resolution to drive *Polyrates* and the *Asiaick* Bishops out of their Churches, and sent every where Letters (says *Eusebius*) in which he declared them to be Excommunicated. Whereupon the other Bishops, and even those that celebrated the Feast of *Easter* with those of the West, disapproved the proceedings of *Victor*, and wrote Letters to exhort him to take other Measures more conformable to Peace and Charity. But there was none that performed this with greater efficacy than S. Irenæus, who wrote an Epistle to him under the name of the Church of France, wherein he declares, that tho' he himself solemnized the Feast of *Easter* on the Lord's Day according to his manner, yet he could not approve of his undertaking to Excommunicate whole Churches for the observance of a Custom which they had received from their Ancestors. He adverteth him, that different Customs have been used in Churches not only in the Celebration of the Festival of *Easter*, but also of Fasts, and in divers other matters of practice. Lastly, he lays before him, that his Predecessors did not contend with the *Asiaick* Bishops in this matter; and that S. Polycarp being arrived at Rome, and having holden a Conference with Pope *Anicetus* touching this affair, they decreed, that mutual Communion and Peace ought not to be broken for a matter of so small importance. It is probable that *Victor* was convinced by these Reasons; for tho' the *Asiaicks* did not lay aside their Custom, yet it doth not appear that the Union between them and the Bishops of Rome was thereupon discontinued. This Epistle is produced by *Eusebius*, who affirms, that this Father wrote many others of the like nature to other Bishops.

To return to the Works of S. Irenæus, besides those that we have already mentioned, he wrote a Treatise against the Gentiles very concise and extremely necessary, (says *Eusebius*) Entituled, *Of Knowledge* (α), *απὸ ἀγνοίας*, as also another Tract which he wrote to *Marcion*, to shew what was the Doctrine that was Preached by the Apostles; and lastly, a Book containing several Disquisitions, *κατακρίσεις*, on different Subjects, wherein (according to the Testimony of *Eusebius*) he quotes the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the Book of the Wisdom of *Solomon*. These are all the Works of S. Irenæus that *Eusebius* and S. Jerome mention (α), but it is not known when these last were written.

(α) Bearing this Title. [C.] *Επιστολὴ πρὸς ἀντιόχειον τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον.* *Eusebius*, *Phoebus*, and others. This agrees with the name which he has given his Books in his Preface to Lib. 2. 3. and 4. and in the last Chapter of the 4th as well as the first of the fifth. The Heretics of those times called their knowledge *γνῶσις*, and themselves *Gnosticks*, which was also the name of a particular Sect.

(α) Of Knowledge. S. Jerome distinguisheth this Treatise of Knowledge from that against the Gentiles, for want of having sufficiently minded a passage in *Eusebius*, Lib. 5. c. 26.

(α) That *Eusebius* and S. Jerome mention. S. Jerome speaking of the Apocalypse of S. John tells us, that S. Justin and S. Irenæus have interpreted it, from whence I once conclude, that S. Irenæus composed a Commentary upon it. But S. Jerome's true meaning is, that these two Authors cited and explained some passages of it. Some Authors formerly attributed to him the Book *De Universo*, which was composed by

Caius a Presbyter of Rome, mentioned by *Phoebus*, Cat. 48. The Author of the Questions attributed to S. Justin, cites a Book about *Easter*, *Quest.* 115. and tells us, that there was an Account, that they did not pray kneeling on Sundays, and that there was mention made of the Pentecost, all which perhaps might be found in the Intire Letter of S. Irenæus to *Polycarp*, of which *Eusebius* has only given us a fragment. *Eusebius* in his fourth Book, ch. 25. speaking of the Book of *Philip* against *Marcion*, tells us, that S. Irenæus and *Modestus* had likewise wrote against the same Heretic. S. Irenæus himself, lib. 1. c. 29. promises to write particularly against that Heretic. We are not assured whether he ever did write against him or no, because neither S. Jerome, nor *Eusebius*, who have given us a Catalogue of all the Books of S. Irenæus, mention it.

It is probable, that the Letter of the Churches of *Vienne* and *Lyons* concerning their Martyrs was writ by S. Irenæus.

The Death of S. Irenæus was no less glorious than his Life; for after having governed the Flock which Jesus Christ had committed to his Charge for 24 years, he was not willing to abandon it in the time of the persecution of the Emperor *Severus*, which was much more cruel in France than in any other part of the World. He suffered Martyrdom at *Lyons* with all the Christians that were found in that City, and in so great numbers that their Blood ran down through all the Streets, according to the report of *Gregory of Tours* in the first Book of his History, Chap. 27. We have not any particular account of his Martyrdom; which happened in the year, 202, or 203, after the Nativity of Jesus Christ.

Of all the Works of this Father, there remains only in our possession a very barbarous Version of those against the Heretics, and some few Greek Fragments of these Books given us by *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, S. *Epiphanius*, and S. *Johannes Damascenus*, which are collected in the last Edition of *Fenardus*, and in the Writings of *Hilarius*. There is also a Fragment of his Epistle to *Flavianus* extant, and a considerable part of that to *Victor*, and an Advertisment which he had inserted at the end of his Book *απὸ ἰσίδωρος*, to oblige the Transcribers thereof, faithfully to revise and correct their Copy from his Manuscript. The Version of the five Books concerning the Heretics, tho' Barbarous (as I have hinted already) and full of Faults, yet is a very valuable Fragment; for the Variety which is in it is admirable.

In the First Book, after having described at large the Errors of the *Valentinians*, in Chap. 1. He opposeth to them in the Second, the Faith of all the Churches in the World; which he comprehends in a kind of Creed; In the Third and fourth Chapters, he proceeds to shew, that all the Churches and all Christians agree in this Faith, and that the most Learned cannot add anything to it, or make any Alterations from it, nor the most simple and ignorant, diminish any part of it. The following Chapters are spent in explaining the absurd Notions of *Valentinus* and his Disciples. In the 20th he returns to the Source and Original of the Heretics, and beginning with *Simon Magus*, he gives an Account successively of all the Heretics that appeared since the time of the Sorcerer, even unto that wherein he wrote. This first Book indeed is extremely tedious, being filled with almost nothing else but the wild Conceits, and extravagant Imaginations of the primitive Heretics: There is a notable passage in it concerning Penance upon the occasion of certain Women, who being defiled by a famous Impollutor named *Mark*, afterwards did Penance, during the remainder of their Lives. In the Second Book, S. Irenæus begins to impugn the Errors which he had barely rectified in the First: He chiefly makes use of the Principles of the Heretics in opposing them, and shews that they contradict themselves, and that all their Whimfies are ridiculous and illud together. In the Third Book he confutes them by the Authority of Holy Scripture and Tradition: He proves that it is impossible, that all the Churches in the World should agree together, to alter the Apostolical Doctrine; that the Evangelists and Apostles knew but one only God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and one Jesus Christ God and Man, who was born of a Virgin, who is not the Son of *Joseph*, but was really Man, and that he actually suffered, and not in appearance only, as was pretended by the Heretics. He occasionally refutes the Error of *Taitian*, concerning the Damnation of *Adam*, and maintains as a certain truth, that he is saved. In the Fourth Book he continues to demonstrate, that there is but one God; particularly, he shews against *Marcion*, that the same God is exhibited in the Old and New Testament; he Answers all the Objections of the Heretics; and especially those which they took from Scripture, afterwards he alledgeth the Reasons that induce a spiritual Man, that is to say, a Christian, to condemn the Pagans, Jews, Heretics, and Schismatics. Lastly, he rejects the Opinion of those who affirmed, that Men were naturally good or evil, and proves the Liberty of Mankind. In the last Book, he Treats of the Redemption of Jesus Christ, of the Fall of Man, of the Resurrection of the last Judgment, of Anti-Christ, and of the State of Souls after Death. This is in General the Subject of every one of the Books of S. Irenæus: and they that peruse them will find several other passages relating to some weighty Articles of our Religion.

There are for Example, many excellent Paragraphs concerning the Holy Scriptures, and among others, one in Book 2. Chap. 46. and 47. There are very considerable passages touching the Eucharist in Book 3. Chap. 19. Book 4. Chap. 32. and 34. and in Book 5. Chap. 4. Where he proves the Resurrection of the Body against the *Valentinians*, because it is not credible; that being nourished with the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, it should remain in Corruption: He mentions the Three Persons of the Trinity (β). In many places of his Works, and almost as often as he speaks of the Word he establisheth his Divinity, Eternity (γ), and Equality with the Father (δ).

(β) Of the Trinity. Lib. 1. c. 2. lib. 3. c. 20. lib. 4. c. 25, 37, and 75. and lib. 5.

(γ) His Divinity and Eternity. Lib. 1. c. 19. lib. 2. c. 18, and 48. lib. 3. c. 6. In all these places, and several others, he says, that the Word is truly God. Lib. 2. c. 43, and 56. and lib. 3. c. 20. he says, that the Word is, and was always co-existent with the Father.

(δ) And his equality with the Father. In the fourth Book, ch. 8. he says, that the Son is the measure of the Father, because he comprehends him. He seems to have said something contrary to this, lib. 2. where he

says, that the Father is greater than the Son, that he knew not of the day of Judgment; and in another place he says, that the Father is invisible and the Son visible. But as to the first passage, there is no more difficulty in it than in that of S. John, and he speaks there of Jesus Christ considered as a Man. And the second ought to be understood after the same manner, as we have explained a like passage of S. Justin. It is yet more favourable to us, because he says that the Son makes the Father visible, *Visible Patrii Filius*. Which shews, that the Father and the Son are of the same nature.

S. Irenæus. In the Second Book, he Treats at large concerning the Faculties of the Soul; he conceives that it is distinguished from the Body, and that it is of a different Nature; he there refutes the *Materialists*, who, by Transmigration, of Souls out of one Body into another, and proves that those of the just shall submit Externally, but he seems to have believed, as well as *S. Justin*, that they are immortal only through Grace, and that those of the wicked shall cease to be, after they have been tormented for a long time. He maintains also another particular Opinion, that the Souls assume the Figure of their Bodies, but this word Figure may be understood of some peculiar Quality of the Soul.

He Discourseth in many places of the Fall of the first Man, and of the lamentable Consequences of his Sin (1). he teaches that to repair this Loss, and for the Redemption of Mankind, the Word was made Man, and that it is through Grace, that he hath merited for us by his Passion, that all Men may be saved (2). As for the State of Souls separated from their Bodies, he determined that they were conveyed into an invisible place, where they expected the Resurrection of the Body, and that the just after having Reigned with Jesus Christ on Earth, during the space of a Thousand years, and enjoyed unimpeded Pleasures, should enter into Heaven, to possess Eternal Happiness (3). He imagined also, that our Saviour descended into Hell, to preach the Faith there unto the Patriarchs, and to the ancient just Men, as well Jews as Gentiles; and that they that believed at his Preaching should be reckoned in the number of the Saints (4). Moreover he maintained some other particular Opinions; he believed for Example, that Jesus Christ lived above Fifty years upon Earth (5), and that Adam was six hundred years of Age. He approves the Judgment of *S. Justin*, that the Devil knew not his Condemnation before the coming of Jesus Christ (6). He asserts, that the Saints shall understand by little and little, those things whereof they had no knowledge in their Entranced Intellectual Happiness (7). Lastly, he imagines that God sent Noah to the Angels (8), whom he convicts to be Tempted. The ancient Propagators of Christianity ought to be excused for these sorts of Opinions, there being scarcely one of them that had not admitted some Notions almost like these.

The Style of *S. Irenæus* (as far as we can judge by that part of his Works, which as yet remains) is innocent, clear and strong, but not very Rubine: He declares himself in his Preface to the Fifth Book, that the Elegance of his style Disposition was so to be sought for in his Works, because residing among the Celts, it is impossible but that he should express many barbarous Words; that he did not affect Discreetly with Elegance and Ornament, and that he knew not how to persuade by the force of his Expressions, but that he wrote with a vulgar Simplicity. He takes more pains to instruct his Reader, than to divert him, and he endeavours more to convince him by the Matters which he propounded, than by the manner of Expressing them. It cannot be doubted, but that he was a very profound Scholar in all sorts of Knowledge, as well profane as Sacred; he perfectly understood the Poets, and Philosophers (9); there was no Heretic of whose Doctrine and Arguments he was ignorant, he had an exquisite knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; he retained an infinite number of things, which the Disciples of the Apostles had taught by word of mouth; Lastly, he was exceedingly well versed in History, and in the Discipline of the Church, so that nothing can be more literally true, than what is attested of him by *Tertullian*, *Irenæus* *communis Doctrinarum Curiosissimus explorator*. Moreover, his Learning was accompanied with a great deal of Prudence, Humility, Efficacy and Charity, and it may be justly affirmed, that he wanted nothing that was necessary for the Qualification of a good Christian, an Accomplished Bishop, and an able Ecclesiastical Writer. However, the Learned *Photius* had reason to take notice of one defect, which is common to him, with many other ancient Authors; that is, That he *mixeth and confuseth* (if we may so term it) the most certain Truths of Religion, by Arguments, that are not very solid (10). It were easy to produce some Instances of this defect, but it seems to me to be more expedient to leave them to the Judgment of the Readers of his Works.

Erasmi first published the ancient Version of the Five Books of *S. Irenæus*, which was at first Printed at Basil, in the Year 1526. A Second Edition was likewise set forth at the same place by *Frebenius* in 1528. afterwards in 1533, 1545, 1548, 1554, 1560, in Folio, and in 1571, at Paris in 1528, and 1563, in *Octavo* by *Petie*, in a very fair Character, and by the same Printer in 1567, again in

Octavo. These Editions were followed by those of *Galliasius* Minister of *Geneva*, in the Year 1570. Lastly, *Feuardentinus* a Professor of Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, a Learned Man in his time undertook this Work, and Printed at Paris by *Nivelle*, in 1575 and 1576, the Five Books of *S. Irenæus*, Revised and Corrected in many places, from an ancient Manuscript, and Augmented with Five entire Chapters, which were found in his Manuscript at the end of the Fifth Book. He has added at the end of every Chapter several Notes, which he judged to be necessary for the better understanding of this Author; they are for the most part useful and Learned, but there are some which exceed the due Limits, that a Commentator should prescribe to himself, whose Design ought not to be, to make Ostentation of his Learning, or to Treat of matters of Controversy, but barely to explain the Sense of his Author. The second Edition of *Feuardentinus*, Printed at *Colen* in the Year 1596, and afterwards in 1630, and at *Paris* in 1639, is better than the former, because it contains the Greek passages of *S. Irenæus*, which are extant in the Works of *S. Epiphanius*, and some other ancient Writers. To these may be added, those that are Collected by *Halleuxius* from the Writings of *S. Joannes Damascenus*, in a Manuscript of the Cardinal *de La Rochefoucauld*. I am of Opinion, that it would be useful to make a new Edition of the Works of *S. Irenæus*, at least until the Greek Text shall happen to be found; for to Compose one from the Version, that we now have in our Possession (as *Halleuxius* proposes) would be a Business scarce of any manner of use.

Victor, Polycrates, Theophilus of Cesarea, and Bachillus of Corinth.

S. Jerome places *Victor* amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers, because he wrote some little Pieces about the day of the Festival of *Easter*, which he believed ought not to be celebrated upon any other day but a Sunday. *Eusebius* mentions but one Roman Synod published in the Name of *Victor*.

Polycrates Bishop of *Ephesus* wrote a Letter against the Opinion of *Victor*, wherein he pretended that we ought to celebrate this Festival upon the 14th day after the appearance of the Moon in *March*, upon what day of the Week soever it fell. *Eusebius* cites part of this Letter written in the name of *Polycrates*, in the 24th Chapter of the Fifth Book of his History, wherein he asserts, that *St. Polycarp*, and several other Disciples of the Apostles celebrated the Feast of *Easter* on the same day, as was generally observed in *Asia*, that is to say, the fourteenth day after the appearance of the Moon in *March* upon what day soever it happened. This difference, as we have already observed, raised some divisions amongst the Churches, and exercised the Pens of the most Learned Bishops. The Bishops of *Palestine*, *Narcissus* of *Jerusalem*, *Theophilus* of *Cesarea*, *Cassius* of *Tyre*, and *Clarus* of *Emmusa*, wrote a Letter in the name of the Council, wherein, after they had proved that they derived this custom from the Apostles, they gave Orders to have their Letter solemnly read, and declared, that they celebrated *Easter* after the same manner as the Church of *Alexandria* did. *Basilides* Bishop of *Corinth* wrote also a Letter in the name of the Bishops of *Asiatic* upon the same Subject, and in *Eusebius*'s time the Letters of the Bishops of *Pontus* of the Province of *Ossene* were extant. But all these Books are lost and we have nothing that is ancient upon this Subject except the Fragments of a Letter of *St. Irenæus*, and of that of *Polycrates* cited by *Eusebius*, lib. 5. c. 24. All these Letters were writ towards the end of the Reign of *Commodus*, or the beginning of that of *Severus*. There goes indeed under the name of *Procrates*, a Book Entituled, *The Passion of Blessed Timothy*, mentioned by *Sigebert*, and published by *Stapulensis*, but 'tis a supposititious Work, and never mentioned by the Ancients.

Several Writers, of whom nothing remains, and who were little known amongst the Ancients.

*T*HERE lived at this time several Writers, whose Works were extant in *Eusebius*'s time, who mentions these that follow, lib. 5. cap. 27. *Hersacitus* upon *St. Paul*; *Some* Books of *Maximus* upon that common Question among the Hereticks, From whence proceed Evil; and About the Creation of Matter; *The Commentaries* of *Apion*, and of *Candidus* upon the Hexameron; *Sextus*'s Book concerning the Resurrection; *A Treatise* of one *Abraham*, and the Writings of several others, whose time, says *Eusebius*, we are not able to find out, there being no Traces or Signs of it; and lastly, the Discourses of several Authors, whose Names we don't to much as know, who, though they were Orthodox, and of the Church, as appears by their Explication of the Scriptures, yet they were for the most part unknown, and without reputation, because their Books carried not the Names of their respective Authors. To these we must add a certain Person named *Judas*, who Composed a Dissertation upon the Seventy Weeks of *Daniel*, wherein he has composed a Chronology that reaches down to the Tenth year of the Emperor *Severus*, and would persuade the World, that Anti-Christ was then at hand. So much had the persecution, raised against the Christians at that time, troubled the Church.

(1) In the second Book. Lib. 2. c. 51, 52, principally in the 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, and 64, where he speaks of the Immortality of the Souls of the just. See likewise Chap. 37. and 73. of the fourth Book, and Lib. 5. c. 32.

(2) Of the lamentable consequences of his Sin. Lib. 2. c. 30, 33, 34, and 35, and in several places of the fifth Book.

(3) That all Men may be saved. Lib. 3. cap. 18, 20, 22, and 23. Lib. 4. chap. 5.

(4) To possess eternal happiness. Lib. 5. c. 31, 32, &c.

(5) Number of the Saints. Lib. 4. c. 39, and 45.

(6) About fifty years upon Earth. Lib. 1. c. 40, &c.

(7) Before the coming of Jesus Christ. Lib. 4. c. 78.

(8) Whereof they had no knowledge in their Entrance into happiness. Lib. 2. c. 47.

(9) To the Angels. Lib. 4. c. 30.

(10) The Poets and Philosophers. It is certain, he understood Homer very well, since he collects several Verses taken out of different places, to describe the carrying away of *Cerberus*, lib. 1. And as for the Pagan Philosophers, he knew them so very thoroughly, that in the second Book, ch. 11, he discovers all that the *Valentinians* had borrowed from each of them. We need only read over his first Book to be sufficiently persuaded, that he had very particularly applied himself to know all the Opinions of the Hereticks. One sees by the Histories which he cites as well in his Books, as in his Letter to *Victor*, how well he was versed in History, and in the Discipline of the Church.

(11) Arguments that are not very solid. Phot. God. 120. Est in aliquibus Ecclesiasticorum dogmatum omnia veritas spuris rationibus fictis odium.

SERAPION OF ANTIOCH.

Serapion
of Antioch

Serapion the Eighth Bishop of Antioch was advanced to this Dignity in the Tenth year of the Emperor Commodus, in the year of our Lord 191. He wrote a Letter to Caracalla and Pontius against the Sect of the Montanists, a Fragment whereof Eusebius has cited, wherein he opposes the Authority of Apollinarius Bishop of Hierapolis, and the (a) Subscriptions of two Bishops of Thrace to the Montanists. There was also in the time of Eusebius another Letter of his addressed to Domitian, who of a Christian turned Jew, to reduce him from his Apostasy, and a Book concerning the Gospel falsely attributed to St. Peter. Eusebius cites a Fragment of this Book, by which it appears, that the Subject and occasion which induced Serapion to write it, was a Contest that arose in the Church of Rhossie in Cilicia about the truth of that Gospel, that Serapion happening to be there, permitted them to read it, but that afterwards being convinced, that those Persons who defended it, were secret Heretics, and that Marcion, who was the principal Author of it, received it from some Heretics named the Docetae, (who believed that Jesus Christ did not really suffer, but only in appearance) he wrote this Letter to them, till he could go to see them himself, to acquaint them with the falsity and errors of that Gospel.

St. Jerome takes notice, that in his time there were some short Epistles of the same Author, that were conformable to his austere rigid way of living; but they are wholly lost. This Bishop governed the Church of Antioch till the first year of the Emperor Caracalla, and the year of our Lord 203. Antoninus succeeded him, and was the Ninth Bishop of Antioch after the Apostles.

(a) The Subscriptions of two Bishops of Thrace. These Subscriptions occasioned Baronius to imagine, that a Council was held upon this Subject; but they are only the Subscriptions of the Letters of two Bi-

shops of Thrace, who wrote to the Asiatics concerning this new Sect, (as the Church of France had done) and therefore there is no necessity of saying that there was a Council assembled upon this occasion.

RHODON.

Rhodon.

Rhodon, though he was of Asia, studied at Rome, and had Tatian for his Master. He wrote many Books, and amongst the rest a Treatise against the Heresie of Marcion, dedicated to him a Book. He likewise wrote a Piece upon the Hexameron. St. Jerome attributes to him a Book against the Montanists, a Fragment of which, as he supposes, Eusebius has cited. But since Eusebius says nothing of its being written by Rhodon, and since it is certainly of a later date, we may be sure that it cannot be his. So that we have nothing of Rhodon's left, save only a passage or two cited by Eusebius, taken out of his Book against the Heresie of Marcion, wherein he observes, that this Heresie in his time was divided into several Sects; that one Apelles acknowledged but one Principle, but that he rejected the Prophecies; that some others, as Potinus and Basilides, acknowledged two, and others introduced three Natures. He also tells us, that he had a Conference with Apelles, and that he himself being convinced of several Errors in their Conference, said, That we are not obliged to examine what we believe, and that all those who place their hope in Jesus Christ crucified, would be saved; that the question about the Nature of God was exceeding obscure; that he in truth believed there was but one Principle, but that he was not assured of it, and that the Prophecies were contrary one to another. Lastly, Eusebius adds, that Rhodon says in this Book, that he was Tatian's Disciple at Rome; that Tatian had written a Book concerning the most difficult questions of Scripture, promising to explain them, but that having never done it, he himself endeavoured to perform it. And this is all we know of this Author; he flourished under the Emperors Commodus and Severus.

PANTÆNUS.

Pantænus.

Pantænus, a Stoick Philosopher (a), born in Sicily, about the beginning of the Reign of the Emperor Commodus (b), presided over the celebrated School of Alexandria, where from the time of S. Mark the founder of that Church, they had always a Divine that was eminent for his Learning and Piety, to explain the Holy Scriptures, and to instruct them in Human Learning.

(a) Born in Sicily. Some have thought that he was an Hebrew, but they are mistaken, for St. Clement speaking of the Master he lived in Egypt, who was our Pantænus, lib. 1. Strom. calls him the Sicilian Muse, which shews that he was a Sicilian, for otherwise he would as soon have called him the Asi-

atic Muse. That Master of his, whom he calls an Hebrew, was another Person that instructed him in Hebrew.

(b) Presided. Eusebius, lib. 5. c. 10. and St. Jerome in Catalogue.

He was obliged for a time to leave this Employment to undertake another far more excellent. For the Indians having sent to the Bishop of Alexandria to furnish them with a Divine to instruct them in the Christian Religion, Demetrius sent Pantænus thither, who undertook this Mission with joy, and behaved himself very worthily in it. 'Tis reported, that he found that the Indians had already some Tincture of the Christian Religion, which had been infused by St. Bartholomew the Apostle, and that he met with the Gospel of S. Matthew amongst them written in Hebrew (c), which that Apostle had left there.

After Pantænus was returned to Alexandria, he re-assumed the Government of the School of that City, which in his absence he in all probability had committed to the care of his Disciple S. Clement a Presbyter of Alexandria. He continued to explain the Holy Scripture publicly under the Reign of Severus, and Antoninus Caracalla, and as S. Jerome tells us, was more servicable to the Church by his Discourses, than by his Writings. Nevertheless he published some Commentaries upon the Bible, where he has discovered, as Eusebius says, the Treasures of the Scripture. We may judge after what manner he explained the Sacred Text, by the like performance of St. Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and the rest that were brought up in that School. They abound in Allegories, they find mysteries and instructions in every thing, and scarce ever follow the literal sense, and fill their Annotations generally with a great deal of Learning. A Man ought to have abundance of Wit and Eloquence to keep up this way of writing Commentaries, and to render it advantageous and entertaining to the People, otherwise it will degenerate and grow flat and tedious. The Commentaries of Pantænus are all lost. We only know, that he was the Author of that Rule, which has been ever since followed by all the Interpreters of Prophecies; that the Prophets often express themselves in indefinite terms, and that they make use of the present time, instead of the past and future. Theodorus has related this Opinion of Pantænus, but he speaks of it, as if he had rather said it than write it.

(c) Which that Apostle had left there. S. Jerome tells us, that Pantænus brought it with him, and that it was in his time preserved in the Library of Alexandria. I cannot easily prevail with my self to believe this Story, and indeed I should rather believe, that

this was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which the Nazarenes owned, which might pass for that of S. Matthew; for why should S. Bartholomew leave an Hebrew Book with Indians?

S. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

Saint Clement (a), a Presbyter of Alexandria, and Disciple of Pantænus (b), was after him, or rather at the same time with him, Master of the School at Alexandria, and Catechist of the Catechumens (c), belonging to the Church of that City. He flourished under the Emperors Severus, and Antoninus Caracalla, and it plainly appears, that he lived till the Reign of Heliogabalus, or Alexander Severus, that is, till about the Year Two hundred and twenty from the Birth of Christ (d). As he was endowed with extraordinary Learning, and a singular Talent in Writing, to be Composed several considerable Works, which discover great Industry and Study. This is plain by the Catalogue which is left us of them, by Eusebius and S. Jerome. 'The Eight Books of Stromata; Entitled the Commentaries, or Stromata of Titus Flavius Clement, concerning true knowledge; Eight Books of Hypotyposes, or Instructions, an Exhortation to the Gentiles, quoted in the Seventh Book of the Stromata; Three Books commonly called the Pedagogue; and a

(a) S. Clement. He was called Titus Flavius Clement, S. Epiphanius, in the Heresie of the Secundians, says, that he was called Atheniensis by some, and Alexandrinus by others, which has been the occasion that it was generally believed that he was of Athens, and that he was called Alexandrinus from the name of the Church whereof he was a Priest, but his Country is not certainly known. He was of the Sect of the Stoicks.

(b) Disciple of Pantænus. S. Clement had several Masters, as he tells us himself, lib. 1. Stromat. p. 274. He says that he had two in Greece, one of Calistria, and the other of Egypt. And two others in the East, whereof one was an Assyrian, and the other of Palestine, and descended from the Hebrews: But that at last he found out one in Egypt, who was more Excellent than all the rest. This last was Pantænus, whom he often mentions in his Book of Institutions. We do not know who were the other four. Baronius believes that the Assyrian was Bardesanes, and he of Palestine, Theophilus of Cesa-

ria, but Bardesanes was not properly an Assyrian, and Theophilus of Cæsaria was rather S. Clement's Companion than his Master. Valefius thinks with greater probability, that Tatian was the Assyrian, and Theodorus the Hebrew, under whose Name there is a Fragment of the Institutions at the end of the Works of S. Clement.

(c) Catechist of the Catechumens, &c. Eusebius, Book 5. Chap. 10. and Book 6. Chap. 6. and S. Jerome in his Catalogue. We have already said, that Pantænus left the School of Alexandria to his Care when he went to preach to the Indians, and it is probable, that after his return they both taught in the same School.

(d) About the year two hundred and twenty from the Birth of Christ. It is generally believed that he died about the year 200 from the Birth of Christ, but he must needs have lived longer; for Pantænus who his Master lived to this time, and the Ancients assure us that he survived him. He wrote his Stromata in the time of the Emperor Severus.

Pantænus.

S. Clement
of Alexan.

Book Entitled, *What with man can be found*: A small Treatise concerning Easter; a Discourse of Eating; another of Suffering; an Exhortation to Patience; written to the Carthaginians; a Book Entitled, *The Ecclesiastical Rule*, against the Jews, Dedicated to Alexander Bishop of Jerusalem. Besides these Books, S. Clement in his second Book of the *Pedagogue*, Chap. 10. tells us, that he wrote a Book of *Confession*, and in his Third Book, Chap. 8. a Book concerning *Marriage*. Of these Works we have still Three remaining that are very considerable. The *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, the *Pedagogue*, the Eight Books of the *Sromata*, and the little Tract Entitled, *What rich man can be saved*, which *Johnannes Mathewus Carpathinus*, Arch-Bishop of Iconium, published from a Manuscript of the Vatican Library, whence *Father Combes* made a new Version which he set forth, together with the Original Greek, in the last Volume of his Supplement to the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. [It was Printed also at Oxon in Twelves 1683.] Doctor *Cave* says, that it was published formerly under *Origen's* Name, being Printed by *Michael Gheislerus*, with *Origen's* Commentaries upon *Jeremiah*.]

The *Exhortation to the Gentiles*, is a Discourse written to convert the *Pagans* from their Religion, and to persuade them to embrace that of Jesus Christ. In the beginning of it, he shews what Difference there is between the Design of Jesus Christ; and that of *Orpheus*, and those ancient Musicians, who were the first Authors of Idolatry, by telling us that these drew in Men by their Singing, and the sweetness of their Musick, to render them miserable Slaves to Idols, and to make them like the very Beasts, and Stocks and Stones which they adored; whereas Jesus Christ, who from all Eternity was the WORD of God, always had a Compassionate tenderness for Men, and at last took their Nature upon him, to free them from the Slavery of *Demons*; to open the Eyes of those that were blind; and the Ears of those that were deaf; to guide their Paths in the way of Justice; to deliver them from Death and Hell; and to bestow on them everlasting Life; to put them in a Capacity of leading a Heavenly Life here upon Earth; and Lastly, that God made himself Man, to teach Man to become like unto God. Having thus represented the Advantages of the Christian Religion, he exhorts them in a few words, to embrace Virtue, Justice, Temperance, and to imitate the Example of Jesus Christ, that so they may become worthy of eternal Salvation. He afterwards shews the Falseness of the Pagan Religion: First, by discovering the Infamy, and Vanity of their Mysteries, which he enumerates and describes exactly. Secondly, by shewing the Original of Idolatry, and after what manner Men first invented those false Deities. 'Some, says he, contemplating the Stars, and admiring their Courses, deified them, so the Indians adored the Sun, the *Phrygians* the Moon, and others gathering with Pleasure the Fruits that grow out of the Earth, made a Deity of Corn, which they call *Ceres*, and another of the Vine, and that they call *Bacchus*. Others dreading Punishments, Afflictions, Miseries and Calamities, invented particular Deities, who were either the Instruments of sending them upon mankind, or else of diverting them from Men: some Philosophers following the Fancy of the Poets, made Deities of the Passions, such as Love, Hope, and Joy, and others placed the Virtues in the Rank of Gods, representing them by external Shapes; *Hesiod* and *Homer*, in their Accounts of the Generation of the Gods, and Descriptions of their Actions have given Rise to a new sort of Theology. Lastly, the common People have made Gods of those, from whom they have received any considerable Benefit. After having thus discovered the Original of Idolatry, he shews the Folly of it, by proving that the Principal Gods, as *Jupiter, Mars, Vulcan, Aesculapius*, &c. were Men like others, and that we know their Country, their manner of Living, and Employments, and that we may see their Sepulchres to this Day: That the Poets have set down their Loves, their Wounds, and their Crimes: That the wisest of the Heathens have owned the Falseness of these Deities: That the several Religions of the Pagans destroy one another: That it is a strange kind of Blindness, to adore Statues as real Deities. Then he goes on to the principal Design of his Work, which is to exhort men to adore the true God, and to embrace the Religion of Jesus Christ: he shews that the wisest of the Philosophers, as *Plato, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, and Xenophon*, have confessed that there was but One true God; and that even the most ancient Poets, as *Aratus, Hesiod, Empirides* and *Orpheus*, have been obliged to acknowledge the same; and that the Sibyls, the Prophets, and the Books of Scriptures teach only the Worship of One God. Afterwards he is very earnest to persuade Men to embrace the Christian Religion, in Consideration of the great Advantages that it carries along with it, towards the Attainment of eternal Salvation, which they cannot otherwise hope for, and for preserving themselves from eternal Torments, which they cannot possibly avoid, but by believing in Jesus Christ, and by living conformably to his Laws. 'If you were permitted, says he, to purchase eternal Salvation, what would you not give for it? And now you may obtain it by Faith and Charity. There is nothing can hinder you from acquiring it, neither Poverty, nor Misery, nor Old Age, nor any other State of Life: Believe therefore, in One God who is God and Man, and receive eternal Salvation for a Remission. Seek God, and you shall live for ever. Thus he concludes with a long Exhortation, wherein he most earnestly presses Men to quit their Idolatry and Vices, and to live and believe as the Christians do.

The Second Book Entitled the *Pedagogue*, is a Discourse entirely of Morality. It is divided into three Books. In the first he shews, what it is to be a *Pedagogue*, that is to say, a Conductor, Patron, or Director of Men: He proves that this Quality chiefly and properly belongs only to the WORD Incarnate. He says that it is the part of the *Pedagogue* to regulate the Manners, conduct the Actions, and cure the Passions. That he preserves Men from Sins, and heals them when they have been already Guilty. That the WORD performs these Functions by forgiving our Sins, as he is God, and instructing Us as he is Man, with great Sweetness and Charity. That he equally informs

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Men and Women, the Learned and the Ignorant, because all Men stand in need of Instruction, being all Children in one Sense. Yet however, that we must not think that the Doctrine of the Christians is Childish and Contemprible: But that on the contrary, the Quality of Children, which they receive in Baptism, renders them perfect in the knowledge of Divine Things, by delivering them from Sins by Grace, and enlightening them by the Illumination of Faith: And that so we are at the same time both Children and perfect Men, and that the Milk wherewith, we are nourished, being both the Word and the Will of God, is a very Solid and Substantial Nourishment. That the WORD guided the Jews in the Old Testament by Fear; but that after it was Incarnate, it has changed this Fear into Love. That Reproaches, Afflictions, and Punishments, which the WORD makes use of to chastise Men, are not Signs of his bearing any hatred towards them, but Effects of his Justice, and of the Care which he takes to Correct them: That it is the same God, the Creator of the World, who is both Good and Just, that punishes and shews Mercy: That he is good upon his own Account, and just as to Men: That Reproofs and Chastisements are for their Good; that there are two kinds of Fear, the Fear which Children have of their Father, or Subjects of their King, and the Fear which Slaves have of their Master. That both these Sorts of Fear are profitable to Men, but that the first is by much the most perfect. That the WORD inclines Men to good by its Exhortations, and prevents them from Sinning, by its Threatnings: That he performed the Function of a *Pedagogue* by *Moses* and the Prophets, and that he is at last come himself to give Men suitable Remedies to their several Miseries, and to Conduct them according to the Dictates of right Reason. That the whole Life of a Christian is a continued Series of Actions, conformable to Reason, and that Sin is produced by the going out of that way.

In the 2d. and 3d. Book of the *Pedagogue*, S. Clement defends to the Recapitulation of humane Actions, and gives Rules for Temperance and Christian Modesty. In the former of these he shews, that the End and Design of Eating, ought not to be Pleasure but Necessity, and that therefore we must avoid Excess both in the Quantity, and the Quality of our Meat. That Wine is not to be Drunk but with great Moderation, and that young Persons particularly ought wholly to abstain from it. He finds great Fault with Luxury in Household-stuff and Moveables. He is of Opinion, that Vocal and Instrumental Musick, ought to be banished from the Christian Festivals, and that we should only celebrate therein the Praises of God. He is against immoderate Laughter, and uttering such Words as are unseemly. He requires that exact Modesty be observed in the Countenance, and in Discourse; he reprehends those who put Crowns and Garlands upon their Heads, and who perfumed themselves with Balm. He allows but little Sleep, and that in such Beds, that are neither too stately nor too delicate. That it is not lawful to Marry but with a Design of begetting Children; That we should not make use of Clothes, but for the sake of Decency. He declines against Luxury in Apparel, against precious Stones, against Fantastical Dresses in Men or Women, and against publick Baths. He describes and inveighs against all these things better than ever *Juvenal*, or any of the ancient Satyrists had done before him. He intermixes his Satyr with several Curious Instructions, and defends to particulars like a Casuist.

He passes in the next Place to the Precepts of Virtue opposite to the Vices he has been reprehending: He shews, that there is none but the Christian, who is truly rich. That he ought to live in an entire Frugality. That he must not make use of any Excesses, and Pleasures, no farther than is absolutely necessary for his Health. He adds moreover divers Instructions, more particularly suited to the Women, to persuade them to carry themselves always Civilly and Modestly, and more especially in Churches. Lastly, he makes a Collection of several Places of Scripture, which relate to Morality, and the Conduct of our Life, and concludes by exhorting Men to hearken unto, and to obey the Precepts of Jesus Christ, their Supreme and Sovereign *Pedagogue*, to whom he Addresses a Prayer, praising him with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, and returning him Thanks for making him a Member of his Church. These Books are very profitable for those that study Morality, and if the Casuists of our Times had perused and considered them well, they had not lain into that damnable Remissness, wherein they have suffered themselves to be overtaken: They might also be very useful to all Christians, and I much wonder that no Person has undertaken to translate them in this Age, wherein several Pious and Learned Men, have employed their Time and Labour in rendering intelligible to all People the most excellent Writings of the Fathers, by translating them into our Language with a Clearness of Expression, and Exactness of Style not to be imitated. But if any would undertake the Translation of the *Pedagogue*, he must leave out several Passages, that are not fitting to be read by every Body, and accommodate some other places to the Manners and Customs of our Times.

The Books Entitled *Sromata* are so called, because they contain several choice Thoughts (f) Collected from divers Places, and joyned together, so as to make a Variety somewhat like that in *Turkey-work*

(e) The Books entitled *Sromata*.] This Book was called, as *Eusebius* tells us, *The Sromatic Commentaries*, according to the True Philosophy; This Title is at the end of the First Book, opposing the False *Gnosticks* to the True ones, which are the Sober and Discreet Christians.

(f) Choice Particulars.] The Word *separatus*

properly signifies a Sheet of Linnen, or a Bag to inclose Pieces of Tapestry; it likewise signifies a certain Fifth with speckles on the Back. It is here taken for that neat mixture we see in Tapestry, and it imports as much as *Miscellaneous commentaries or Discourses*. *Ruffinus* translates it, *Opus varie contextum*; *Plurarch* wrote a Book with this Title, and *Origen* wrote another after S. Clement.

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S. Clement of Alexandria.

S. Clement of Alexandria.

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Chap. 80.

S. Clement of Alexan. *Carpenter.* Let us see how *S. Clement* speaks of his own Work, in the Beginning of his Fourth Book. These Books have, he is stored with Varieties, as their Name imports: we here pass on continually from one thing to another, and we often mention things that are foreign to our Subject. He afterwards compares this Work to a Meadow, a Tract of Land, or a Garden, wherein one may find all sorts of Herbs, Flowers and Fruits of which we may gather what we please. But not, as he says in another place, to those beautiful Gardens, where the Trees and Plants are ranged only to please the Sight; but rather to a thick and shady Mountain, where the Cypress, the Linden-Trees, the Lawrels, the Ivy, the Apple-Trees, the Olives, the Fig-Trees, and other kind of Trees both fruitful and barren, are mixt together. He says that he has observed this Method designedly, that so he might not clearly discover our Mysteries to those who were not yet initiated, and yet so as others might comprehend them, and might thence make their advantage; as, says he, the Fruit-Trees of this Mountain, whereof we but just now spake, are concealed from those who would title them, whereas the Labourer who understands them, may pluck them up, and make a Garden, or a pleasant Forest. Do not therefore expect, says he, in these Books, either Order or Politeness; since our Design was to conceal, and, if I may so say, to embroil Things, that so none but the Intelligent, and those who will take the Pains to inform themselves, may be able to comprehend them: So that as *S. Clement* has not observed any Method in these Books, but intermixed several Notions all along of Philosophy, and Religion, it is a difficult matter to make such an Abridgment of them, as we have given of the Books of the *Pedagogue*. However we shall endeavour to give an Account of the principal Matters, which he there Discourses of.

In the First Book, after having shewn how advantageous it is, for Persons of Ability to Compose Books, he proposes the Subject of his, saying that they shall contain the principal Verities of Religion mixt, or rather concealed under the Maxims of Philosophy. Thence he takes occasion to refute those who find fault with Philosophy; to shew the Profit and Advantage of it; to Discourse of the use that may be made of it; and he concludes by shewing that the Philosophy of the Hebrews is the most ancient of all, justifying this Truth by a most curious and exact Chronology.

In the Second Book he treats of Faith, and its Effects, which are Repentance, Hope and Fear; he proves that Faith is necessary; that it is not in us by Nature, but by Will; that it is God's Gift, but so as to depend upon our own Free-will, that true Repentance consists in doing no more that which we are troubled for having done already; that there are two kinds of it, the First is that of those, who turned to the true Faith, to escape the Sins they committed, whilst they were Heathens; the Second is that of those, who have sinned after their Conversion, but yet have an opportunity of obtaining Forgiveness, provided they are heartily sorry for their Sin; but that those who often fall into the same Sin, and by that means make a Circle of Repenting and Sinning, are like to those who have no Faith: And that it is only a seeming, and no true Repentance, in those who ask Pardon for those very Sins which they never intend to reform. Upon occasion of Repentance, he Discourses of Sin. He says that Men commit it freely, and that they are purified from it by Faith and Charity. That the Fear of God is very profitable for us, that it instructs us, that it causes us to avoid Sin, and that it incites us to Love. He commends Charity, Temperance and Hospitality. He condemns those that plunge themselves in sensual Pleasures: And proposes to them the Example of the Martyrs who suffered Fire, Torments, and Death itself for the defence of Justice and Truth. Afterwards he Discourses of Marriage, and defines it to be a lawful Conjunction between a Man and a Woman, for the Propagation of Children. He approves of it, and shews its advantages, telling us that it is never lawful to leave the Woman, in order to Marry another, upon any Pretence whatever.

He continues in the Third Book, to speak against the Incontinence of the *Nicodaitans*, *Carpocratians*, *Valentinians*, and several other Heretics, and he defends Marriage against the *Marconites*, against *Tatian*, and the other Hereticks that blamed it, tho' he prefers Virginity before it as a greater good; *Provided*, says he, that it be kept merely for the Love of God, and for the observing his Commands. He maintains that Marriage is indissoluble, he does not entirely condemn Second Marriages, but blames them. He occasionally tells a Story of *Nicholas* one of the Seven first Deacons, who is supposed to be the Author of the *Nicodaitans*, who having a handsome Wife, and being accused of Jealousie, brought her, as they say, before the Apostles, and gave her leave to Marry whom she pleased of them. But he excuses *Nicholas*, and says, that those who boast of being his Disciples have put a wrong Construction upon this Action, as well as upon his Words: That he was informed, that he never had any Commerce with any other Woman, but his Wife: That his Daughters remained Virgins, and his Son was very Chast. He says that the Apostles *S. Peter*, and *S. Philip* were Married, and that they had Children: That even *S. Philip* married his Daughters, and he adds also, that *S. Paul* had a Wife, wherein he is mistaken.

[Tho' it is uncertain whether *S. Paul* was ever Married, yet it is a rash thing to say positively he was not. *S. Clement* alleges a Tradition in this Matter, which might easily be conveyed entire down to his time. It is plain, that the true *Take-fellow*, *Philip*, 4. 3. was a Woman; which others of the Antients understood of his Wife, besides *S. Clement*. His Expounding with the *Corinthians*, and asserting that he had a Power to lead about a Sister, or a Wife as well as *S. Peter* or any of the Apostles, may as well prove, that *S. Paul* justified his own Practice, as that he thought the thing simply lawful: especially since he is there making a Defence for himself. The Question however is very far from being certain in the Negative, and therefore at least ought to be left undetermined.]

In the Fourth Book he treats of Martyrdom, and Christian Perfection. He shews the Excellency of Martyrdom, and exhorts Christians to undergo it, confuting the Hereticks, who held that Martyrdom

tyrdom was no Virtuous Action: He makes the perfection of Christianity, to consist in the Love of God and our Neighbour. He would have us love Sinners, and yet detest their Sin; that we should do good out of a principle of Love and not for Fear. For that Man, says he, that abstains from Evil only out of a slavish Fear, is not good voluntarily, but for Fear-sake; and he who would not have obtained but in Consideration of the Recompence, cannot be said to be just with a good Heart. For in the one 'tis Fear, and in the other the hope of a Reward, which renders them just, or rather which makes them appear so to the Eyes of the World. He says that God inflicts Punishments upon Men for Three Reasons. First, that the Man whom he Chastises may become better. Secondly, that those who are to be saved, may take warning by these Examples. Thirdly, lest he should be despised by Men, if he did not avenge Affronts and Injuries done to himself.

In the Fifth Book, after having shewn that the way of instructing by Allegories and Symbols was very ancient, not only among the Jews, but also among the Philosophers, he proves that the Greeks took the greatest part of the Truths, which are in their Books, from the Barbarians, and principally from the Hebrews. This Book is full of Citations from the Poets, and the heathen Philosophers.

In the Sixth Book, he speaks again advantageously of Philosophy. Afterwards he begins to draw a Character of the *True Gnostick*, that is to say, to give the Idea of a Christian, that is perfectly Good and Wise. These are the principal strokes of his Picture. The *True Gnostick* has the Command over his Passions. He is exactly Temperate, and allows his Body no more than what is necessary. He loves God above all Things, and the Creatures for Gods-sake, and the Relation they bear to him, and nothing is able to separate him from this Love. He bears with Patience all unfortunate Accidents. He makes it his Business to know all things which relate to God, without neglecting humane Learning. His Discourses are regular and to the purpose, full of Sweetness and Charity. He is never overcome with Anger. He prays continually by Charity, that unites him to God; First, begging of him the Remission of his Sins; and then the Grace not to sin any more, but to do Good. Afterwards *S. Clement* enlarges upon the Source or Spring, from whence this *Gnostick* derives this true Knowledge, and complete Science. He says that it is the Holy Scripture, the Law and the Prophets, and in particular the Decalogue which he briefly explains, and Lastly, the Doctrine of Jesus Christ foretold by the Prophets, preached throughout the World, and received notwithstanding all the Contradiction of Kings, and the great Men of this World, who opposed it with all their Might.

In the Seventh Book, he goes on to describe the Vertues of his *Gnostick*; he says that he employs himself entirely in honouring God, in loving him, in understanding, hearing and imitating his WORD, which was made Man for our Salvation; that he does it not only upon certain days, but during the whole Course of his Life; that the Sacrifices by which he Honours him, are the Prayers and the Praises which he offers up at all times and in all Places; that he is Gentle, Courteous, Affable, Patient, Charitable, Sincere, Faithful and Temperate; that he despises the good things of this World, and that he is ready to suffer every thing for Jesus Christ; that he does nothing either out of Ostentation, or Fear, or the Desire of being rewarded, but out of pure Love to the Goodness and Justice of God: Lastly, that he is entirely Holy and Divine. Afterwards *S. Clement* answers several Objections of the Greeks and Jews, who affirmed that the multiplicity of Heresies ought to hinder Men from the embracing the Religion of Jesus Christ. To which he Answers, that this multitude of Sects is likewise to be found among the Heathens; and the Jews; that it was foretold by Jesus Christ, that such a thing should happen among the Christians. That it ought not to make us forsake the Truth, but rather on the contrary to seek after it, with the greater Care and Diligence. That there is an infallible Rule to distinguish Truth from Falshood; that this Rule is the Holy Scripture, which being an incontestable Principle serves for a Proof of whatever we say. That it must be Confessed, that the Hereticks make use of it as well as the Catholics. But then first they do not make use of all the Sacred Books. Secondly, those which they do use are corrupted. Thirdly, they chiefly use ambiguous Passages, which they explain according to their own Fancy, by departing from the true Sense, and keeping only to Terms. Hence he takes occasion to condemn in general all Hereticks, who reject the Tradition of Jesus Christ, and his Apostles, and forsaking the Faith of the Church, have made themselves the Authors of particular Sects, by inventing new Doctrines, and corrupting the Truth. He says, that there is but only One Catholic Church, which is more ancient than all the Assemblies of the Hereticks, that it was founded by Jesus Christ, who dyed under *Tiberius*, and established it in the World by the Apostles, before the end of *Nero's* Reign. Whereas there was hardly so much as one Heretic older than *Adrian's* Time, and that they all bore the Name of their Author, or that of the Places and Countries where they first appeared, or from the Doctrine they taught, or the things which they honoured, which sufficiently discovers their Falshood and Novelty. He concludes by making the Description of these Books of the *Sromata*, and by promising to begin another Subject in the following Book.

The Last Book in our Editions, is a Collection of Logical Principles, which contains nothing that regards the Christian Religion, or that is worth giving an Account of. *Phorius* observes, that in his Time there were some Editions, where this last Book was Entituled; *What rich Man can be saved:* And that it began with these Words. *Those who make pieces of Oratory.* But *Eusebius* distinguishes that Book from the *Sromata*.

S. Clement of Alexandria, does not start at all from the Doctrine of the Church in those Works of his, whereof we have already given the Abridgment. He does not only mention Three Divine Persons

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of Alexan.

Persons, but he invokes them as One only God (g). Besides he uses the Name of the most Holy Trinity. He says that the WORD, which was from the beginning in God, which is God, and equal to God, by which he created the World, and instructed all Men, did at last become Man to save us by his Doctrine, by his Example, and by his Death. It is true, in another Place he says, that the Nature of the Son is the most Perfect, the most Excellent, and that which approaches nearest to Almighty God, words which would seem to imply as if he believed, that the Nature of the WORD was different from that of the Father: But we know well enough, that the Ancients had not yet made so exact a Distinction between the Terms Nature, and Person, and that they often took one for the other. And indeed his way of Discouraging of the Excellency of the WORD, in this and other Places, sufficiently declares that he did not believe, that he was of a different Nature, taking the word Nature in the same Sense as we at present do. For he says that the WORD is God; that it is without Beginning, that he is equal to the Father, that he is in the Father, that he created all Things, &c. Expressions which clearly discover what his Opinion was concerning the Divinity of the WORD. He seems however to follow the way of speaking of some of the Ancients, in saying that the WORD is Visible, that he may be known, and that it is by him that we know the invisible Father, of whom he is the Image; but it is an easy matter to Accommodate these Expressions to the Doctrines of the Church, as we have shewn in our Critical Remarks upon several Authors already. He says, that the Blessed Mary remained a Virgin after the birth of Christ. He holds that the Demons sinned through Incontinency. He acknowledges Adam's Fall, and the Punishment of his Sin, which all Men have incurred. But he seems not well to have understood the Nature of Original Sin. 'Tis true, that in the passage commonly alleged from him against Original Sin, he contradicts the Opinion of those who affirmed, that the Generation was Corrupted. But he speaks after such a manner as would make us think, that he did not believe Original Sin, or at least, that he never considered it. Let them tell us, says he, how an Infant that is but just born has prevaricated, and how he who has already done nothing, could fall under Adam's Curse, &c. He often exhorts Men to do good by the hopes of Eternal Happiness, and dissuades them from Evil, by the Fear of Everlasting Punishments, without speaking at all of the Opinion of the Millenarians. He holds, that without Faith in Jesus Christ none can be saved: But he says, that Jesus Christ, and the Apostles preached the Gospel in the Limbs to just Persons, as well Gentiles as Jews, that they might obtain this Faith, wherein they were before deficient. He ascribes much to Free-Will, he believes that our Salvation, and Faith which is the beginning thereof depends upon our selves, though not without the Assistance of Divine Grace (h). He speaks nobly of the Necessity and Efficacy of Baptism. 'Baptism, says he, is called Grace, Illumination, Perfection, Washing, by which Name it is called, because it cleanses us from our Sins; it is called Grace because it remits the Punishment due for our Sins; Illumination because it enlightens us with the Illumination of Faith; Perfection because it makes us perfect. And afterwards, pag. 95. These Bonds of Sin are immediately broken by the Faith of Man, and the Grace of God; sins are remitted by this admirable Remedy of Baptism; and we immediately cease to be Sinners; from being Blind as we were before, we become clear-sighted, for what is taught to the Catechumens is purely Instruction to guide them to that Faith, which is thus internally conveyed by the Holy Spirit. We have given an account of the difference that he makes between the Remission of Sins committed after Baptism and that which is obtained by Baptism. We have shewed that he allowed but one Repentance after Baptism, and that he rejects the Repentances of those Persons who often relapse into the very same Sins, as things of no value; that he approves of Marriage, and believes it indissoluble; that he blames Polygamy, and even second Marriages. He speaks but little of the Eucharist, and what he says of it is very obscure, because he endeavours to conceal this Mystery from those who were not Baptized. But he declares expressly in the Second Book of the *Pedagogus*, Chap. 2. that the Bread and Wine are the Matter of it, and condemns the Heretics who used any thing else besides Bread, and Wine mingled with Water. He observes that in several Churches, after the Eucharist was distributed, it was left to the Liberty of each of the Faithful, to take a part of it. He often cites *Apocryphal* Books, as the Gospel according to the Egyptians, the Book of *Hermas*; yet in the mean time he only allows the Four Gospels to be Canonical. He admits of the Authority of Tradition, and that of the Church. These are the Opinions

Book IV.
Pag. 537.
and 565.Book VII.
Pag. 756.
Book V.
Of the
Strom. p.
550.
Book II.
p. 2. Chap.
2.
Book III.
Pag. 468.
and 499.In Protep. p.
54. & Sequen-
tibus, Book 1.
Prel. Chap. 8.
and 9. Book 3.
Chap. 11. and
12. Lib. 1.
Strom. p. 5.
11. lib. 3. p.
444. Lib. 6.
p. 661. In
Protep. p. 53.
& Prel. lib. 1.
cap. 9.Lib. 3. Strom.
p. 462.
& 465. Lib.
1. Strom.
lib. 1. p.
754.

(g) As being One only God; Lib. 1. *Pedagog.* Chap. 8. Unus est universorum Pater, unus etiam verbum universorum, & spiritus sanctus unus, qui & ipse est ubique. And Book 3. Chap. 12. Let us pray to the Father and the Son, says he, the Son because he is our Pedagogue and our Master, together with the Holy Ghost who alone is the Whole, in whom are all Things, and by whom all Things are one, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. And again Book 5. pag. 54. The Father is not without the Son, neither the Son without the Father. And pag. 598. after having quoted some Words of Plato, he understands the Trinity; For, says he, the Holy Ghost is the Third, and the Son, by whom all things were made, is the Second.

(h) Though not without the Assistance of Divine

Grace; Lib. 5. Stromat. pag. 547. Nam neque fieri potest ut sine libero animi arbitrio & instituto consequamur, neque universum esse possumus in nostra voluntate, quale sit id quod est eorum. Gratia servamus, sed non absque bonis operibus. Et oportet quidem cum natura spiritus sancti ad bonum, ad id aliquid addere studium. Oportet mentemque habere bonam, & que multa reatutur penitus à boni consuetudine. Ad quod maxime pervenit opus gratia, rebusque doctrina, casaque & quanda omnia affectione, & patris ad ipsum attractione. And Lib. 4. pag. 518. he says, that it is God which gives us Continence. Pag. 530. he says, that it is Grace that enables us to run our Course without any impediment. Pag. 495. he says, that it is the Power of God which makes us resist Temptations.

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nions of S. Clement upon the Principal Articles of our Faith, which are conformable to the Doctrine of the Church, in all the main Points, and different only in some Things of lesser Consequence.

But this cannot be said concerning his Work of *Institutions*, which according to the Testimony of *Photinus* contained several Errors, even contrary to what he had taught in his other Works. Let us see what this Learned Critick says of the Matter. The Hypotyposes, says he, were written upon some Passages of the Old and New Testament, which he explains and interprets briefly; but though he has in several places very Orthodox and true Notions, yet in others he has some that are very Erroneous and Fictitious; For he says that Matter is Eternal, and he assigns Eternal Ideas produced by the Decrees of God; he places the Soul in the number of Created Things; he holds the Metempsychosis; he pretends that there were several Worlds before Adam; he fancies Eve to be produced from Adam after an infamous manner, and different from that which is set down in the Scripture; he imagines, that the Angels having had to do with Women, begat Children of them; he thinks that the WORD was not really and truly Incarnate, but only in Appearance; he assigns two WORDS of GOD, the one Superior and the other Inferior, this last was that which appeared unto Men; he adds, that this WORD is not of the same nature with the WORD of GOD, that it was not the WORD of the Father that was incarnate, but a certain Virtue and Power of GOD proceeding from the WORD, which being a Spirit entered into the Souls of Men. He endeavours to prove these Opinions by Scripture. In a word, these Right Books are full of such sort of Errors and Blasphemies; whether it be the Author of this Book that has written them, or whether it be any other who puts them out under his name. The intent and design of the whole Work appears to be an Explication of Genesis, Exodus, the Psalms, the Canonical Epistles, and Ecclesiasticus. The Author observes that he was the Disciple of Pantenus.

If this Work was so full of Errors, as there seems no reason at all to doubt after the Testimony of *Photinus* who had seen it, it must needs have been composed by S. Clement, before he was thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion, and had altogether quitted the Opinions of *Plato*; which seems very probable, for we cannot say that he was not the Author of these Books, which are attributed to him by all Antiquity, and there is no likelihood that they were falsified by the Heretics in so many places. Besides that there are the Opinions of one who would accommodate the Platonic Philosophy to the Christian Religion, or rather of one who was half a Platonist and half a Christian. However among the Ancients these Books have been had in sufficient esteem and reputation. *Eusebius* cites several Passages out of them. In the First Book, Chap. 12. of his History he brings one out of the Fifth Book, where it is said that *Cephus, Matthias, Barnabas, and Thaddaeus*, were of the number of the Seventy Disciples of Jesus Christ. The same *Eusebius* in the Second Book, Chap. 1. produces another passage taken out of the Sixth Book, where he says that *Peter, James, and John*, (though they were preferred by Jesus Christ to the other Apostles) did not dispute about Precedency, but chose with one consent St. James the Just to be Bishop of Jerusalem. And another out of the Seventh Book, where he says, that these Three Apostles had the Spirit of Knowledge, which they communicated to the Seventy Disciples. In the 9th Chapter there is another Passage taken from the Seventh Book, where he says, that James the Brother of John by his Constancy converted his Accuser, and that they were both beheaded for the Faith of Christ. In the 15th Chapter, he says, that S. Clement in his Sixth Book of Institutions affirms, that S. Mark composed his Gospel by the Direction of S. Peter, and that this Apostle approved of it when it was finished. Lastly, *Eusebius* in the Sixth Book 14th Chapter tells us, that S. Clement in his Institutions explains all the Books of the Old and New Testament, not omitting even those of which many Persons doubted, as the Epistles of St. Jude, S. Barnabas, and the Revelation of S. Peter. That he says that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by S. Paul, and translated by S. Luke: That S. Paul would not put his Name to it, because he was hated by the Hebrews. He sets down the Order of the Gospels; he says that the Gospels of St. Matthew and S. Luke were first written, that S. Mark composed his at Rome at the Instance of the Faithful, and by S. Peter's Order, and that S. John wrote his the last at the desire of his Friends, to explain what was most mysterious in Jesus Christ, the others having sufficiently spoken of his Body.

The famous *Valesius* has observed, that we have still a very considerable Greek Fragment of this Work at the end of S. Clement, Entitled, An Extract of the Oriental Doctrine of Theodotus. For it contains those very Errors, concerning Christ's Person, which *Photinus* has observed in the *Hypotyposes*; and the Author says towards the end, that Pantenus was his Master. It is also likely, that the other fragment which follows, which is a Collection of Words and Expressions of Scripture, is likewise taken out of these Books, for besides that it is found with the Works of S. Clement, it is written after that manner in which *Eusebius* and *Photinus* acquaint us, that the Work of S. Clement was composed, and it appears that it is the very same Design.

There is also another considerable Fragment of S. Clement taken from his Book, *What Rich Man can be saved*, in *Eusebius*, Book 3. Chap. 23. where he tells us a famous Story of S. John. He says that this Apostle coming to a City of Asia, recommended to the Bishop a young Man who seemed to have very good parts: That this Bishop presently took care of him, and having sufficiently instructed him, he baptized him; but afterwards neglecting to look after him as before, this young Man grew lewd, and became the Ring-leader of the Robbers; that S. John returning some years after, demanded of the Bishop the Trust which he had committed to his Charge, and let him know, that he required this young Man from him. The Bishop telling him that he was utterly lost, and that he was become the Head of the Thieves, this Holy Apostle being extremely concerned at this unfortunate Accident, immediately took Horse, caused himself to be taken by the Robbers, and to be brought before their Chief, who remembering him, immediately fled; but S. John running after him, made

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him acknowledge his fault, promised him to obtain for him *Chrispi's* Pardon; and brought him back along with him, and having put him into a Course of Repentance, he did not leave him till he was reconciled to the Church. We have this Book entire in the last Volume of the Supplement of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, translated by *Gilesius*, and the Greek Text published by *Carophylus*: 'Tis an excellent Discourse, wherein *S. Clement* explains the Words of *Jesus Christ* to the young Rich Man recorded by *S. Mark*, Chap. 10. And it shews, that in order to Salvation, 'tis not necessary for any one absolutely to quit his Possessions and Riches, provided he makes a good use of them. Upon occasion of this Question, he discourses of Love towards God, and towards our Neighbour, and of Repentance. By the way he says something of the Advantage there is in having a Director, to reprehend us severely for our Faults, and to give us suitable Remedies for our Amendment. And it was to shew the Efficacy of Repentance, that he told this Story of *S. John*. We find under the name of *S. Clement*, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, some Explications upon several Passages of the Old Testament, and Commentaries upon the Canonical Epistles. If these Fragments are really his, they must be taken from his Books of *Institutions*, which is not very improbable, because they have a near Relation to what *Phoebus* says of the *Institutions*, and besides they have the Genius of *S. Clement*.

There is no doubt but *S. Clement* was a Person of Extraordinary Qualifications. *S. Jerome* makes no scruple of saying that no Man had ever more knowledge than this Father; and it is certain, that of all the Ancients, there is none whose Books are so full of Profane Learning as his (2). He even shews too much of it for a Christian Writer, and we may say that he was more a Philosopher than a Divine, though he was by no means ignorant of our Religion, and perfectly understood the Holy Scriptures. But he is much more Emphatical upon the Moral than upon the Doctrinal Part of Christianity; and he explains almost all the Passages which he cites, after an Allegorical manner in imitation of *Philo Judæus*. He writes almost always without Method and Coherence. His Style is careless; which may be particularly observed in his *Sermons*. For in his Exhortation to the Gentiles, and his Pedagogique, he writes more floridly, as *Phoebus* has observed, and he is all along buoyed up with a certain Majestick gravity which is very delightful.

The Works of *S. Clement* have been Printed in Greek at Florence in the year 1550 for *Torrensus*, by the care of *Petrus Victorius*. They were translated by *Gentianus Hervetus*, which Translation was Printed at Florence by the same Person in the year 1551; at Paris in 1566, 1572, 1590, 1592, and in 1612; at Basil in 1556, and with *S. Irenæus* in 1560, and 1566; at Amsterdam in 1613. *Silburgius* afterwards took Pains upon this Author, and having collected the Observations and Corrections of several Learned Persons, caused it to be Printed in Greek by *Commelinus* in the year 1592, in Folio. Afterwards it was published in Greek and Latin by *Heinsius*, who revised the Translation, and added some new Observations, and caused it to be Printed in Greek by the same *Commelinus* in the year 1616. This Edition was followed by those of Paris in the year 1629, and 1621, which is the best of all; That of 1641 is not so Fair and Correct.

(1) *Whole Books are so full of profane Learning as his*. I believe the Reader will not think it tedious to read the following Passage of *Gentianus Hervetus* concerning the Learning of *S. Clement*. Do you desire, *Ignorant Author*, to read Histories that are very Ancient and very Curious? Read *S. Clement* who understood all ancient History so perfectly well, that one would think him to have been ignorant of nothing that had pass'd in the World. Have you an Esteem and Veneration for the Verses of the ancient Poets and the Answers of the Oracles? You cannot put too high a value upon *S. Clement*, who quotes Passages from several ancient Poets, whose Works we have lost. Would you be willing to know the Rites and Ceremonies which were observed in the Sacrifices of the Heathen Gods? Read *S. Clement*, who discovers the most hidden Mysteries of the Pagans. Besides, is there any one among the Christians who has any respect for the Superstitions of the Heathens, who commands their Manners and Customs (and I wish to God there were no such Persons left) but if there be any, they may disabuse themselves by reading *S. Clement*, who clearly makes out the Falseness of the Pagan Religion, so that after having read it, they cannot but be ashamed of

their Folly. have you a mind to understand the Opinions and Maxims of the ancient Philosophers? Read *S. Clement*, who discourses of the Original of Philosophy, of all the Sects of Philosophers, and of their Doctrine, yet so as he always prefers the Philosophy of the Christians before all others, and proves by invincible Arguments, that This is That which is only Divine, whereof God himself is the Author. Would you know the Tenets of the Heretics who infested the Church in its infancy? *S. Clement* explains them concisely, and confutes them very solidly and substantially. Do you seek for Testimonies against the Heretics of our Times? *S. Clement* will furnish you with several. Have you a design to correct that abominable corruption of Manners in this present Age? There is no Author that reproves Vice more severely, that exhorts more powerfully to the practice of Virtue, and that gives better Rules and Instructions for leading a Christian Life. Lastly have you a mind to re-establish the ancient Discipline of the Church? You cannot have too high an esteem for the Learning and Sanctity of *S. Clement*, who being a Priest carried himself, and lived after so Holy a Manner, that it were very much to be wished, that there were more Persons in this Age like him.

Miltiades;

Miltiades; The two Apollonii; And two Anonymous Authors, who wrote against the Heresies of Montanus and Artemo.

TIS not known neither what was the Country, nor the Profession of *Miltiades*; he wrote a Book against the *Montanists*, wherein he particularly maintains, That a Prophet ought not to speak in an Ecstasy or Fury (a). *Eusebius* affirms, that he has left evident Proofs of his Skill, and the Pains which he took in the Study of the Holy Scripture, in those Books which he wrote against the Gentiles and the Jews, each of which was divided into two Volumes. And that besides these Discourses, he wrote an Apology for the Christian Philosophy, Dedicated to the Governors of the Provinces (b). This Author lived under the Emperor *Commodus*.

There were at the same time two different Authors, both of which were called *Apollonius*. The first is a Greek Author, who wrote against the Sect of the *Montanists*, wherein he Confutes their last Prophecies step by step, and Censures the Practice and Manners of those Heretics. *Eusebius* gives us a Fragment of it in Book V, Chap. 18. where he describes the Exorbitances of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses; he accuses them for taking Sums of Money and Presents. He particularly reprehends two Persons of this Sect, who boasted of their being Martyrs. Besides, *Eusebius* observes, that *Apollonius* says in this Book, that it was forty years since *Montanus* invented his Prophecies; that he makes mention of *Thraseas*, who was a Martyr in his time, and that he mentions a Tradition, that *Jesus Christ* had given Orders to his Apostles not to go out of Jerusalem for twelve years.

The second *Apollonius* was of Rome, a Senator of that City, if we may believe *S. Jerome* (c). He was accused in the time of the Emperor *Commodus* for being a Christian, and was brought into the Judgment-Hall before *Perennis* the *Præfatus* Prætorio. His Accuser was Condemned (d) according to the Law of the Emperor, which punished the Accusers of the Christians with Death, and *Apollonius* was sent back to justify himself before the Senate; where he appeared, and made a very Eloquent Oration in Defence of his Religion, tho' notwithstanding that he was condemned to Death, because there was an Ancient Law which ordain'd, That those Christians, who were once judicially accused for their Religion, should not be acquitted if they did not forsake it. *S. Jerome* says, that he Compos'd this Oration to Present to the Senate. But *Eusebius* assures us on the contrary, that he spoke it before them. But whether he wrote it with a design to speak it, or that the Christians had taken care to preserve it, it was extant in *Eusebius's* time among the ancient Acts of the Sufferings of the Martyrs.

The same *Eusebius* gives us a Fragment of an Anonymous Author against the Heresies of *Montanus*. This by some is attributed to *Apollinaris*, and by *S. Jerome*, sometimes to *Rhodon*, and sometimes to *Apollonius*. Tho' it was not written by either of these Authors, but by one more modern, who lived, as we have said, after the Death of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses. It was divided into five Books. *Eusebius* relates some Passages taken from the First, Second, and Third. In that which is taken from the first Book, the Author describes the furious Transports of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses, and those who pretended to Prophecy. In the Passages taken from the second Book, he says, That *Montanus* and *Maximilla* killed themselves; that *Theodorus* likewise threw himself down headlong; and that very Holy Bishops, as *Zoticus* of Comana, and *Julian* of Apameia, being willing to Convince the Prophecies of *Maximilla* of Imposture, were hindred by some who favoured that Sect. He adds, that *Maximilla* foretold, before she died, Wars and Persecutions, and yet that after her Death both Church and State enjoyed perfect Peace and Tranquility. In the Passage taken from the

(a) In an Ecstasy or fury.] This is taken from the Author against the Heresies of the *Montanists*, in *Eusebius*, Book 5, Chap. 17. and the meaning of it is, that true Prophets ought never to deliver themselves in a Fury, nor to be out of their right Senses, as the *Montanists* were. This likewise is the Rule which *S. Christophorus* gives for distinguishing the False Prophets from the True. *Homil. 29. in Epist. ad Corinth. 8.* And *S. Jerome*, in his Preface upon *Nabum*. *Non enim loquimur in Extasi, ut Montanus, & Priscilla, Maximillæque delirant, sed quod Prophetæ libet visumque intelligent.* *S. Jerome* here uses the Term Ecstasy in the same sense with the Anonymous Author.

(b) To the Governors of the Provinces.] *ἵνα τὸς ἡγεμενικοῖς ἀποδείξωται.* *Eusebius* and *S. Jerome* understood these Words of Emperors; but since there was

but one in this Author's time, it is more natural to explain this Expression by Governors of Provinces.

(c) If we believe *S. Jerome*. *Eusebius* does not say, that *Apollonius* was a Senator, but *S. Jerome* inserts it in his Catalogue to *Magnus*. We cannot tell whether he knew it certainly, or whether it be only by Conjecture that he says so. But it is likely, that it was upon the account of his being a Senator, that the *Præfatus* Prætorio sent him back to the Senate to be Tried there.

(d) His accuser was condemned.] It was his Slave, if we may believe *S. Jerome*, and 'tis very probable, for he was condemned to have his Bones broken, the ordinary Punishment of Slaves.

(e) *We do not know who this Author is, nor what was the Title of his Book.*] Nicephorus calls it the *Labyrinth*, and Theodoret, Lib. 2. *Hæret. Fabul.* confirms this Title. Photius, Cod. 48. attributes the Book of the *Labyrinth* to *Caius*, and others ascribed it to *Origen*.

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Tertullian. There is no Passage in his Writings from whence it can be concluded, that he was a Priest of the Catholic Church; but *S. Jerom* affirms it to positively¹, that there is no reason to question it. It is commonly believed, that he was a Priest of the Church of *Rome*: But being of *Carthage*, and having almost always remained there, he ought rather to be called a Priest of the Church of *Carthage*, than of *Rome*. He was not so happy as to preserve this Dignity to the end of his days, for after having continued in the Church for about 40 or 45 years, he separated from it in the beginning of the Third Century², to follow the Sect of *Montanus* and his Disciples.

As to the Reasons of his Separation, some have said, that it was Jealousie that carried him to this Excess, because *Victor* was Preferred before him to the See of *Rome*; Others say, that he was angry because he could not get the Bishoprick of *Carthage*, which he put in for, and that this made him take up such a Resolution; And lastly, others have assigned different Reasons³, which are yet less probable; But this is rather to divine, than to give the Reasons of *Tertullian's* Change: Which are now grounded upon the Testimony of any ancient Writer. That which has the most likelihood, is what is related by *S. Jerom*, that the Envy which the *Roman* Clergy bore him, and the Outragious manner wherewith they treated him, exasperated him against the Church, and induced him to separate from it. And besides, the extraordinary Austerity which appeared in the Sect of the *Montanists*, suited very well with his violent and severe Temper, which caused him to carry every thing to Extremities. And it was for this reason that he was so enraged against the Catholics, and that he treated the Church with such Fury, after his Separation from it. It does not appear by his Books, that he ever afterwards returned from his Error, and none of the Ancients have affirmed it; but on the contrary, they have all spoken of him, as of a dead Man out of the Communion of the Church. It would therefore be a thing altogether against common Sense to imagine, as some have done, that he at last returned into the Bosom of the Church.

And this is an exact Abridgment of *Tertullian's* Life; let us now proceed to his Writings, and begin by examining the Order, according to which they were Composed, that so we may afterwards make a more exact Judgment of them. And by considering them in this manner with relation to the order of Time, they may be divided into two Classes: The first, comprising those which he composed whilst he was still a Catholic; And the second, those which he wrote after he was *Montanist*. They are easily distinguished, because he never fails in his later Books, of speaking of the Holy-Ghost of *Marcus*, of the Prophecies of the *Montanists*, and of their Extraordinary Fats, of declaiming against Second Marriages, and against the Abolition which is granted by the Catholics to those who fall into Sin after Baptism; or lastly, of railing against the Catholics whom he calls *Psychic*, that is to say, *Carnal* and *Sensual*. But we must consider them more particularly, and examine in what Years the several Books were written.

It is evident, that *Tertullian* wrote his Book Of *Penance*, whilst he was yet a Catholic; for therein he expressly confutes one of the Principal Errors of the *Montanists*; by proving, that those who have committed Sins after their Baptism, may obtain Absolution from the Church, provided they do Penance. *Erasmus* questions, whether this Book be *Tertullian's* or no, because it is written more politely than his other Books; and the Authority of *Erasmus* has made *Robertus* reject this Discourse, though since 'tis quoted under *Tertullian's* Name, by *S. Ercianus* an Author of the Fourth Century,

¹ There is no Passage in his Writings from whence it can be concluded, that he was a Priest of the Catholic Church. There is a Place in his Book *De Animis*, c. 9. whence it may be concluded, that he preached in the Church of the *Montanists*, and that they related to him strange Visions. But as all the *Montanists* talked after this rate in their Assemblies, it cannot certainly be concluded from hence, that he was a Priest; and we have only the Authority of *S. Jerom* for it.

² But *S. Jerom* affirms it positively. In his Treatise of Ecclesiastical Persons, *Quoniam usque ad medium statum Presbyter Ecclesie permansisset, ad medium Dogma delapsus est.*

³ It is commonly believed, that he was a Priest of the Church of *Rome*: That which makes it believed that he was a *Roman* Priest, is what *S. Jerom* says of his falling into the Error of the *Montanists*, because he was provoked by Envy, and the Injuries which he received from the Clergy of that Church. But there is no necessity for all this that he should be at *Rome*, since there was a sufficient Intimacy and Correspondence between these two Churches, so that it might be easily known at *Rome*, what was said and done at *Carthage*, and though he had been then at *Rome*, yet it would not have followed, that he was Priest of that Church: None of the Ancients affirm it, but on the contrary, *Optatus* calls him a *Carthaginian*, as he calls *Zephimus Urbicus*, that is, the Bishop of *Rome*: And also *Titus* *Patavinensis*. The Pra-

destinate of *Sirmondus* calls him plainly, a Presbyter of *Carthage*.

⁴ In the beginning of the Third Century. The Epoch of his Change is certain, for we may easily fix it, because he says in his Book against *Praxeas*, that this Heretic being come to *Rome*, hindered the Bishop of that Church from acknowledging the Prophecies of *Montanus*, that he wrote against him at that time, and had obliged him to revoke his Opinion, that afterwards he acknowledged the *Parables*, or Comforter. Now it is very likely, that *Victor* was this Bishop that rejected the Prophecies of *Montanus*; for *Tertullian* says, that *Praxeas* hindered him from consenting to these new Prophecies, by urging the Authority of his Predecessors, who could be no other than the Popes *Anicetus* and *Eleutherus*, in whose time these new Prophecies of *Montanus* first began to appear: So that *Tertullian* could not be turned till after the Pontificate of *Victor*, who was Pope from the Year 193, to the Year 201. He was a *Montanist* when he composed the Books against *Marcion*, which were written in the Year 207. So that *Pamilius*, who fixes his Change in the Year 210, is mistaken.

⁵ Have given different Causes thereof. *Baronius* is the Author of the first Opinion, *ad An. 201. n. 9. Pamilius*, in his Life of *Tertullian*, of the second. And there are others besides, who have assigned other Causes for his Change, which are all groundless.

there seems no reason to question its being *Tertullian's*: Besides, the difference of the Style is not very considerable, and it is no wonder that *Tertullian*, when he was a young Man, and newly Converted, should write a Book, upon which he bestowed to great pains, more politely than usual.

His Book of *Baptism* was written about the same time: For it is not only free from all the Errors of the *Montanists*, but even what he says, That Baptism is referred to the Bishops, and that it is never permitted to Women to Teach or to Baptize, is expressly contrary to their Discipline.

Besides, we have no reason to doubt, but that he composed the Discourse of *Prayer* whilst he was yet a Catholic: For speaking therein concerning Fasts, he says, That there is no Solemn Fast among the Christians, but that which is before *Easter*; which is contrary to the Discipline of the *Montanists*, who observe several Lent. Besides, he cites in this Treatise the Book of the *Pastor*, which he rejected after he was a *Montanist*. We cannot exactly tell in what Year these Books were written, nor which of the three were Composed first.

His Apology for the Christian Religion was wrote about the year 200, in the beginning of the Persecution under the Emperor *Severus*. It is commonly believed, that he wrote it at *Rome*, and Addressed it to the Senate: But it is more probable, that it was composed in *Africa*; and indeed he does not address himself to the Senate, but to the Proconsul of *Africa*, and the Governors of the Provinces.

The Books concerning *Patience*, and the *Exhortation to the Martyrs*, may have been written about the same time: But that to *Scapula* was not composed till some years after, as well as the *Two Books to the Nations*.

Afterwards, as he began to incline towards the *Montanists*, he wrote about the year 202, or 203, the Discourses concerning *Public Signs and Spectacles*, and of *Idolatry*. This is the last of the two, the other being quoted Chap. 12. He was not yet a thorough-paced *Montanist*, but he began to embrace their Opinions, though he had not yet openly left the Church. He still kept the same Opinions when he composed his Books Of the *Ornaments and Dresses of Women*: And two Books Dedicated to his Wife. His Book of *The Testimony of the Soul* has no certain Epoch; but as we do not find therein any Foot-steps of the Errors of the *Montanists*, we may believe that it was written by *Tertullian* before he separated from the Church.

And these are all the Works that can be attributed to *Tertullian* whilst he remained Orthodox, all the others being certainly written after his returning *Montanist*. His Books against *Marcion* are the

¹ His Book of the Apology for the Christian Religion was written about the Year 200, from the Birth of Christ. It is very likely that it was Composed about this time. *M. Allix* pretends, that it was not written till the Year 211, but his Reasons are but weak. He says, that he alludes in the 47th Chapter to the Book of *Prescriptions*; but though he here makes use of the term *Prescribe*, it does not thence follow, that this Book was Composed after that of the *Prescriptions*. The second Reason is taken from an Eclipse seen at *Uita*, in the Year 210, to which, says he, *Tertullian* alludes in the 20th Chapter; but he does not speak at all in this place of any particular Eclipse. The last and principal Reason of *M. Allix*, is that in the 4th Chapter of the Apology, he speaks of *Severus* as if he were dead. *Severus*, says he, a Prince of great Comend, has not lately abolished by his Authority the *Papian Law*, which ordains, that one should have Children before the age in which the *Julian Law* gives permission to marry. But this might be said of *Severus* whilst he was yet living, and it is likely that he abolished this Law (if yet he did abolish it at all, for it was rather *Constantine* that did it,) in the beginning of his Reign. But what we read in the 5th Chapter, *Who are those that have made Laws against the Christians*, 'tis neither *Adrian*, nor *Vespasian*, nor *Antoninus*, nor *Severus*, might prove that he wrote after the Death of *Severus*, but we must read *Vernus*, as it is in the later Editions, and not *Severus*.

² It is more probable that it was composed in *Africa*. *Pamilius* and several Authors are of Opinion, that he wrote his Apology at *Rome*, and that he addressed it to the Senate. But there is not one Passage in this Book, that gives any ground for this Conjecture. On the contrary, this Book is Addressed to the Chief Governors of the Cities. *Tertullian* speaks of *Rome* and the *Romans*, as not being in their City, nor with them. In Chap. 21, 24, 35, and 45. he speaks of the Proconsul, and there was not any at *Rome*. As to

what we say, that it was not Addressed to the Senate, but to the Governors of the Provinces, the beginning of the Apology does evidently shew: Which is this. *Si non licet vobis Romani Imperii Antistes, in aperto & in ipso vertice civitatis Praesidentibus ad iudicandum palam disceptare, & coram Examine quid sit liquidum causa Christianorum, si ad hanc solam speciem Auctoritas vestra de Iustitia Diligentem in publico aus timet, aus corubescit inquirere. Si denique domesticis indicibus nimis operatur scilicet. huius infestatio obruit usum defensio, &c.* Those which he calls *Imperii Antistes* are the Governors and Proconsuls, and that which follows plainly sheweth, for he says, that they preside in *vertice civitatis*, which does not signify the City of *Rome*, which is always called *Urbs*, and what he adds, that it belongs to them to examine the Cause of the Christians, to try them, and to receive Informations against them, does evidently prove, that he speaks of the Governors of Places. Secondly, he does not mention so much as one word of the Senate in the whole Book. Thirdly, he speaks of the Proconsul, as of the Supream Magistrate, Chap. 45. Lastly, he always calls those to whom he Addresses this Work *Praesides*, a Title which properly agrees to the Governors of the Provinces.

³ The Discourses concerning public Signs and Spectacles, and of Idolatry. In the 5th Chapter of the Book concerning Idolatry, he alludes to the Joy at the Birth of *Gara*; He speaks in his Book concerning Public Signs and Spectacles, Chap. 7. of the City of *Rome*, like a Person who was not there, so that this Book could not be made at *Rome* as has been believed.

⁴ His Books of the Ornaments and Dresses of Women. The Latin Titles are, *De cultu Mulierib, & de habitu Mulierib.*

⁵ His Book of the Testimony of the Soul has no certain Epoch. It was written after his Apology, as may be concluded from the 5th Chapter.

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list of these last kind of Books. The *Epistle* of them is certain, for in the first Book, chap. 15, he says, That he writ in the 15th Year of the Emperor Severus, that was the 207th after Christ. In the first of these Books, he promises his Book of *Prescriptions*: So that although this be a very excellent Discourse, and that it contains nothing but what is Catholic, yet it must be confessed that he composed it when he was a *Montanist*, unless we should say, that he kept it by him for some time unpublished: However it be, it was composed when he wrote his Book concerning the *Fleish of Jesus Christ*, wherein he refers to the Book of *Prescriptions* in the second Chapter.

The Book concerning the *Soul* was written after the Books against *Marcion*, which are cited in the second Chapter, but before the Book concerning the *Resurrection of the Fleish*, where he quotes his Book concerning the *Soul*, and also, that concerning the *Fleish of Jesus Christ*. So that this is the Order of the Books composed by Tertullian after these against *Marcion*: The Book of *Prescriptions*, of the *Soul*, of the *Fleish of Jesus Christ*, of the *Resurrection of the Fleish*; these were all composed from the year 207, to the year 210.

His Book *De Corona*¹, his Book *De Pallio*², and that *De Patria*³, were written about the same time, but we do not know the year. In his Book *De Corona*, he says, That he had composed a Treatise concerning the *Confessions*, and *Sufferings of the Martyrs*. *Baronius* believes, that it is the *Scorpiacus* which he means: But I believe, it is rather that Book concerning *Flight in time of Persecution*. For his *Scorpiacus* was written against Hereticks, whereas that which he intended, when he wrote the Book *De Corona*, ought to have been against the Pastors, who withdrew themselves in time of Persecution.

The Book against the *Jews* was written towards the end of the Reign of *Severus*, in the year 209, as appears by what he says of the State of the *Roman Empire* in the seventh Chapter⁴. We do not certainly know the time when those Books were written against *Praxeas*, against *Hermogenes*, and against the *Valentinians*, but only that they were written by Tertullian when he was a *Montanist*. Neither can we give any account of the time of his writing the following Treatises in Defence of the *Montanists* against the Church; His Discourse of *Celibacy*, of *Fasts*, of *Martyrdom*, his Exhortation to *Celibacy*, of *Flight in time of Persecution*, and that wherein he proves, *That Virgins ought to be veild*. *S. Jerom* adds to these, Six Books of *Exsthes*, and a Treatise against *Apollonius*, which are lost.

I have now nothing to consider, but the final Treatise addressed to *Scapula*, which we certainly know when it was written, for it was after the Death of *Severus* under *Antoninus Caracalla*, about

¹ His Book against *Marcion* are the first of this last sort. It is evident that he was a *Montanist*, when he composed the Books against *Marcion*; this appears by the 38th Chapter of his First Book, by the 24th of the Third Book, by the 32d of the Fourth Book, and by the 15th of the Fifth Book. In the Fourth Book, Ch. 22, he calls the Catholics *Eschiet*.

² He promises his Book of *Prescriptions*.] Lib. 1. cap. 1. *Alim libellus hunc gradum sustinebit adversus Hereticos, etiam sine tractatu Doctrinarum revincendo, quod hoc sit de Prescriptions vocatur*; We may affirm, that it was written before, and that he only publish'd it then, that he might confirm some Arguments in his Books against *Marcion*. Which has given occasion to some, to think that this Book was written by Tertullian, whilst he was yet *Orthodox*, because he speaks so advantageously for the Church against Novelties. But he makes use of the very same Principles, in his Book against *Marcion*, and against *Praxeas*. The Catalogue of the Hereticks, where he puts the *Montanists* in the Number of Hereticks, is not *Tertullian's*; so that Reason, which might contribute to make it believed, that he wrote his *Prescriptions* whilst he was a Catholic, is of no consequence.

³ The Book entitled *Scorpiacus*.] This Book of *Scorpiacus* was written after the Books against *Marcion*, as may be seen by the 5th Chapter.

⁴ The Book *De Corona*.] It was written upon occasion of a Donative granted by the Emperors *Antoninus Caracalla*, and *Severus*, to the Soldiers, about the Year 209.

⁵ The Book *De Pallio*.] *Scaliger* pretends that this was his first Work; and *Salmasius* on the contrary says, that it was written when he was a Priest. The first believes, that the Cloak was a Habit for all Christians. And the second maintains, that it was only a Habit for the Priests; but both of them are mistaken, for the Christians and Priests wore both long and short Garments indifferently, according to the Customs of the Places where they were. The

Cloak was a Habit for Philosophers, and such a made Profession of a more austere Life than ordinary. What is said in the second Chapter of his Book *De Pallio*, that the triple Virtue of the Emperor had entirely routed the Barbarians, and procured Peace and Tranquility to the People, can no otherwise be understood, but of the latter end of the Reign of *Severus*, who enjoyed a most profound Peace after he had defeated all his Enemies, and taken in as Partners in the Governments, his two Sons *Caracalla* and *Geta*, and this is what Tertullian calls *Triplex Imperii Virtus*, as when he says, *Barbari excelsi*, he alludes to the Wall which *Severus* caused to be built in Britain, to put a stop to the Incurious of the Barbarians.

⁶ What is said concerning the State of the Roman Empire, in the Seventh Chapter.] He ascribes in this place the flourishing Condition of the Empire, the Germans beaten back, the Britains hemmed in, and secured, the Moors besieged by the Roman Legions, &c. Which agrees to the time of the Emperors *Severus*, though this cannot be understood, but of the latter end of his Reign, when after he had Conquered all the Barbarians, he caused that Wall to be built, which we just now mentioned, and dispersed the Roman Legions about the Frontiers of the Empire, as *Dion Cassius* observes.

⁷ We do not certainly know the time when these Books were written against *Praxeas*, &c.] It is evident, that the Book against *Praxeas* was composed after he was a *Montanist*, supra. In his Book against *Hermogenes*, he accuses this Heretic of pretending to be a *Mari*, &c. which is a Reproach exactly agreeable to the temper of the *Montanists*; And in the Book against the *Valentinians*, he commends *Prætorius* or *Prætorius* a famous *Montanist*. This Book was written after his Book against *Hermogenes*, for he observes there, that he had already written against this Heretic.

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the year 213^{ad}. And the two Books to the *Gentiles* were composed about the same time^{ad}. And this is the Chronology of all the Works of Tertullian.

There are some others which are fallily attributed to him: And amongst these we are to reckon the small Catalogue of *Hereticks*, which is at the end of the Book of *Prescriptions*. For first of all, it is of a different Style. Secondly, it was not to be found in the old Manuscript of *Agobardus*, which is the most ancient Manuscript of Tertullian's Works, nor in another old Manuscript, which *Rhenanus* made use of for the first Edition of Tertullian. Thirdly, in those Manuscripts where it is to be found, it is separated from the *Prescriptions*, and sometimes in stead of being at the end, it is placed in the beginning, and so *Trithemius* both saw, and quoted it. Fourthly, the *Prescriptions* have a Conclusion before this Catalogue, wherein Tertullian does not promise to make such an Abridgment of the Heresies, but to write against them all separately. Fifthly, 'tis the Work of some Author that lived after *S. Epiphanius*, from whom he borrows the History of *Marcion*, and perhaps he may have taken from *S. Jerom* what he says concerning the *Jews*.

There goes likewise under Tertullian's name a Letter concerning *Jewish Meats*, but it is of a quite different Style, and the places of Scripture are there quoted after another manner than they are in Tertullian's Works, which plainly shews, that it is none of his: 'Tis a Letter of a Pastor to his Church, written in the time of Persecution. *S. Jerom* attributes to *Novatian* a Letter concerning *Jewish Meats*, which in all probability is this very Treatise that bears the same Title.

There is likewise attributed to Tertullian, a Book concerning the *Trinity*, which is none of his: For besides the difference of the Style, that Author mentions the Heresie of *Sabellius*, which was after Tertullian's time. *S. Jerom* observes, that *Novatian* writ a Book of the *Trinity*, wherein he had made an Abridgment of Tertullian's Book; and he adds, that several Persons attributed *Novatian's* Book to *S. Cyprian*. The Book of the *Trinity*, whereof we speak, might possibly be this Abridgment of *Novatian*, especially since *Ruffinus* observes, that *Novatian's* Book was corrupted by the *Macedonians*, which agrees with this Treatise whereof we speak, in which there are Errors concerning the Divinity of the Holy-Ghost.

There pass also under Tertullian's Name several Poems, which are no more his, than they are *Virgil's* or *Homers*: The Poem called *Genesii*, seems to be that which *Gennadius* attributes to *Salvian* Bishop of *Marcellis*¹, that concerning the *Judgment of God* was, perhaps, composed by *Verecundus*² an African Bishop, mentioned by *Isidore Hispalensis*, in the seventh Chapter of his first Book of *Illustrious Men*. In the Poem against *Marcion*³, there are some Opinions different from those of Tertullian. There is likewise a Poem to a Senator in *Pomelin's* Edition, one of *Sodom*, and one of *Jonas* and *Ninive* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, of which we do not know the Authors; the first is ancient, and the other two seem to be written by the same Author. Besides, *S. Jerom* affirms, that Tertullian writ several other Treatises, which were lost in his time, and amongst others, a Book of the *Habits of Aaron*, whereof this Father speaks in his Letter to *Fabiola*. He quotes likewise a Book of the *Circumcision*, another Of those Creatures that are Clean, and of such as are Unclean, a Book concerning *Exsthes*, and another against *Apollonius*; Tertullian himself cites several other Treatises of his own composing, as in his Book Of the *Soul*, a Discourse concerning *Paradise*, and in his Book Of the *Tribunary of the Soul*, chap. 2. a Discourse Of *Destiny*; and in another place, a Book concerning the *Hops of the Faithful*, and another against *Apelles*. He had also composed a former Work against *Marcion*, which being lost in his own time, he was obliged to write a new one. Lastly, he wrote the Discourses Of *Baptism*, Of *Publick Sights* and *Spectacles*, and that wherein he proves, *That Virgins ought to be veild*, in Greek.

But we have laid enough of Tertullian's Works as to what relates to Criticism and Chronology, we will now look upon them with relation to what they contain. And considering them thus, we may

^{ad} About the Year 213.] *Severus*, says he, the Father of *Antoninus*, had some regard for the Christians.

¹ The two Books to the Nations composed about the same time.] In the First Book, Chap. 17, he alludes to the Titles of *Antoninus Caracalla*, who caused himself to be called *Parthicus* and *Germanicus*; and in the same place, Chap. 9, he says, That there was not yet elapsed 300 Years from the Death of Jesus Christ to his own time, which shews, that the Third Age was then already advanced. Besides, that these Books were written since his *Apology*, which is the Subject of this, and which he here enlarges, and polishes, and puts into order in these two Books, wherein we may find several Phrases and Expressions taken from the Books which he wrote after he was a *Montanist*.

² Which *Gennadius* Bishop of *Marcellis* attributes to *Salvian*.] In Catalog. cap. 67. In morem *Græcorum* principis *Gensii* aliqui ad conditionem *Novatii* composuisti versu Hexametro. This is true of that Poem ascribed to Tertullian.

³ Perhaps that which was composed by *Verecundus*.] *Isidore de Viris illustribus*, cap. 7. *Verecundus Africanus*

Episcopus studii liberalium Literarum disertus edidit carmine distyli, duo medicos, brevesque libellos, quorum primus de resurrectione, & judicio scripsit, alterum de venientia. The Poem concerning *Judgment* is also concerning the *Resurrection*. *Carles* says, that he had seen the Poem concerning *Pemete*, and he repeats the first Verse of it, which is written after the same manner as the beginning of this Poem concerning *Judgment*; but yet there are some Passages, which seem to come from a later Author than *Verecundus*, who, as it is believed, lived in the Fifth Century.

⁴ In the Poem against *Marcion*.] Tertullian, in his Book *De Animâ*, chap. 57, says, that it was not the Soul of *Samuel*, but only a Phantasm, which the Witch raised up; and the Author of the Poem in his third Book supposes, that it was *Samuel* himself that was raised, to acquaint *Saul* what was to befall him. Tertullian, in his Book of *Prescriptions*, makes *S. Clement* to succeed *S. Peter*; but this Author places him the Fourth, making two Popes of *Cletus* and *Anacleus*.

distinguish them into three Classes: The first, comprizing those which were written against the *Hereticks*. The second, those which were made against *Hereticks*. And the third, those which relate to *Discipline and Manners*. The first Book of this first Class is his *Apology against the Gentiles*, wherein he shews the Injustice of those Persecutions and Sufferings which they inflicted on the Christians, and the Falshood of those Accusations which were laid to their Charge; and at the same time proves the Excellency of their Religion, and the Folly of that of the Heathens. He begins, by shewing that there is nothing more unjust or opposite to the very intent and design of Laws, than to Condemn without Understanding, and to Punish without considering whether there be any just Ground for such a Condemnation. And yet that this is put in practise every day against the Christians, that they are Hated, Condemned, and Punished, merely upon the account of their being Christians, without ever considering or giving themselves the trouble to be informed what it is to be a Christian. That there are indeed some Laws made by the Emperors, which forbid Men to be Christians, but that these Laws are Unjust, subject to Alteration, made by Evil Emperors, and contrary to the Opinions of the Justest and Wisest amongst them. He afterwards confutes the Calumnies which were spread abroad against the Christians, as that they used in their Night-Meetings to cut a Child's Throat, and to devour it, and that after they had put out the Candles, they had filthy and abominable Conversations amongst themselves. He shews, that there is not only so much as the least Proof of these Crimes alleged against them, but that their Life, their Manners, and the Principles of their Religion, were directly opposite to these Abominations. 'We are, *says he*, better daily, we are continually betrayed, 'we are very often surprised and oppressed, even in the very time of our Meetings; But did they 'ever find this Child dead, or a dying? Was there ever any one that could be a Witness of these Crimes? Has ever any one of those who have betrayed us discovered these things? Besides, he presses the Heathens further, by shewing that these Crimes were frequently committed amongst themselves, that they have slain Children in Africa in Honour of *Saturn*, and that they have sacrificed Men in other places, that their Gods have been guilty of a thousand shameful and abominable Practices; whereas the Christians are so far from killing a Child, and drinking its Blood, that they do not so much as eat the Flesh of those Beasts that have been strangled, and that they are such inveterate Enemies to all kind of Insects, that there are several amongst them who preserve their Virginity all their Lives. After having thus confuted those Calumnies which were set on foot, on purpose to render the Christians odious; he gives an Answer to that Objection which was made to them, That they did not own the *Pagan* Deities, and that they did not offer up Sacrifices to them for the Prosperity of their Emperors; from whence they concluded, that they were guilty of Sacrilege and Treason. He answers in a word, that the Christians did not pay any Honour to the Gods of the Heathens, because they were not true Gods, and he appeals, for a Testimony of this, to the Consciences of the wisest of the Heathens themselves. He evidently demonstrates, that their pretended Gods were Men, and for the most part Criminals, that were dead, and that their Images cannot be Adored without the greatest Folly and Madness in the World, that even the Wisest of the Heathens despised them. He occasionally confutes what has been objected by some to the Christians, that they worshipped an Asses Head, and adored Crosses. And from thence he takes occasion to explain the Doctrine of the Christians. 'We Adore, *says he*, One only God, the Creator of the World, who 'is Invisible and Incomprehensible, who will recompence Good Men with Everlasting Life, and 'Punish Wicked Men with Eternal Torments, after he has raised them from the Dead. He proves this Truth by the whole Creation, which he evidently demonstrates that there is a God: 'That it 'is, *says he*, the greatest Wickedness that can possibly be conceived, not to acknowledge him, of whom 'tis impossible that we can be ignorant, even by the very Dictates which Nature inspires into all Men, which oftentimes cause them to Invoke the True God, as when we say, *If God thinks good, 'if God pleases, God sees us*, and the like. And *this he calls*, The Testimony of a Soul that is naturally Christian: *Testimonium Anime naturaliter Christiana*. Lastly, by the Antiquity of the Books of *Moses*, which are more ancient than all the Writings of the *Greeks*, and by the Authority of the Prophets, who foretold those Things that were to come to pass. Then after having proved the Unity of God, which the Jews acknowledge as well as the Christians, he goes on to that Faith of Jesus Christ, which is peculiar to the Christians: He says, that the Christians do not look upon him as a mere Man, but as God, who is the WORD of God, begotten of the same Substance, that he is thus God and the Son of God, and that his Father and He are One; that the WORD coming down into the Womb of a Virgin, (as was formerly foretold) took Flesh upon him, and was born God-Man: He only desires them to consider it as a Fable like theirs till he has proved it by Invincible Arguments: Which he presently does by the Authority of the Prophets, who have plainly foretold Jesus Christ by the Miracles which he wrought, by that extraordinary Eclipse which happened at his Death, that is taken notice of in the very Records of the Heathens; and lastly, by his Miraculous Resurrection. 'And all these Things, *says he*, are Authorized by the Testimony of *Pilate*, who being already a Christian in his Heart, wrote them to *Tiberius Caesar*, and the *Caesars* had 'then been Christians, if it had been possible either that the World could subsist without Emperors, 'or that the Emperors could be Christians. He adds to these Proofs, that of the Establishment of the Church notwithstanding Persecutions; and that which may be drawn from the Confession of the Heathen Gods, that it is to say, the *Demons* who submitted themselves to *Jesus Christ*, and were against their wills driven out of the Bodies of those that were Possessed only by the Name of *Jesus Christ*. And here he makes a Digression, to prove, that the *Romans* owed not their Greatness and Prosperity to their Gods; from whence he concludes, that the Christians are not guilty of Treason, since

since the Gods, whom they will not own, have not any Power to Succour and Preserve the Emperors. 'But, *says he*, we Invoke for their Prosperity the Eternal, the True, and the Living God, 'who gave them their Life and their Empire, who alone has power over them, and who alone is 'above them; and after whom they are the Chiefest. They are Great, only because they acknowledge themselves Inferior to him, *Ideo magnus est, quia Caelo minor est*. 'Tis this God to whom the Christians pray with their whole Hearts, for all the Emperors, that he would grant them a long Life, a peaceable Reign, a faithful Council, valiant Soldiers, an obedient People, and in a word, all that a Man and an Emperor can possibly desire. He adds, that the Christians have greater Obligations upon them for the Performance of this, than other Men. First, because the Holy Scripture enjoins them to it; and Secondly, because being persuaded that the World should end together with the *Roman* Empire, they desired to retard those Calamities which were to happen at the end of all Things, by praying for the Preservation of the Empire. That it is true, that the Christians do not swear by the *Genii* of the *Caesars*, nor by their *Health*, which is more precious than those *Genii* who are only *Demons*, and that they do not Solemnize the Festivals of the Emperors, but that this is only fear of falling into Idolatry. That in other things they are more Obedient, and better Subjects than other Men, though they have the Power in their hands, if they had a mind to defend themselves. 'We have been, *says he*, but a little time in the World, yet we are to be met with in all places; you may find us in the Cities, in the Villages, in the Armies, in the Courts of Justice, in the Senate, and in the Markers. We have left you your Temples alone to your selves. What Wars might not we be capable of Undertaking? And with what Resolution might not we carry them on, 'though we had not near so many Troops as you; we, who die daily with so much Joy, were it 'not a Law amongst us to suffer our selves rather to be killed, than to kill others. *Si non apud istam 'Disciplinam magis liceret occidi quam occidere*. But how could the Heathens object, That the difference of Religion could cause any disturbance in the Commonwealth, or make Parties and Factions? He says, that the Christians have no Ambition, nor Pretensions in this World, as they are Christians, are so far from forming any Parties against the Government, that they think upon nothing less than State-Affairs. And that he might persuade the whole World of this Truth, he describes the Christian who he makes of the Christians of his time, and of their Assemblies. 'We make up, *says he*, a Body that is united by the Bond of the same Religion, the same Discipline, and the same Hope: 'We assemble our selves, and compose, if I may so say, a Body of an Army, to force Heaven by our Prayers, and this Violence is very acceptable to God. We pray not only for our selves, but also for the Emperors; for their Ministers, for the Magistrates, for the good of the State; for the Peace and Quietness of the Empire; and lastly, for the retarding of the end of the World. Besides, we assemble our selves to Read the Holy Scriptures according to our different Wants and Necessities, for our Instruction, and Information in our Duty. These Sacred Oracles are of signal Use for the preserving our Faith, the confirming our Hope, and the regulating our Manners, by the Meditation upon its Precepts. And 'tis in these Assemblies that the necessary Exhortations and Reproofs are to be expected. The Judgments which are there delivered, are given with all the Equity and Circumspection imaginable; because those who pass Judgment are verily persuaded, that Almighty God takes notice of them. Their Censures are all Divine, and 'tis a great Presumption of God's future Judgment against any One, when he has committed any Sin, for which he deserves to be separated from the Communion of Bread, and from Prayer, and the Assembly of the Faithful; and in a word, to be deprived of all manner of Communion of holy Things. Those who prebide amongst us, are the most Ancient, and such whose Probity is very well known; and this Honour is not to be purchased for Money, but it is bestowed upon pure Virtue, for all those Concerns which relate to God, are not to be valued at a Price. If we have any kind of Treasure, it is not to be look'd upon as a Blessing that is in any ways dishonourable to our Religion, as if it was to be purchased upon any account. Every one contributes according to his Ability what Alms he pleases, and when he pleases, which yet is commonly done Monthly. None are compelled; every one gives freely what he will. These Contributions are the Contributions of Piety, for we do not employ them in making merry Meetings, or in other unnecessary Expenses: But to maintain and bury Orphans, and poor People, to relieve old Men and infirm Persons, to assist the Faithful who are exiled into the Islands, or condemned to work in the Mines, or confined in Prison, for having embraced the Faith of Jesus Christ. We all call our selves Brethren, not only because we are all Brethren by the Right of Nature, but because we all acknowledge One and the same God for our Father, because we have all one and the same Spirit which sanctifies us: And lastly, because all things are common among us, but our Women. Our Feasts are called *Agape*, that is to say, Entertainments of Love and Charity. They were not instituted for debauched Parasites, but for the Entertainment of the Poor, being assured that God has a more especial Regard for them. And if the Reason of the Institution of these Feasts is wholly Sacred, the Consequences of them are equally so. There is nothing here to be seen, that is in any way contrary to Civility and Modesty. They do not sit down at Table, till they have refreshed and nourished the Soul by Prayer, they eat no more than what is necessary to suffice Nature, and they drink no more than what is fitting and convenient for chaste and regular Persons; they take care not to glut themselves, so as to hinder their rising in the night to worship God. They discourse of such things as are profitable, because they look upon themselves, as in the Presence of God, who is a Witness of every thing that we say. The Supper is concluded with Prayer, and they do not break up in a Tumult or Disorder; but they retire regularly and with great modesty, as it is not hard for

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such Persons to do, who take greater care to nourish their Souls, with that holy Discipline, in which they are instructed, than their Bodies with the Victuals which they eat. After having thus described the Assemblies of the Christians, he shews, that those Calamities and Misfortunes which happen in the World, are unjustly attributed to them, as if they were the cause of them. He maintains, that 'tis these the Men who divert and prevent them, and that they are very far from being any ways the occasion of attracting them. He concludes, by proving that we admire those Virtues in the Philosophers, which are discernible in a much more excellent and higher Degree in the Christians.

The *Two Books to the Nations* are almost of the very same Subject with the Apology. And Tertullian repeats therein the greatest part of the things which he had laid before in his Apology, but he puts them in another Order, explaining and enlarging upon them: So that the difference between these two Books is this, that the first is written with Heat, and without much Study; and the second is a Methodical Treatise, and composed with great Consideration. The *Second Book to the Nations* was written against the false Gods of the Heathens, wherein he gave an exact Account of the Deities of the several profane Religions, and shewed how exceedingly foolish a thing it is to own them; but this Book is so imperfect, and there is so little Coherence in all that we have extant of it, that it cannot be of any great advantage to us.

In the Book of *The Testimony of the Soul*, he enlarges upon one Proof for Religion, which he had advanced before in his Apology, that the Soul does naturally, and even against its will, acknowledge, that there is but one God, and that there is another Life after this. He proves it by those Notions which Nature hath inspired into us, and which are so deeply engraven in our Minds, that nothing is able to efface them: So that they often come from a Man, when he thinks of them the least. As when one says without any reflection, *God grant it, what pleases God, God help me, good God, &c.* Expressions that manifestly suppose, that the Soul is penetrated with the knowledge of a God, as the Fear which we naturally have of Death, the desire of leaving behind us a Name to Posterity, and that Compassion which we have for the Dead do evidently suppose, that there is another Life after this. Now these Notions being natural to the Soul, and to be found in every Body, it must necessarily follow, that they come from God. And this is the Subject which Tertullian enlarges upon very ingeniously in this little Treatise.

The Book to *Scapula*, was composed to dissuade the Governour of *Africa* from the Persecution which he had raised against the Christians. He begins, by representing to him, that the Christians rather wished for Martyrdom, than feared it; and that therefore it was not out of any Apprehension he had of them, that induced him to direct this Discourse to him, but the earnest Desire which he had for the Salvation of the Heathens, because the Religion of the Christians obliges them to love their Enemies, and to endeavour to convert them from the Error wherein they are at present. He afterwards tells him, that the Christians adore that God whom Mankind knows by Nature; he represents to him, that it ought to be left to the free Direction of Men to embrace that Religion, which seems to them to be most agreeable to Truth: That another Man's Religion does neither hurt nor good to any body: That it is not an Act of Religion to constrain Men to embrace a Religion, which they ought to choose voluntarily. *Non est Religioni cogere Religionem, quæ sponte suscipi debet, non vi.* He adds, that the Life of Christians is unblameable; that they pay an entire Obedience to the Emperors; that they were never found engaged in a Party with the Rebels. They are, *lays he*, Enemies to no Man, and

'least of all to the Emperor, very well knowing, that it is their God who has established him, they love, honour, and respect him, most heartily wishing his Preservation, and that of the Empire, as 'as love as the World shall continue; We therefore honour the Emperor after that manner, which is lawful for us, and which only can be of advantage to him; that is to say, as a Man who is next 'under God, and who has received from God every thing that he has. We likewise offer Sacrifices 'for his safety, but they are the Sacrifices of Prayer: For God does not stand in need of Incense, 'nor of the Blood of Victims. After having thus vindicated the Christians from the Crime of High-Treason, he dissuades *Scapula* from the Persecution against Christians, by the Examples of those who have been punished for persecuting of them, and likewise by the Examples of those who have had so much moderation, as to permit them to enjoy their Liberty and Tranquility. And these are the Books written by Tertullian, in defence of the Christian Religion against the Gentiles.

There is but one Book of his against the Jews, wherein, First, he proves, that the Law of *Moses*, and its Ceremonies, were established but for a time, and that they were to cease at the coming of *Jesus Christ*. And Secondly, that the Messiah expected by the Jews, and foretold by the Prophets is already come, and that this is *Jesus Christ*. Which he evidently makes out from the Prophets, who foretold the time of his Coming, and the circumstances of his Life and Death. He observes, that the Original of the Jews mistake arose from their confounding his last Coming, wherein he will appear in great Power and Glory, with his first Coming, wherein he was seen in great Humility, and took upon him the mean Condition of other Men.

Although the Book of *Prescriptions* against the Hereticks is not, in the order of Time, the first that Tertullian has written against them, yet it is so, as to the Order of the Matters which it contains; because it is designed against all Heresies in general, whereas the others are only against some particular Heresie. This Book is entituled, *Of Prescriptions*, or rather, *Of Prescription against the Hereticks*; because herein he shews, that their Doctrine is not to be admitted by reason of its Novelty. Before he enters upon the Matter, he endeavours to obviate the Scandal of those, who

admire,

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admire, how there could be any Heresies in the World, how they could have been so great and so powerful, and how it comes to pass, that so many considerable Persons in the Church, have been seduced to embrace them, by shewing that Heresies have been foretold, that they are necessary Evils for the Tryal of our Faith, and that we must not judge of Faith by Persons, but of Persons by their Faith; *Ex personis probamus fidem, an ex fide personas*. After having given this necessary Caution, he lays down the first Principle of Prescription: "We are not allowed, says he, to introduce any thing "that is new in Religion, nor to chuse by our selves, what another has invented. We have the Apostles of our Lord for Founders, who were not themselves the Inventors, and Authors of what they have left us; but they have faithfully taught the World the Doctrine which they received from Jesus Christ. Heresies have risen from Philosophy and humane Wildom, which is quite different from the Spirit of Christianity. We are not allowed to entertain our Curiosity, nor to enquire after any thing that is beyond what we have been taught by Jesus Christ and his Gospel, *Nobis curiositate opus non est post Christum Jesum, nec inquisitione post Evangelium*. And when we have once believed, we are to give credit to nothing any farther than as we have already believed. And here it is, that he Answers the Objection of the Hereticks, who urged this Passage of Scripture, *Seek and ye shall find*: by telling us, that it is not permitted to seek when we have once found, that it would be a Labour to no purpose, to seek for Truth among all the Heresies; and lastly, that if it be permitted to seek, it is after having admitted the Rule, that is to say, the principal Articles of Faith, which are contained in the Creed. But as the Hereticks did often alledge the Holy Scripture, in Defence of themselves; he proves that the Church was not obliged to enter into a Discussion of those Passages which they quoted; that this way of confuting them is very tedious, and difficult, because they do not acknowledge all the Books of the Scriptures, or else they corrupt them, or put a false Interpretation upon them; which renders the Victory that is to be obtained over them uncertain and difficult. He says then, that it is to better purpose to understand perfectly, who it is, that is in Possession of the Faith of Jesus Christ; who those Persons are, to whom the Scriptures were committed in Trust; and who are the first Authors who have given an Account of our Religion. He goes back even to Jesus Christ, who is the Source and Original of this Religion, and to the Apostles who received it from him. He shews that it is impossible, that the Apostles should preach any other Doctrine, than that of Jesus Christ, and that all the Apostolical Churches should embrace any other Faith, than that which the Apostles had delivered to them; from whence he concludes, that it must of necessity follow, that that Doctrine, which is Conformable to that, which is found to be the Faith of all the Churches, must be that which was taught by Jesus Christ: and that on the contrary, that that which is opposite thereto, must be a Novel Doctrine. He farther confounds the Hereticks by Christ, and by consequence that alone is true, and that, that on the contrary, which had not any Date till after his Ascension, must be false and supposititious. Having laid down this infallible Rule, he proves the Doctrine of the Hereticks to be of a later Date than that of the Church, because the Authors of the Heresies were after the Establishment of the Church, from which they have separated themselves. That the several Sects of the Hereticks cannot reckon their Original from the time of the Apostles, nor shew a Succession of Bishops, from their Times, as the Apostolical Churches can, with whom they do not communicate. That though they could pretend to such a Succession, yet the Novelty of being Cheats and Impostors, and that what they have added, taken away, or changed in the Books of the Holy Scripture, does farther discover, that they invented their Doctrine after these Books were composed. That lastly, their Discipline and Conduct, which is absolutely Humane, and Earthly, without Order, and without Rule, renders them every way contemptible. I have exactly set down the Reasonings of Tertullian in this Work; because, as he himself observes, they are not only proper to confute the Heresies that were in his Time, but also to disprove all those that spring afterwards, or that should arise hereafter, even to the end of the Church.

I shall not enlarge so much upon the Works which were written against those Heresies which we now extind. The most considerable, is, that which he composed against *Marcion*, which is divided into *Five Books*. This Heretic maintained that there were two Principles, or two Gods; the one Good, and the other Evil; The one Perfect, and the other Imperfect; that this last is the God whom the Jews worship, who created the World, and delivered the Law to *Moses*; whereas the first the Father of Jesus Christ, whom he sent to destroy the Works of the Evil One; that is to say, the Law and the Prophets, which *Marcion* rejected. He affirmed likewise, that Jesus Christ was not clothed with true Flesh. And by consequence, that he did not suffer really, but only in appearance. These are the Errors which Tertullian confutes in this Work. In the First Book, he shews that the unknown God of *Marcion*, is only a Fantastical and Imaginary Being. In the Second he proves that, that God the Creator of the World, whom the Jews worshipped, is the Only true God, and the Author of all Good. After having demonstrated this Truth by invincible Arguments, he resolves those difficulties which are raised by the *Marcionites* against God's Conduct in the Old Testament. He examines for Example, Why he has permitted Sin? Why he suffers Sinners? Why he punishes Men so severely, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, who is the Creator of the World, and the Author of the Law, that he has been foretold by the Prophets, and that he took upon him true Flesh, by taking upon him our Nature. In the Fourth Book he shews, that it is the same God, both in the Old and the New Testament. He reconciles the pretended Contradictions alledged by *Marcion*, and shews

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that the whole Life of Jesus Christ was foretold, and figured in the Old Testament. That Jesus Christ has explained and confirmed the Prophets, and perfected the Precepts of the Law. In a word, he proves at the end of this Book, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, the Creator of the World, by his own Doctrine, by his Inimitables, by his Virtues, by his Omnipotence, by his Omnipresence, by the Doctrine of the Prophets, by his own Doctrine, by his Inimitables, by his Virtues, by his Omnipotence, and lastly, by his Resurrection. In the Last Book, he shews from the Epistles of St. Paul, that Jesus Christ is the same God, that is preached both in the Old, and in the New Testament, and that Jesus Christ is the Son of the Creator of the World. There are in this Book two difficult Passages concerning the Eucharist, which have given Subject to very great Disputes; of which I shall not speak in this Place, contenting my self to refer the Reader to those, who have discoursed of them at large, that so I may pass on to the other Works of Tertullian.

View of God against Marcion, he defends the Trinity of Persons against

After having maintained the Unity of God against Marcion, he defends the Trinity of Persons againſt Praxeas. This Heretic came from Affia, to diffufe the Poiſon of his Error in Rome; he was num- rally of a very unquiet and uneafe Temper, and befides was vainly puffed up with the falfe Opinion of being a Martyr, which Equality he took upon him, becauſe he was for a ſhort time imprifoned for the Faith. Being come to Rome, under the Pontificate of Vittor, he prevented this Pope from acknowl- ledging the New Prophecies of Montanus, beſides he made him, if we believe Tertullian, revoke what he had ſaid concerning them. He began to divulge his Hereti- Communicatory Letters which he had granted to the Montaniſts. He begun to divulge his Hereti- cally, by a Catholik (which without doubt muſt be Tertullian) and obliged to put down his Writing a Recantation of his Error. So after he had concealed his Doctrine for ſome time, he pub- liſhed it anew, and Tertullian, who had ſuffered him before, whitt he was yet a Catholic, wronght him, after he fell into the Error of the Montaniſts. He eſta bliſhes in this Book, the Diſtinguiſhment of the WORD, making no Diſtinction between the Father and the Son, and by conſequene maintained, that the Father made himſelf Man, and ſuffered for Us. Tertullian oppoſes to him the Rule of Faith, which obliges us to acknowledge only one God in three Perſons, which are all Three of the ſame Subſtance, and have all one and the ſame Power, and that it was the Perion of the Son, who was incarnate, and dyed for Us. He ſhews that this Trinity of Perſons, does no ways prejudice the Unity of the Godhead, as the Unity of the Godhead does no ways hinder the Trinity of Perſons. That the Son is of the Subſtance of the Father, and that the Holy Ghoſt proceeds from the Father by the Son. That the WORD which was front all Eternity in God, and who did, as it were, come out of him to create and govern the World, as a Perſon ſubſiſting, who nevertheless has not a different Sub- ſtance from that of the Father, so that it does not follow from hence, that we believe two Gods, and two Lords; that it is the Son, and not the Father, who made himſelf Man, without ceasing to be God, and that the Properties of humane Nature, are only to be found in Jeſus Chriſt. In a Word, he ex- plains very handſomely in this Treatiſe, the Faith of the Church, concerning the Myſteries of the Tri- nity and the Incarnation. It muſt be owned, that in ſome Places he expreſſes himſelf after a manner very and the Incarnation. It muſt be owned, that in ſome Places he expreſſes himſelf after a maner not very agreeable to what has been uſed in the following Ages. But we muſt pardon the kind of Expreſſions in the Ancients, who wrote before thoſe Terms, which they made uſe of, was fixt and limited to a certain Senſe.

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But it is a difficult Matter to excuse him, where he seems to assert, as well in this Book, as in other Places of his Works, that God had a Body, or rather that he was Corporeal. Yet there are some Authors that vindicate him from this Error, and that has occasioned a Question, which is so common, and if I may say it, so trivial, that I do not think it necessary to say any thing of it in this Place.

Hermogenes was another African Heretick, who maintained that Matter was Eternal, and that God did not create it when he made the World, but that he only made use thereof, to form things as we see. He sucked this Error from the Philosophy of the Stoicks, and defended it by Syllogisms connected according to their Methods of Reasoning, which made *Tertullian* say in the Treatise which

ii He expresses himself after such a manner as is not very agreeable to that which has been made use of in the following Age.] He says first, that the **WORD** was begotten of the Father, when God created the World; but he acknowledges at the same time, that he was in God, and a Person distinct from the Father from all Eternity. And to the whole Ambiguity lies in the Term *Generation*, which he does not understand of the Eternal Production of the Son, but of a certain Prolation or Emission without, which he supposes was done at the Instant of the Creation of the World, because it is by the **WORD** that God Created it, and death must govern it. And this appears evidently in *Tertullian's* Book, and we ought not to wonder, if in his Book against *Hieronymus*, he says, that there was a certain time, when the Father was not the Father, and when he began to be the Son, because he believed that he had not the **Quintessence** and Name of Son, till this **World** was Created.

though he was in God before, and distinguished from the Father, even at Eternity. Secondly, he says that the Father is invisible, and the Son visible; and that the Son is made manifest to the world, and that the Son, who has always regarded himself with love as inferior to the Father, has now appeared to men, by taking several Forms, under which he has appeared to them; and lastly; by making himself Man. Thirdly, He seems in some Places to be inferior to the Father; but this arises only from the Word of an Inferiority, which the Father has made use of, original, that is to say, (as he explains it himself) because he has received it from the Father, for he says expressly in several places, that the Father and the Son are of the same Substance. Fourthly, he sometimes makes use of the Word *Subjection*, *relative to the Person Subjunct*, which is an *unfailing thing* among the Ancients before the Council of *Nice*, and even amongst some of them after it.

he compos'd against him, that the Philosophers were the Patriarchs of the Hereticks. He there discovers the Fallacies of the Sophisms of this Heretick, and shews that our Religion teaches us, that God created even that Matter, whereof he made the World.

God created even that matter, whether he made it or no.

The Book again the *Valentinians*, is rather a Satyr and Railleury, than a serious Confutation of the Extravagant Sentiments of these Hereticks. *Valentinus*, the first Author of this Sect, separated from the Church out of spite, being hoping to be Elected a Bishop, by reason of his Wit and Eloquence, he was put by to prefer another Person, who had suffered for the Faith of Jesus Christ in times of Persecution. After he had separated from the Church, he invented, or rather revived an old Opinion according to the Principles of which, he feigned a Succession, and imaginary Generation of a kind of Deities. His Disciples refined upon his Notion, and formed quite different Systems. But as all these Fancies were impertinent and ridiculous, so they took great Care to conceal them, lest if they should discover them, all the World should be presently sensible of their Extravagancy: 'Tis this which *Tertullian* upbraids them with: "If you teach the Truth, *says* he to them, why don't you shew it? it is? It persuades by teaching, and it teaches by perswading; it is not ashamed of shewing it self; or the contrary, 'tis ashamed of nothing, but of being concealed. You reproach us for our Simplicity; it is true, we love it, because it is by this means, that we know, and make known the Will of God." But 'tis no wonder that the Hereticks should blame this Simplicity, and should so carefully conceal their Principles; for they were so extravagant, that the bare Discovering of them would be sufficient to render them ridiculous: 'Tis this which *Tertullian* does in this Work: "I undertake, *says* he in this Book, to discover to the Eyes of all Men, the hidden Mytery; but though I profess to relate the Opinions of these Hereticks, without making a particular Confutation, yet I hope I shall be pardoned, if I cannot forbear censuring them in some Places. What I do is nothing but a Sport before a real Combat, I shall rather shew them where I could strike them, than lay them on." But if there are found some Passages that may excite Laughter, 'tis because the very Subject causes it. There are many things which deserve to be jeered and ridiculed at this rate, lest if we should confute them seriously, we should seem to lay too great Strefs upon them. Nothing is more due to Vanity than Laughter, and to Laugh, does properly belong to the Truth, because it is pleasant; and to Sport with its Enemies, because it is certain of the Victory.

And these are all the Books which are particularly against the Hereticks; there are others, in which *Tertullian* likewise confutes some Errors, and defends some Catholick Truths, though they were not written against any Hereticks in particular. Such are the following Books.

The Book of the *Fleſh of Jeſus Chriſt*. wherein he proves againſt the Hereticks *Marciom*, *Apelles*, and *Valentinus*, that Jeſus Chriſt took upon him true *Fleſh*, like to ours, in the Womb of the Virgin.

The Title alone of the Book of the *Resurrection of the Flesh*, is enough to discover, that it was written against the *Sadducees*, and against the Hereticks who denied the Resurrection.

The *Scorpius*, so called, because it is a Remedy against the Poison of Hereticks, like *Scorpions*, defends the Necessity and Excellency of Martyrdom against the *Gnosticks*.

The *Book of the Soul*, written against the Opinions of the Philosophers, and the Hereticks, treats at large of the Nature of the Soul, and its Qualities. But it is full of false Principles and Errors. He pretends that the Soul is Corporeal, and that it takes a certain Form of a Body, though it be invisible; he confutes the Opinion of *Plato*, concerning Reminiscence, or the Faculty of Remembering; and *Pythagoras's* Transmigration; he affirms, that the Soul does not come from Heaven, but that it is formed with the Body, and that as the Body of the Parents produces a Body, to their Soul produces a Soul. That all Souls, and even those of the Martyrs, which some have excepted, are disposed of after Death, in a certain Subterranean Place, where they receive Refreshment, and Torment, according to the Good or Evil which they have done: And that they expect the Resurrection, and the Day of Judgment, which will render them entirely happy, or entirely Miserable to all Eternity. There are likewise in this Treatise, some other particular Opinions; as for Instance, that the Soul and Breath are the same thing; that that which is unreasonab in the Soul, comes from the Devil; that every Soul has its *Demon*; that all Dreams are not vain.

The Book of *Baptism* is divided into two Parts; the First relating to *Doctrines*, and the Second to *Discipline*. In the First he defends the Necessity and Efficacy of the Sacrament of *Baptism* against the Heretics called *Catharites*; he proves that the Waters of *Baptism* do procure to us Forgiveness of our Sins, and of the Punishment which they deserve. "What can there be, *says he*, more miraculous, than to see that by washing the Body by an external *Baptism*, we efface at the same time, the Moral Stain of the Soul, and when that Stain is once taken away, the Punishment is likewise remitted to us? He afterwards discourses of the Imposition of Hands, and of the *Unction* which followed after *Baptism*, to make the *Holy Ghost* descend upon the Faithful, and to draw down upon them the Blessings of Heaven. We do not receive, *says he*, the Fulness of the *Holy Ghost* by Water; but it prepares us for receiving it by washing us from our Sins. And as *St. John* prepared the Way of the Lord, so the Angel which is present in *Baptism*, prepares the Way for the *Holy Ghost*, by the Abolition of our Sins, which we obtain by Faith, which is confirmed and sealed by the Invocation of the Father, Son, and *Holy Ghost*. When we come out of the Font we are anointed with this *Unction*, which is performed on our Flesh, is profitable to our Soul, as external *Baptism* has a spiritual Effect, which is to deliver us from our Sins. Afterwards, there is the Laying on of Hands, to draw upon us the *Holy Ghost*, and this most *Holy Spirit* descends voluntarily from Heaven, into purified and blessed Bodies. In the Second Part, he discourses of several Questions

concern-

concerning Baptism, which relate to Discipline. The first is concerning the Baptism of St. John, whether it were from Heaven, or from Earth? He says, that it was from Heaven, because it was ordained by Heaven: However, that it did not bestow any thing that was Heavenly, but that it made way for Heavenly things, by bringing us to Repentance; and that it neither conferred the Holy Ghost, nor Remission of Sins. The Second, is concerning the Necessity of Baptism, upon which he starts a considerable Objection, taken from what there might seem that the Apostles, of whose Salvation no doubt can be made, were never Baptized. To this he Answers, That possibly they might have been Baptized, though we find no mention of it; and in the Second place, that that Familiarity which they had with Jesus Christ, the Greatness of their Faith, and the Ardency of their Charity, might supply in them the Defect of Baptism, since Jesus Christ has promised the Remission of Sins, and Salvation to those Persons who had Faith, though they were not Baptized. That nevertheless, there is no doubt to be made, but that at present, Baptism is necessary to Salvation, and that though formerly a Man might be saved only by Faith in one God, yet that now we must believe in Jesus Christ, and that it was necessary, that this Faith should be sealed by Baptism, that Jesus Christ had made a Law for it, and prescribed the Manner, saying, *Go and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* And that this Sentence of the Gospel: *If a Man be not born again of Water, and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven,* does invincibly establish the Necessity of Baptism.

The Third Question is, Whether one may Baptize more than once? He says expressly, that there is but one Baptism, that it never ought to be reiterated. He excepts however the Baptism of Heretics; *Who, says he, are not able to give it, because they have it not. And therefore it is that we have a Rule among us to Re-baptize them.* He adds, that Martyrdom is a kind of Second Baptism, which is instead of the Baptism of Water, when any Person has not received it, and which repairs it, when that Grace is lost, which it conferred.

The Fourth Question, is concerning the Minister of Baptism: He says, the Bishop has Power of Administering it, and after him the Priests and Deacons; nevertheless, with his Permission, to let a higher Value on the Priesthood. That in Case of Necessity, any Man may administer it, and that we should be Guilty of the Loss of a Soul, if we did not afford it that Grace, whereby it may be saved; there are none but Women, to whom he seems absolutely to prohibit the Administering of Baptism, in any Circumstance whatsoever.

The Fifth Reflection, is concerning the Condition of those who are to receive Baptism. He says, that it is not to be Administered rashly, and that it is good sometimes to put some Stop to it, that those who receive it may be the better disposed. He would chiefly have this Discipline observed in respect to Infants, and though he supposes that they are capable of receiving Baptism, yet he will not allow them to be Baptized without Necessity. "What Necessity is there, says he, to expose God-fathers to the Hazard of Answering for those whom they hold at the Founts; since they may be prevented by Death, from being able to perform those Promises which they have made for the Children, or else may be disappointed by their Evil Inclinations. Jesus Christ says, indeed, *Hinder not little Children from coming to me*; but that they should come to him as soon as they are advanced in Years, as soon as they have learnt their Religion, when they may be taught whether they are going, when they are become Christians, when they begin to be able to know Jesus Christ. What is there that should compel this innocent Age to receive Baptism? And since they are not yet allowed the Disposal of Temporal Goods, is it reasonable that they should be entrusted with the Concerns of Heaven? For the same Reason, he farther says, it is proper to make those, who are not Married, wait for some time, by reason of the Temptations which they have to undergo till they are Married, or have attained to the Gift of Continency. Lastly, he says, Those who shall duly consider the great weight and Moment of this Divine Sacrament, will rather be afraid of making too much haste to receive it, than to defer it for some time, that so they may be the better capable of receiving it more worthily.

The Sixth, is concerning the proper time for Administering of Baptism. He says, That it may be done at any time; but that the solemn Days for performing it, are the Times of Easter and Pentecost.

Lastly, he says, That those who are desirous to dip themselves Holily in this Water, must prepare themselves for it by Fasting, by Watchings, by Prayers, and by sincere Repentance.

And this is what the Second Part contains, wherein there are but two Errors, the First whereof concerning the Baptism of Heretics, is common to him, with several others; and the Second, which relates to the Baptism of Infants, is particular to him alone, and we shall not find any of the Ancients speaking after the same manner.

The Book of Penance is the First of those which relate merely to the Discipline of the Church; therein he distinguishes two sorts of Penance; the first is that which is performed before Baptism; and the second is that of those, who being so unhappy, as to fall into Enormous Sins after Baptism, do recover themselves by a laborious Penance. In the First Part, he shews the Necessity there is of proving and preparing Ones self, for a long time, for the Reception of this Grace of Baptism, by a true Repentance. He fears not to say, that Baptism is to no purpose, if we have not repented of our Sins, and amended them, and that it is great Presumption to imagine, that having led a disorderly Course of Life till the very Day of Baptism, we should be made Holy all of a sudden, and that we

should cease from Sinning immediately after we have received this Sacrament. "Can it be believed, says he, that the Reformation is made just at the time when we are absolved? No certainly, it is made at the time when the Pardon is yet in suspense, and that we are afraid still of the Punishments, though we had not as yet deserved to be delivered from our Sins, that we might be in a Capacity of delivering it. When God still threatens us, and not when he has pardoned us. I confess that God grants Remission of Sins, to those who receive Baptism, but they must take Pains to be made worthy of it; for who would be so bold, as to confer this Sacrament on a Person, of whole Repentance he has any reason to make a Doubt. You may importune upon the Minister, and so procure Baptism, by false Pretences; but God, who knows the Hearts, keeps his own Treasures himself, and does not grant his Grace, but only to those that are worthy of it; so that none can imagine that he may sin more freely, because being yet but a Catechumen, he shall receive the Remission of his Sins in Baptism; for this Sacrament is the Seal of Faith, and Repentance is the Beginning and Stamp of Faith. Lastly, We are not washed from our Pollutions by Baptism, only that we might sin no more, but because we have our Heart already purified: *Quia jam corde loti sumus.* The Second Part of this Treatise, is of Penance after Baptism, called *Exomologesis*. He declares at first, that he finds it difficult to discourse of this Second Repentance, which is the last Hope that remains to those who have committed any Crimes, that is to say, Enormous Sins after Baptism: "Left, says he, by treating of this new Means of recovering our selves from Sin, which God offers to us; it might seem as if we would open a Way for Sinning afresh. However, he says, that God foresees Men's Infirmities, and the Devil's Temptations, was willing, that though the Gate of Remission was shut, and the Grace of Baptism refused for ever to those who had forfeited their Baptismal Innocence; they should yet have one Remedy left, which is a Second Repentance, but that it is granted to them but once. He afterwards describes the laborious Exercises of this publick Penance, called *Exomologesis*. This, says he, an Exercise instituted to humble and abase the Sinner. It makes him lead a Life that is proper to prevail with God for Mercy; it makes him lie in sack-cloth, and upon Ashes, entirely to neglect his own Body; it overwhelms his Mind with Grief and Sorrow; it reduces him to drink nothing but Water, and to eat nothing but Bread, and to take no more than what is necessary for his Sustainance; it obliges him to prolong his Prayers, and to feed them, if I may so say, by Fasting: It causes him to break out into Sighs, Groans and Tears, to cry Day and Night to the Lord, to cast himself at the Priest's Feet, and to prostrate himself before God's Favourites. Lastly, To conjure all his Brethren to pray to God for him, and to appease his Wrath by their Prayers. After having thus described the Fatigues of this *Exomologesis*, he shews the Necessity of it, and reproves those who were ashamed to embrace it, when they had committed Sins after Baptism.

His Book of Prayer, is a Discourse partly Moral, partly Ecclesiastical; for in the First Part, he explains the Lord's Prayer; and in the Second, he discourses of some particular Ceremonies, used in the Prayers of the Christians. First, He advises the Christians to be reconciled to their Brethren, to free their Minds from all sort of Trouble and Passion, to purify their Hearts from all Sin, before they take themselves to Prayer; Secondly, He says that the Christians do not use to wash their Hands before Prayer, but that in Praying, they commonly lift them up towards Heaven. Thirdly, That it is not necessary to take off our Cloaks when we Pray, nor to sit always after Prayer. Fourthly, That we ought to pray with a modest Countenance, lifting our Hands towards Heaven. Fifthly, That our Voices must be low, that we must not speak louder than is necessary, to be heard. For, says he, *it is not the Sound of our Words that God gives ear unto; but he regards the Intention of our Heart.* Sixthly, That when we fast in private, and for the sake of Devotion, we must not abstain from the Kiss of Peace, as when it is a solemn Fast against the time of Easter. Seventhly, That the Stationary Days, that is to say, those Days when several of the Faithful continued in Prayer and Fasting till Three a Clock in the Afternoon; we must not abstain from assisting at the ordinary Prayers, as if it was necessary to break our Fast, as soon as we have received the Body of Jesus Christ. Your Station, says he, will be more solemn. Receive the Lord's Body, and keep it, and so you shall be Partakers of the Sacrifice, and you will perform your Devotion the better.

In his Book concerning Idolatry, he shews, that the Crime of Idolatry is not only committed by Sacrificing to Idols, but also several other ways, of which he gives us a very pretty Account. He pretends, that all those Workmen who make Pictures, representing the False Gods; that the Astrologers, who have given to the Planets the Names of the Heathen Gods, and who attribute to them any Power and Efficacy; Professors of Rhetoric, who commend the Gods of the Heathens; the Merchants, that furnish Commodities for the Adorning the Temples, and offering Sacrifices to the Gods, are all guilty of Idolatry. He maintains, that it is not lawful for the Christians to Feast on those Days which the Pagans Solemnize in Honour of their Gods, nor to adorn their Houses with Torches and Laurels, in Honour of their Princes and Magistrates; that they may be allowed to go to the Weddings of their Kinsfolks, though Sacrifices be offered there; but that this is only to satisfy that Duty to which we were obliged, upon the Account of our Relation. That it is likewise lawful for Servants to follow their Masters to the Sacrifices, and for Christians to render to Heathen Emperors that which is their Due. But that they ought not to accept of Offices, nor bear Arms, at least, that they cannot do it without countenancing of Idolatry. Lastly, He does not acquit those of Idolatry, who attribute the Name of God to the pretended Deities of the Heathens, or who swear by their Name, whether it be through Custom or otherwise. And all this is grounded upon this most certain Principle, That all those who any ways favour the Wicked in their Vice, or contribute to Wickedness in any manner whatsoever, are themselves guilty; but Tertullian seems to stretch it a little too

far in some Particulars, and to lay no great Stress upon the Rigour of Things which might be excused. As for Example, To bear Arms for the Defence of the Empire, to Adorn their Houses with Torches and Laurels, in Honour of their Princes, and to make use of some ways of Speaking that are Customary, though they may have some Affinity to Idolatry.

And to the same purpose, defending in his Book *de Corona Militis*, the Action of a Soldier, who had refused to put a Crown upon his Head: he maintains that it is absolutely prohibited to the Christians to Crown themselves, and even to bear Arms. He speaks in this Discourse very advantageously of Custom and Tradition, and relates several remarkable Examples of Ceremonies, which he pretends to be derived from Tradition. To begin, *For* he, with Baptism, when we are ready to enter into the Water, and even before we make our Prostrations before the Bishop, and in the Church, That we renounce the Devil, all his Pomps and Ministries; afterwards we are plunged in the Water three times, and they make us answer to some Things which are not precisely let down in the Gospel; after that they make us taste Milk and Honey, and we bath our selves every day, during that whole Week. We receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist, instituted by Jesus Christ, when we Eat, and in the Morning Assemblies, and we do not Receive it, but from the Hands of those that preside there. We offer Yearly Oblations for the Dead, in Honour of the Martyrs. We believe that it is not lawful to Fast on a Sunday, and to pray to God, kneeling. From *East* to *Whitside* we enjoy the same Privilege. We take great Care not to suffer any Part of the Wine and Consecrated Bread to fall to the Ground. We often Sign our selves with the Sign of the Cross; if you demand a Law for these Practices, taken from the Scripture, we cannot find one there; but we must answer, That 'tis Tradition that has established them, Custom that has authorized them, and Faith that has made them to be observed.

The Book concerning *Flight in time of Persecution*, is a further Mark of the Extrem Rigour of *Tertullian*, for there he maintains, That it is absolutely Prohibited to Fly in time of Persecution, or to give Money not to be Persecuted.

The Book *De Pallio*, is a small Treatise, wherein he endeavours to prove, that he had reason to quit the *Toga*, or the long *Ragmen* Gown, and to wear a Cloak; he shews therein a great deal of Wit and Learning, and it seems as if he Compelled it, rather to shew what he was capable of saying upon so trivial a Subject, as this is, than seriously, to defend the Action.

In his Book concerning *Publick Spectacles, and Spectacles*, he dissuades the Christians from those Spectacles, shewing how these Pleasures are both shameful and dangerous to those who have Renounced the Pomps and Pleasures of the World, and Idolatry.

There is no need of giving the Reasons why he wrote those Books concerning the *Ornaments* and *Dresses of Women*, since the Titles themselves do sufficiently shew against what Abuse they were written: So likewise the Title of the Book, that *Virgins ought to be Veiled*, does discover the Subject; but we are not to understand it only of Virgins Consecrated to God; for *Tertullian's* Design is to prove, that young Women should be Veiled, that is to say, that they should have their Face covered in the Church: Which he undertakes to prove, contrary to the Custom of his Country, where only married Women were veiled. And upon this Account he speaks against this Custom; and maintains, that it cannot prescribe against Truth; which is true, when it relates to *Deference*, but not when it concerns only a Matter of *Discipline*, which is but of little Consequence.

In the first Book written to his *Wife*, he exhorts her not to Marry again; and in the Second, he Advises her, that in case she will Marry again, to take a Christian for her Husband.

The Treatise of *Patience* is an excellent Exhortation to the Practice of this Virtue: In which Discourse, *Tertullian* sets forth with a great deal of Eloquence, all the Motives and Arguments which might induce Christians to Patience, and dissuade them, from Impatience.

The Discourse directed to the *Confessors*, whom he calls *Martyrs*, according to the ancient way of speaking, is likewise a very powerful Exhortation to those who were in Prison upon the Account of the Religion of Jesus Christ, to encourage them to bear with Patience their Chains and Torments, and to persevere with Constancy to the End; nothing can be more Pathetical and Moving than this little Discourse.

I have now nothing more to do, but to speak of those Books which *Tertullian* Composed against the Church, in Defence of the *Montanists*, and they are Four: His Book of *Modesty*, of *Monogamy*, an *Exhortation to Chastity*, and *A Treatise of Fasts*. In his Book of *Modesty*, he endeavours to prove against the Church, that it has no Power to Remit the Sins of Fornicators and Adulterers, and that when Men are once fallen into these Crimes, after Baptism, they cannot be any more admitted into the Communion of the Church, how Penitent, forever they may be. In his Book of *Monogamy*, and the *Exhortation to Chastity*, he absolutely condemns second Marriages, as being Adultery. Lastly, in his Discourse of *Fasts*, he commends the Excessive Fasts of the *Montanists*, who made several Lenten, observing the Stationary Fasts, as if they had been expressly enjoined, making them to continue till Night, and not eating upon those Days any thing but Bread and Fruits, nor drinking any thing but Water. In all these Books, excepting his Book of *Exhortation to Chastity*, he formally attacks the Church, and the Catholics, whom he calls *Psychici*, and speaks every where very advantageously of *Montanus* and his Prophetesses, believing that, the Holy Ghost had inspired them to set up and establish a more perfect Discipline. For as to what relates to the Rule of Faith, that is to say, to the principal Doctrines of Religion, *Tertullian* and the first *Montanists* were of the same Opinion with the Church: And therefore it is, that in this Book against *Praxeas*, he says, that he always believed in One only God, in three Persons, and that he still believes it more firmly, since he has been instructed by the *Paraclate* or Comforter: And in his Book which he wrote, to prove that *Virgins ought to be Veiled*, he says, that excepting the Rule of Faith, which is immovable, and can no ways be changed, Manners and Customs that relate to Matter of Discipline may be reformed and altered

altered. That it is this which the *Paraclate* has done by the Ministry of *Montanus*, who has instructed Men in a much more perfect Discipline than that which the Apostles had taught them; that Justice was with him in the Cradle, while he was an Infant: That the Law and the Prophets were as it were the Infancy, that the Gospel was as it were the Youth, but that there was no complete Perfection to be found, but in the Instructions of the Holy Ghost, who spake by *Montanus*; for *Tertullian* and the first *Montanists* do not believe that *Montanus* was the Holy Ghost, but only that the Holy Ghost had inspired him, and sent him to Reform and Perfect the Discipline of the Church; and they did not attribute this Privilege only to *Montanus*, but also to several of his Disciples, and principally to Women; and they would have it believed, that there were among them several Persons who had Revelations, and prophetical Things to come. These Persons were sometimes strangely agitated, sometimes they fell into an Ecstasie. This Sect gave a respectful Attention to all that they said, either while they were thus agitated, or after they came to themselves, as it was believed that these were so many Revelations, of which it was not lawful to make any doubt; they allowed them to speak in their Assemblies when they would, and they believed that they had more Power and Authority than Priests and Bishops. And this was the Reason that there was but very little Order and Rule observed in their Assemblies. But as to other things, they practised a very severe and austere Discipline; they for ever condemned not only those, who after their Baptism had committed Murder or Idolatry, but also those who had fallen into Fornication and Adultery; to fly under a perpetual Excommunication; they imposed new Fasts, and observed them very strictly, eating nothing but Bread and Fruits. They Condemned second Marriages; and they believed that it was not lawful to flee in Times of Persecution. As soon as ever this Sect appeared in the World, it deluded a great many Christians by that outward Shew of Perfection and Sanctity which it carried along with it. For on the one hand, the Austerity of their Lives added Weight and Credit to their Revelations; and on the other hand, their Revelations caused their Discipline to be embraced. Several good Men were immediately brought into the Snare, and in a short time we find the Churches of *Phrygia*, and afterwards other Churches divided upon the Account of these new Prophecies. Even the Bishop of Rome himself was imposed upon by them, and granted them Communicatory Letters, which he presently Revoked, being sensible of his Error. The Christians of the Church of France were more circumspect as to this Matter, and wrote to Pope *Viktor* and the Churches of *Africa* concerning these new Prophecies, giving such a Judgment of them as was very discreet and agreeable to the Faith; as *Eusebius* tells us: But we do not certainly know what it was that they wrote, though it is very likely that they disapproved of these new Revelations, withing nevertheless, that they would treat with Gentleness and Moderation, those who had suffered themselves to be surprized by Error, that so they might be induced to return to the Bosom of the Church. At length the Bishops of *Africa* having met together several times, to examine these new Prophecies, considering of what Consequence it was to put a Stop to their farther Progress, Condemned them, and Excommunicated as well those who were the Authors of them, as those that followed them. And this is all that I thought necessary to say concerning the Sect of the *Montanists*; and the Condition in which it was in *Tertullian's* time. We will now return to our Author, and speak of his Genius, his Style, and the Judgment that ought to be passed upon his Writings.

He was of a very quick, sprightly, and sharp Temper, but he had not all that Exactness and Clearness that might have been wished. There is very often more Glittering than Solidity in his Reasonings: He rather strikes and dazzles by his bold Expressions, than convinces by the Force of his Arguments. His Thoughts are far ferch'd, and sometimes lofty enough; the Turn which he gives them is high, but not very natural. He oftentimes stretches things too far. He is warm, and transported almost upon every thing. He is full of Figures and Hyperboles. He was very well furnished with Knowledge and Learning, which he sufficiently knew how to make use of to good purpose. His Excellency consisted in Satyr, his Jests are very ingenious and biting. He attack'd his Adversaries very cunningly, and overthrew them by a multitude of Reasons; which are interwoven, and as it were, linked one within another. Lastly, if he does not persuade by his Reasonings, he at least forces Consent by that pompous way of Expression whereby he sets them out. His Style is Concise, his Expressions Empirical, and there are in his Writings almost as many Sentences as Words. Yet *Lactantius* had reason to take notice of three considerable Defects in him. *Tertullian*, says he, was very well vers'd in the fine Learning, but his Style is neither fluent nor polite, but very obscure. In *loquendo parum facilis, parum comis, & multum obscurus*. These three Faults in Style are common to him, with the greatest part of the African Writers; but we may say, that they are in a very high Degree in *Tertullian*, and that there is not any Writer, whose Style is more harsh, less polite, and more obscure than his. All his Works are subject to these Defects, some more, and some less. He is more clear and concise in his Polemical Discourses, more obscure and harder in his common Places; as in the Book *De Pallio*, which is one of the obscurest Pieces of Antiquity. His Book of *Penance* is the most Polite of all. The most excellent, and the usefulest of his Works, are his *Apology*, the *Prescriptions*, his Books of *Penance*, of *Baptism*, of *Prayer*, and his *Exhortations to Patience*, and to *Martyrdom*.

After what we have said already, it is an easie matter to judge the true Character of *Tertullian*; But it is not so easie to determine, whether he be more to be commended, or Blamed: For first of all, if we were to make a Judgment, in relation to the Service which he did the Church, it would be difficult to say, whether he has done more Hurt or Good. For on the one hand, he vigorously defended its Doctrine against several Hereticks, he maintained in some of his Works very considerable Points

¹¹ These three Faults in Style are indeed to be found in quite worn off that way of Writing, though S. Cyprian the greatest part of the African Writers. We must except Minutius, S. Cyprian and Lactantius, they had relating

Relating to Discipline; and lastly, he is all along Established an excellent Morality: But on the other hand; besides that he always had several Errors, he formerly opposed the Discipline of the Church after he separated from it. And if we judge in the second Place by the Temper of the Man, there is so much of God and of Man in it, that we cannot tell which of the two ought to carry it. Lastly, if we make a Judgment of him by his Style, we cannot tell whether he is to be Commended for what he has that is Great and Surprising, or to be Blamed, because of its other Defects and Imperfections. And thus Learned Men have always been, and are still extremely divided in the Judgments which

And thus Learned Men have always been, and are still extremely divided in the Judgments which the Ancients and Moderns concerning *Tertullian's* *S. Cyprin*, by the Relation of *S. Jerome*, who was told it by a Priest that had heard it from the Secretary of *S. Cyprin's*, who every day read something of his Works; and when he called for his Book, he said, Give me my Master. And in truth *S. Cyprin* has imitated him, and has borrowed a great many things from him. He has likewise composed the greatest part of his Works with the same design as *Tertullian*, as his Book of Idolatry, in imitation of *Tertullian's* *Apology*. His Books *De disciplina* & *habitu mulierum*, *de solo & liore*, *de Oratione Dominica*, *de opere & eleemosynis*, were written in imitation of those of *Tertullian* upon the same Subject. *Eusebius* says of *Tertullian*, that he was one of the ablest of the Latin Writers, and that he has obtained a great Reputation in all the Churches.

Lactantius praises the Judgments which we have already related, which is not very advantageous to him. *S. Hilary* says in his Commentary upon *S. Matthew*, that the Error into which he fell, has taken away the Authority of his Books, which deserved Approbation. *Consequens error hominis detrahit scripti probabilitatem* Authority.

S. Jerome speaks sometimes very advantageously of him; as in his *Catalogue*, where he calls him a Man of a quick and sharp Wit; and in his Epistle to *Magnus*, he says that there was not any Author, who had more Learning and Subtlety; but in other places he represents his Errors and Defects. In his Apology against *Ruffinus*, he says, I commend his Wit, but condemn his Heresies; and in his Book against *Helladius*, who opposed to him *Tertullian's* Authority, he makes this Answer, What I have to say to you concerning *Tertullian*, is, that he is not of the Church. *Ecclesia hominem non esse*.

S. Austin commends *Tertullian's* Style, and always condemns his Error; in his Book *De Genesi ad Litteram*, he says, that *Tertullian* having an excellent Apprehension, did sometimes discover the Truth, and that he could not further sometimes to establish it even against his own Opinions.

Vincencius Lirinensis gives a Character of *Tertullian* in these Words; *Tertullian*, says he, was among the Latins what *Origen* was among the Greeks, that is to say, the first and the most considerable Man they had. In word, is there any Author more knowing and better versed, both in Ecclesiastical and Prophane Learning? Has he not comprized in his vast and prodigious Memory, all the Philosophy of the Sages, the Maxims of the different Sects, with their Histories, and what else appertaining to them? Did he never undertake to attack any thing, which he has not almost always either pierced by the Vivacity of his Wit, or overthrown by the Force and Weight of his Reasonings? And who can sufficiently extol the Beauty of his Discourse, which is so well guarded, and linked together by a continual Chain of Arguments, that he even forces the Conscience of those whom he cannot persuade of his Words, to be in many Sentences. His Answer is almost so many Histories, as has been sufficiently experienced by the Marcionites, the Apellians, the Praxeas, the Heterogenes, the Jews, the Gentiles, the Gnosticks, and a great many others, whose Blasphemies he has silenced by great numbers of Books that have been so many Thunderbolts which have reduced them to Ashes. And yet though he has had all these Advantages,

he did not continue in the Ancient and Universal Faith of the Church; and he has proved himself less faithful than *Eleutherius*. At last he altered his Judgments, and his Error, as has been observed by that blessed Confessor *S. Hilary*, which means he has taken away that Authority from his Writings, which otherwise they would have deserved. I shall take no notice of the Judgments of *Tribemi*, *us*, *Rhenanus*, *Politian*, *Parabellus*, *Rigaltius*, and some other Moderns, which every body may consult upon occasion, and I shall conclude with the Judgments given by two of our French Authors, who have both given us Characters of *Tertullian*, but in a different way.

The first is the famous *M. Baluze*, in a Letter written to *Rigaltius* which is the Second of the Fifth Book. 'I expect (says he) the *Tertullian* which you are publishing, that he may learn me that Patience, for which he gives such admirable Instructions; He is an Author to whom your Preface would have reconciled me, if I had had an Answer for him; and if the Hardness of his Expressions, and the Vices of his Age had dissuaded me from reading him; but I have had an Esteem for him for a long time, and as hard and crabbed as he is, yet he is not at all unpleasant to me. I have found in his Writings, that Black Light which is mentioned in one of our ancient Writers, as that of Ebony which is very bright, and nearly wrought. This has always been my Opinion; and as the Beauties of *Africa* are not less amiable, though they are not like ours, and as *Sophonisba* has eclipsed several Italian Ladies, so the Wits of that Country are not less pleasing with this foreign sort of Eloquence, and I shall prefer him before a great many affected Imitators of *Cicero*; And though we should grant to the nicest Critics, that his Style is of Iron, yet they must likewise own to us, that out of this Iron he has forged most excellent Weapons; and that he has defended the Honour and Innocence of Christianity; that he has quite routed the *Valentinians*, and struck *Marcion* to the very Heart.

The second Character of *Tertullian*, *Recherché* is that which *Father Mallebranche* gives to *Perit*. In his *Search after Truth*, in his Second Book, Chap. 3. '*Tertullian* (says he) was without doubt a Man of extraordinary Learning, but he had more Memory than Judgment. He excelled more in his Fancy and Imagination, than in Judgment and true extent of Thought. There is no doubt to be made, but that at last he was an Enthusiast, in that sense which I have explained it, and that he had almost all the Qualities which I have attributed to these Fanatics. That Respect which he had for the Visions of *Montanus*, and for his Prophecies, is an unquestionable Proof of the Weakness of his Judgment. That Fire, those Heat, those Enthusiasms upon little Subjects, do evidently discover the Extravagancy of his Fancy: How many Irregular Transports are there in his Hyperboles and Figures? How many Pompous and Magnificent Reasons, which prove only by their glittering, and which persuade only by stunning, and leading of the Understanding! He afterwards endeavours to show that this is a true Picture, by making some Exceptions out of his Book *De Patientia*, which he thinks to be the most proper Book to justify what he affirms.

they have given, and which they still give of this Author; which makes me believe, that it is better to commend the Good, and to blame what is amiss, than to pretend to make an absolute Judgment, which would be always subject to a thousand Difficulties.

In the last place, to speak briefly of the Editions of *Tertullian*, there has hardly been any Author other Printed, and upon whom more Persons have bestowed their Pains. For which, two Reasons may be given, the Corruption of the Manuscripts, and his Obscurity, and these two Reasons are likewise the cause one of the other; for his Obscurity induced the Transcribers, who did not understand him, to alter some Words, that they might make such a Sense as they themselves understood: And the Corruptions of these Transcribers have been so far from clearing his Meaning, that they have rendered it still more Obscure: Which has been the occasion that this Author has given so much Trouble to all those that have hitherto let out any Editions of any part of his Works.

Rhenanus was the first who published *Tertullian's* Works, which were first Printed at *Basil* in the year 1521. from two Manuscripts which he had got out of two Abbays in Germany; and the second time in the year 1528. I have a great Esteem for the Arguments and Notes, which this excellent Person, who was very well vers'd in all Parts of Learning, and in Ecclesiastical Antiquity, has put at the beginning of the greatest part of *Tertullian's* Works: And I think that no Man has laboured more successfully than he in the Explication of this Author; and that *Rigaltius* has very well observed, that *Rhenanus* wanted nothing to have made his Work complete, but more Manuscripts. Yet his Notes have been Censured by the Spanish Inquisition, and they have been put at *Rome* in the *Index Expurgatus*, because of some Remarks which were a little too free upon the Abuses that were common in his time: But this ought not to diminish the Esteem we ought to have for him. We likewise find Editions of *Tertullian*, printed at *Basil* in the years 1525; 1536, 1539. But they are plainly Copies of the first Edition, wherein nothing is altered but the year. The third Edition of *Rhenanus* is the best, it was Printed at *Basil* in Folio in the year 1550. In this Edition, there are some Books corrected by *Gelenius* out of a Manuscript from England. The fourth was likewise Printed at *Basil* in 1562. The fifth is of *Paris*, Printed by *Guillard* in 1545. The sixth was Printed upon a very curious Letter in the year 1566, Printed at *Paris* in two Volumes in Octavo, for *Volchelus*, and *Andoanus Parvus*. *Laurinus* de la Barre set forth a new Edition of *Tertullian*, Printed at *Paris* in 1580. Then *Pamelius* published *Tertullian* with new Commentaries: His first Edition was in the year 1579. Printed at *Anwerp*. It was followed afterwards by that of 1583, Printed at *Paris* for *Somnius*; and it was afterwards Printed at *Anwerp* by *Plantin* in 1584; at *Heidelberg* for *Comelinus* in 1596, and 1599; at *Cologne* in 1617; at *Geneva* in 1597, 1601, 1607; at *Zurich* by *Belley* in 1657; at *Paris* in 1608, in 1616, in 1634, in 1658, in 1664; and at *Rome* in 1662. The Commentaries of this Author are both Learned and Useful, but he digresses too much from his Subject, and he often brings in things, which are of no use for the understanding of his Author. *Tertullian's* Works have been likewise Printed according to *Pamelius's* Edition with *Junius's* Notes, at *Franker* in 1597. In the year 1627, *Rigaltius* Printed nine Treatises of *Tertullian* at *Paris* in Octavo, more Correct, from a Manuscript presented by *Agobardus*, who lived in the Ninth Century, to the Church of *Lions*, whereof he was Bishop, and he collated it with the various Readings of a Manuscript of *Mouffier Montcal*. In 1584, *Latinius* published his Conjectures to restore some Places of *Tertullian*, which he pretended were corrupted. *Panciroli* also had taken pains upon *Tertullian*, but he published nothing. *Fulvius Ursinus* Collected several various Readings from Manuscripts, and put them in the Margin of one of *Pamelius's* Editions of *Tertullian* which *Rigaltius* used. *Johannes Wotrus* has likewise made some Notes upon *Tertullian*, as well as *Albapinaus*, who wrote several upon some Passages relating to Discipline and Penance. *Pithaeus*, *Mercurius*, *Junius*, *Salmasius*, *Richerius*, *Theodorus Masilius*, and some others, have made Remarks upon his Book *De Pallio*, Printed separately at *Paris* in 1576, and 1594, with *Junius's* Notes; In 1600, with those of *Salmasius*; In 1625, *Jacobus Goshopredus* published from the Manuscript of *Agobardus* the two Books to the Nations, which were never Printed before. They were Printed at *Geneva* for *Chazier*, together with the Commentaries of that Learned Lawyer.

La Cerd the Jesuit undertook to make a Continued Commentary upon *Tertullian's* Works, more ample than those which had been hitherto made: He began this Work, and caused two Volumes of it to be Printed at *Paris* in 1624, in 1630, and 1641; but he never finished it, and his Commentaries are only upon part of *Tertullian's* Books; and besides they are long and tedious, because he explains several things which need no Explication, and he very often leaves his Subject.

After all these, the Learned *Rigaltius* having Revised *Tertullian's* Works from the Manuscript of *Agobardus*, and making use of the various Readings Collected by *Ursinus*, *Pithaeus*, and *Junius*, published the Text of *Tertullian* more Correct in very many places, and added some short Notes, to examine which of the two Readings is the truest, to reject or confirm some Conjectures, and to explain the most Difficult and Uncommon Words; And he has annexed at the end longer Observations, to explain the difficult Passages, or to clear some ancient Practices; or lastly, to discover some Point of Learning which was more difficult to be cleared. 'Where, if, says he, you find any Opinions that are a little too free, as about the Confession of Secret Sins, about the Face of *Jesus*, (which he believes was not at all Comely, grounding it upon the Testimony of *Tertullian*, and some others of the Ancients) and upon the Wax-Tapers which are lighted up in the Churches in the Day-time, you must not think that I have taken notice of them any otherwise, than as they were necessary to explain *Tertullian's* Notions, and not any ways to reprehend the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, or to disapprove of the Opinions of those Fathers, who lived after his time. Words by which *Rigaltius* endeavours to excuse those Opinions, which were too freely inferred sometimes by him in his Notes,

Tertullian

as well upon *St. Cyprian* as *Tertullian*; But I do not know whether this Excuse will satisfy every Body, for it must be confessed, that there are some places, wherein he sufficiently shews, that he speaks according to his own Opinion, rather than according to that of his Author, and in which he even digresses from his Subject, to make Observations which are sometimes not very agreeable to the present Practice of the Church: But though we might have some reason to tax some of his Notes as to what relates to Divinity; yet we must confess on the other side, that the Notes and Remarks which he has made relating to Criticism, Grammar, and the Explication of some difficult Passages of *Tertullian*, are very excellent. However he is generally blamed for being too bold in his Conjectures, and that he has not been exact enough in Revising his Author from ancient Manuscripts; And lastly, that he has inserted his Conjectures, and other Mens into the Text, without the Authority of any Manuscripts.

The Bookseller, who Printed the *Tertullian* of *Rigaltius* in 1634, being willing to make the Work as Complete as he could, Printed in 1635, in a Volume by it self, the Notes and Commentaries of those who had taken Pains upon *Tertullian* before him, that so we might have all that had been done upon this Author, excepting the Commentaries of *La Cerda*. This Volume joyned to the Edition of *Rigaltius's Tertullian* of 1634, which was afterwards Reprinted in 1641, is the perfectest Edition of this Author.

It has been since Printed in 1664, which is not so large, but more Commodious, wherein they have put in the Margin the entire Notes and Observations of *Rigaltius*, together with others selected from those of *Rhenanus*, *Painelius*, *Alfapineau*, *La Cerda*, and *Salmassius*, &c. together with the Corrections of *Mercurius*. *Priorius*, who had the Care of this Edition, has put at the beginning a Preface, which he calls, *A Discourse concerning the Life and Errors of Tertullian*, that is not exactly done, any more than this Authors Notes; which have not found a General Esteem among the Learned.

I do not speak of the Edition of *Tertullian* published by Father *George*, which he caused to be Printed at *Paris* in 1648, and 1650, in three great Volumes, which he has Entitled *Tertullianus Redivivus*, because there is nothing in this Edition worth taking notice of; and those long and tedious Commentaries which this Capuchin has made, can be of no advantage to the Ignorant, nor of any use to the Learned.

It would be a desirable thing to have a new Edition of *Tertullian* Printed, the Text whereof should be exactly agreeable to the best Manuscripts, without inserting the Conjectures of particular Persons. And they ought likewise to add a Choice Collection of those Notes which are the most useful, taken from all the Commentators; And lastly, they should not range the Books according to the Order of Time, but according to the Order of the Matters, as we have done in giving an Abridgement of the Books, and to prefix at the beginning, The Life of *Tertullian*, and a Criticism upon his Writings; like that which we have done here in *French*, but larger, and more exact.

CAIUS.

Caius

CAIUS a Priest of the Church of *Rome*, lived in the time of the Popes *Zephyrin* and *Viktor* that is to say under the Emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*. He wrote a Treatise by way of Dialogue ^a against a famous Montanist called *Proculus* or *Proculus*, wherein he reprehended, and accused this Heretic for giving credit too rashly to those new Prophecies, and at the same time confuted his Reasons. *Eusebius* speaks of this Treatise in three Places: The first is in Chap. 25. of the Second Book of his History, where he quotes a Fragment of it relating to the Sepulchers of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, which were to be seen at *Rome* in this Authors time. The second is in Chap. 28. of the third Book, where he speaks of the Heretic *Cerinthus* in these Terms. '*Cerintus* tells us in some Revelations which he had written, as if he had been a great Apostle, prodigious Things, which, as he said, he had learnt from the Angels, assuring us, That after the Resurrection, Christ should have an Earthly Kingdom, and that Men should live in *Jerusalem*, where they should enjoy Carnal and Sensual Pleasures, and spend a Thousand years in continual Marriages and Jollity. The third place wherein *Eusebius* speaks of *Caius* is in his Sixth Book, Chap. 20. where he says, that *Caius* condemning the Boldness by which the Enemies of the Church do counterfeit some Books of Scripture, reckons but 13 Epistles of *S. Paul*, not counting that which was written to the Hebrews upon the number of this Apostles Writings. Lastly the same *Eusebius* in his Third Book, Chap. 21. recites some Words relating to the Daughters of *Philip* the Deacon, taken from this Author's Dialogue.

^a A Priest of the Church of *Rome*.] *Eusebius* and *S. Jerom* tell us plainly, that he was a Priest, and that he lived in *Zephyrin's* time; but they do not say that he was a Roman. His Treatise was Composed in Greek; *Photius* is the First, who affirms expressly, that he was a Priest of the Church of *Rome*; and he adds, that he was ordained Bishop of the Gentiles.

^b By way of Dialogue.] *Eusebius* calls it, *Beikos Dialogos*, that is to say, a Book of Dialogues; and *Caius* and *Proculus*, seem to have been the Persons who spake therein, for *Eusebius* in his Third Book,

relates the Words of *Proculus* taken from this Dialogue.

^c Proculus or Proculus.] The Sect of the Montanists was divided into two Parties, the one were *2^d Gnostics*, and the others *3^d Angels*, as it is observed in that small Abridgment of Heresies, at the end of *Tertullian's* Prescriptions. It is thought that this *Proculus* was the same with *Proculus* the African, who was likewise a Montanist, and of whom *Tertullian* speaks; but this is not likely; for he, against whom *Caius* writes was a Greek, and was called *Proculus*, and not *Proculus*.

Eusebius

Caius

Eusebius and *S. Jerome* make no mention of the other Works of *Caius*, but the Learned *Photius* tells us, That he had likewise composed a Treatise against the Heretic of *Artemon*, who believed that Jesus Christ was only a meer Man, and that he was the Author of a Book Entituled, *The Little Labyrinth*, from whence *Eusebius* has taken the Passage concerning the Penance of *Natalis*. *Photius* likewise attributes to him a Treatise *Of the Universe*, or *Of the Nature of the Universe*, or of the Causes thereof, which went in his time under the Name of *Josephus*; Let us see what he says of it. 'This Work contains two little Books, wherein he shews that *Plato* contradicts himself; he convinces the Philosopher *Alcinous* of several Falsities and Absurdities concerning Matter and the Resurrection; he opposes his own Opinions to those of this Philosopher, and shews that the Jews are a much more ancient People than the Greeks; he believes that Man was compounded of Fire, Earth, and Water, and of a Spirit which is called the Soul, of which he speaks in these Terms: God has form'd this Spirit together with the Body, and taking the principal part from thence, he has caused it to penetrate and fill up all it's Members; so that extending it self throughout the whole Body, he has taken the form from thence; but it is of a colder nature than Matter, of which the Body is compounded. This Opinion which supposes that the Soul is Corporeal, (if nevertheless he acknowledges no other Soul in a Man than this Spirit) this Opinion, I say, is quite different from the Doctrine of the Hebrews, and does not agree with the greatness of his other Notions. To conclude, as the same *Photius* adds, (from whom we have only translated his words) he speaks of Jesus after a very Orthodox Manner. For he calls him Christ, and speaks of his ineffable Generation from the Father, after such a manner as is no ways to be reprehended; which gives us occasion to doubt whether this be the Work of *Josephus* or not; though the Style very much resembles that of this Historian. He adds also afterwards, that he has found and observed that this Book was written by *Caius* Author of the *Labyrinth*; but that not bearing the Name of it's Author, some have attributed it to *Justin Martyr*, others to *Ireneus*; though in reality it was composed by *Caius*. The Proof which he brings for it, is, That the Author of the *Labyrinth*, whom he believes to be *Caius*, says, towards the end, that he was the Author of the Book concerning the Nature of the Universe; but this Argument is not absolutely convincing. For it is not certain, that *Caius* was the Author of the Book of the *Labyrinth*, which some have attributed to *Origen*, and 'tis likely enough, that there might be two several Books of different Authors, which might have very near the same Title.

^a The Little Labyrinth.] We have observed, that *Eusebius* does not Name the Author of this Fragment, but that *Theodoret* ascribes it to the Author of the *Labyrinth*, and on the other hand, *Photius* informs us, that *Caius* was the Author of that Book, and proves it, because the Author of the *Labyrinth* says, That he wrote a Treatise concerning the Universe, whence it would follow, that it was *Caius* who was the Author of this Fragment; but I should rather believe

it to be taken out of the Book, which he Composed against *Artemon*. *Eusebius* says, That the Book from whence he produces this Fragment, was written against his Heresie, and the Passages which he brings from thence do clearly shew it.

^c The Philosopher Alcinous.] He wrote a Treatise, wherein he makes a Comparison between *Aristotle* and *Plato*.

HIPPOLITUS.

HIPPOLITUS, who was according to the Relation of some, Bishop of *Osia* in *Italy*, and according to others Metropolitan of *Arabia*, suffered Martyrdom ^a, under the Reign of the Emperor *Alexander*. He made himself considerable by the Commentaries which he Composed upon the Holy Scripture ^c. *Eusebius* and *S. Jerom* assure us, that he had written upon the Six days Work, upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, the *Canticles*, the *Psalms*, the Prophet *Zechariah*, the Prophet *Isaiah*, upon some places of *Ezekiel*, upon *Daniel*, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the *Apocalypse*; and that he Composed Two Treatises, the One concerning *Saul*, and the other concerning the *Witch* of *Endor*. Besides these Works upon the Scripture, he likewise wrote a Treatise con-

^a Bishop of *Osia* in *Italy*.] *S. Jerom*, in his Catalogue, says, that he does not know of what City he was Bishop. *Gelasius*, in his Book *De duabus Naturis*, citing *Hippolitus*, says, that he was Metropolitan of *Arabia*. *Nicephorus* makes him Bishop of *Pontus*; It is more likely that he was a Bishop of *Arabia*, than of *Italy*: For it is certain that he was of the East, and *S. Jerom* observes in one of his Homilies, that *Origen* was his Scholar; some have said, that he was the Disciple of *S. Clement*, and this is very probable.

[Montieur le Moine's Conjecture, that *Hippolitus* was Bishop of *Portus Romanus*, now called *Adria* in *Arabia* is most probable; for it was an easie Mistake for those, who knew nothing of this *Arabian Portus*, to imagine, that he was called *Portuensis* from the *Portus Romanus*, by *Osia* in *Italy*, especially since there has been to current a Tradition of his suffering Martyrdom in *Italy*.]

^b Suffered Martyrdom.] *S. Jerom*, in the Preface to his Commentaries upon *S. Matthew*, calls him a Martyr, and in the Martyrologies, he is rank'd in the Number of Martyrs. It is certain, that he suffered Martyrdom in *Italy*, and perhaps at *Osia*: His Acts are forged and counterfeit. It is affirmed herein, that he suffered Martyrdom under *Claudius*, it should have been under *Alexander* and *Ulpianus*, who is mentioned in these Acts, perhaps may be *Ulpian*, who was Governour of *Rome* in the time of this last Emperor.

^c Which he composed upon the Holy Scripture.] *S. Jerom* says, that *Origen* being excited by his Friend *Ambrusius*, undertook to write Commentaries upon the Sacred Scripture, in imitation of *Hippolitus*.

Hippolitus

was published by *Græci*, and by *Rachetius*, who caused it to be Printed, together with the *Cycle of Festivals at Aquitaine*, in the Year 1633. *Mabilon* observes in his *Voyage into Italy*, that he saw at *Rome* in Cardinal *Chigi's* Library, an Ancient Greek Manuscript, containing the four great Prophets, wherein there is a Commentary of *Hippolitus* upon the *Dream of Nebuchadnezzar*.

Lastly, *Theodoret* quotes and produces some considerable Fragments of *Hippolitus*,^a concerning the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*, taken from several of his Homilies, and from his other Treatises upon the Holy Scriptures.

^a Lastly, *Theodoret* relates some considerable Fragments of *Hippolitus*. He cites some from an Oration upon these words, of *Isaiah*, *Dominus pascit me*. &c. from his Sermon upon *Hannah* and *Elkanah*, from a Homily upon the beginning of *Isaiah*, from a Book concerning the Distribution of Talents; and Lastly, From a Letter to a Queen (which some believe to be *Mamma*, the Mother of *Alexander*, o-

thers, one called *Severa*, whose Name is mentioned in the Catalogue of this Authors Works, which was on the side of his Statue; from an Oration upon *Canticler*, from an Interpretation of the Second Psalm, and from the Three and twentieth Oration upon the Two Thieves. See the Tradition related by *Theodoret* at the end of his Three Dialogues.

GEMINIANUS or GEMINUS.

*W*E joyn *Geminianus*, or *Geminus*^a, a Priest of *Antioch* to *Hippolitus* the Martyr, because they both flourished under the Reign of *Alexander*, and because he is spoken of in *Eusebius's Chronicle* in the same place, where *Hippolitus* is mentioned. We know nothing of the Works of this Author. Only *S. Jerom* assures us, that he left behind him some Pieces, which were Monuments of his Pious.

^a *Geminianus* or *Geminus*.] He is called by *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon* *Geminianus*; and by *S. Jerom*, *minus*.

ALEXANDER.

*A*lexander, a Bishop in *Cappadocia*, being come to *Jerusalem*, to visit the Holy Places that are there, when *Narcissus*, who governed that Church, was not capable himself alone, by reason of his great Age, to discharge all the Duties of the Episcopal Office; the *Christians* of that City retained *Alexander*, and made him his Coadjutor, by the Consent of the Bishops of the neighbouring Churches. It is said that they had a Revelation, and heard a Voice, advising them to chuse him Bishop; and indeed there needed nothing less than a Miracle, to authorize an Election so extraordinary as this^a and for which there had yet been no President. He governed this Church jointly with *Narcissus*, as his Colleague. See what he says of it at the Conclusion of a Letter written to the *Antinoites*. *Narcissus*, who held before me the Episcopal See, and who is now united^b with me in Prayers, being a hundred and sixteen years old, sends you Greeting, and exhorts you to be all of one and the same Mind.

Alexander being in Prison in the time of the Persecution under *Severus*, wrote likewise a Letter to those of *Antioch*, wherein he Congratulates them upon the Ordination of *Arselapides*, who succeeded *Serapion* in that See: He sent this Letter by *Clement*, as it is believed of *Alexandria*.^c Besides, he wrote a Letter to *Origen*, of which *Eusebius* recites a Fragment in the 14th Chapter of the 6th Book of his History, where he says, that he was a Friend of *Pantænus*, and of *Clement* of *Alexandria*, and that these men made him acquainted with *Origen*. And last of all, he sent a Letter to *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, which he wrote along with *Theodotus*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, in favour of *Origen*, wherein he proves by several Examples, that Bishops may invite those that are proper for instructing the People, to Preach in their Preference: He wrote besides several other Letters, of which we have not remaining. He suffered Martyrdom at *Cæsarea* in the time of the Persecution, under the Emperor *Decius*.

^a An Election so extraordinary as this.] There were two things in this Ordination which were New, and contrary to the Laws of the Church. The first was the Translation of a Bishop to another See: The Second, the making a Coadjutor to a Bishop whilst living.

^b Who is now united.] It appears by this, that *Alexander* was not only Coadjutor, but that he alone had the Care of the Church, that *Narcissus* did not

concern himself with any thing, and that he had no more than barely the Honour.

^c As it is believed of *Alexandria*. *S. Jerom* believes that it was *S. Clement* of *Alexandria*, and this may very well be, For he lived 'till this time, and he was intimately acquainted with *Alexander*, to whom he Dedicated a Book concernin the Ecclesiastical Rule. *Eusebius*, Lib. 6. cap. 13.

JULIUS AFRICANUS.

Julius Africanus, who was of *Palestine*,^a though older than *Origen*,^b is believed to have been the Disciple of *Heracles*; because being drawn by his Reputation, he came to *Alexandria* to confer with him.^c He was deputed by the Emperor *Alexander*,^d to cause the City of *Emmanus* to be repaired, which was afterwards called *Nicopolis*. He particularly applied himself to Chronology and History, and composed an exact Chronicle,^e divided into five Books, from the Beginning of the World, to the Third Year of the Reign of *Heliogabalus*,^f wherein he gave a brief Account of the most remarkable Accidents from the beginning of the World, to the time *Jesus Christ*, and related in few Words all that had happened since *Christ's* Time, to that wherein he wrote. We have not this famous Work at present under *Africanus's* Name. But *Eusebius* has inferred it almost entire in his *Chronicon*, altering and adding some few things, and Correcting some of his Mistakes. We have still some of his Fragments in two Works, publish'd by *Scaliger*, of which one is Latin, and is called *Chronological Extracts*, taken out of *Eusebius* and *Africanus*; and the other is Greek, and Entitled, *A Collection of Histories*.

Besides this Chronicle, he wrote two Letters upon two important Questions relating to the Scripture: The first directed to *Aristides*, was written to reconcile that seeming Contradiction, which is found in the Account given of the Genealogy of *Jesus Christ* by *S. Luke* and *S. Matthew*. *Eusebius* gives us a considerable part of this Letter, in the First Chapter of the Seventh Book of his History. And in order to reconcile this Difference, he has recourse to that Law of Adoption, that took place among the Jews, and which obliged the Brothers to Marry their Brothers Wives who died without Children. He says then, that *Matthan*, who descended from *David* by *Solomon*, married a Wife named *Elpha*, by whom he had *Jacob*: But that after the Death of *Matthan*, this same Woman married *Melechi* (he should have said *Matthai*) who descended from *David* by *Nathan*, of whom she had a Son named *Heli*, and that so *Heli* and *Jacob* were Brothers by the Mothers side; and that *Heli* dying without Children, *Jacob* was obliged to marry his Widow, of whom he had *Jesseph* the Husband of *Mary*, who was by Consequence natural Son to *Jacob*, and the Son of *Heli* according to the Law; and descended from *Solomon* by *Jacob*, and from *Nathan* by *Heli*. This way of reconciling the Evangelists, as to the Genealogy of *Jesus Christ*, is very easy, and has hardly any Difficulty in it; but that every Body may readily comprehend it, we shall represent it in the following Table.

^a Who was of *Palestine*.] Some have confounded him with *Sextus Africanus* of *Lybia*; but this is an Error: For our Author was of *Palestine*, and lived there, whereas the other was only of *Lybia*.

^b Older than *Origen*.] In the Letter which he wrote to *Origen*, he calls him his Son, and he continues his Chronicle no farther then to the Time of *Heliogabalus*, which shews that he was older than *Origen*.

^c To confer with him.] *Heracles* was undoubtedly Bishop of *Alexandria*, when he came into this City. He says as much himself in his Chronicle, according to the Relation of *Eusebius*, Lib. 6. cap. 3. and of *Bede de Sex. et. Pag. 86. of Abo*, and others.

^d By the Emperor *Alexander*.] This Embassy was under *Alexander* the Son of *Mamma*, and not under *Heliogabalus*. That which made *Eusebius* mistake, is

because *Africanus's* Chronicle went no farther than the time of *Heliogabalus*.

^e And composed an exact Chronicle.] *Eusebius* gives it the Name of a *Chronography*, and *S. Jerom* styles it a *History of the Times*: *Photius* and *Bede* call it a *Chronicle*. It contained the *Origine* and *Succession* of all the Monarchies and Commonwealths, and he annexed to the end thereof, a kind of Table, called a *Canon*, wherein he disposed under every Year, what he had before observed successively. *S. Basil* cites a Passage from thence, relating to the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, in the 29th Chapter of his Book, *de Spiritu Sancto*.

^f The Reign of *Heliogabalus*.] *Photius*, who had seen it, says that his Chronicle went no farther than the Reign of *Macrinus*. But the Computation of years, and a Fragment related by *Scaliger*, clearly shew, that he continued it to the time of *Heliogabalus*.

DAVID

SOLOMON,
And his Descendants, re-
lated by S. Matthew.

MATTHAN,
The first Husband.

JACOB,
The Son of Matthan,
the first Husband.

The Natural Son of Jacob.

ESTHA,
The Wife of both.

THEIR COMMON
WIFE,
Whose Name we do not
know, First married to
Heli, of whom she had
no Children, and after-
wards to Jacob, his Bro-
ther.

JOSEPH.

NATHAN,
And his Descendants, re-
lated by S. Luke.

MELCHI,
Or rather
MATTHAT,
The Second Husband.

HELY.

The Son of Heli, according
to the Law.

The Second Letter of *Africanus*, relating to the History of *Sufama*, was written to *Origen*, who had in a Conference cited the Prophet *Daniel*, to vindicate the Innocence of *Sufama*. *Africanus* writes to him, that he admires that he does not look upon this Part of *Daniel* as Fictitious, and that this whole History is no more than a Fable. The Reasons which he brings for this Opinion, are very Learned and Ingenious, and there was a Necessity for so great a Man as *Origen* to answer him; and yet it seems as if *Africanus* wrote to him, rather to be instructed in the Truth, than with any Design of Disputing against him.

There is likewise attributed to this Author, a Work Entituled, *The Cesti*, which is cited under his Name, not only by *Suidas*, and *Simplicius*; but likewise by *Photius*, and even by *Eusebius*, in the Sixth Book, Chapter 31, of his History: If that Passage, which is not to be found in *Ruffinus*'s Version, nor in *S. Jerom*, be not foisted in. But it is more likely, that this is the Work of another *Africanus*. We do not know whether he, of whom we speak, wrote any thing else, nor when he died.

It is the Work of another *Africanus*.] These Books, Entituled *Cesti*, were Discourses containing nothing but prophane Learning, they were so called a *Cesto Veneris*: They treated of Herbs, and particularly of those that had any Faculty in procuring Love. The Author of this Book was of *Lybia*; he called himself *Sextus Africanus*, or rather *Africanus Cestus*. He was

probably a Heathen, as the Title, and the Subject of his Work sufficiently shew. There is a Book attributed to one *Africanus*, cited by *Pelagian*, under the Name of *Cestus*, being a Manuscript in the King's Library, but not the same which *Photius* speaks of: It was lately published.

MINUTIUS FELIX.

Minutius Felix, a famous Lawyer at *Rome*, who lived in the beginning of the Third Century, wrote an excellent Dialogue, Entituled *Octavius*, in defence of the Christian Religion. 'Tis a Conference between a Christian, whom he calls *Octavius*, and a Heathen named *Cecilius*, where *Minutius* sets as Judge. *Cecilius* speaks first against the Christian Religion, and begins by laying down this Maxim, that every thing is uncertain and doubt-

A Lawyer at Rome.] Not only *Lactantius* and *S. Hieron* assure us that he was of this Profession; but this likewise appears by the beginning of his Dialogue, where he says, That it being Vacation time, he had no Business at the Hall.

In the beginning of the Third Century.] The Ancients do not fix precisely the time wherein he lived. *S. Hieron*, in his Catalogue, wherein he keeps the Order of Time, places him between *Tertullian* and *S. Cyprian*. It is evident that *Minutius* has taken several Thoughts from *Tertullian*, and that *S. Cyprian*, in his Book of the Unity of God, has transcribed in

several Places the Words of *Minutius*. This makes it probable that he was an African, and his Style favours a little of Africa.

Octavius.] He is also called *Januarius*, and *Cecilius* is named *Natalis*; and *Minutius Felix*, *Marcus*. It would be rather to divine, than to believe, that these were the *Januarius* and *Natalis*, Bishops of Africa, who lived in *S. Cyprian*'s time: It would have been more likely that *Octavius* and *Cecilius* were imaginary Names in the Dialogue, if we had not been told that they are their proper Names.

ful,

ful, and that therefore it is a great piece of Rashness, especially in the Christians; who are an ignorant and stupid sort of People, to pretend to establish their Opinions as certain and Infallible Truths. That there being no Providence that governs the World, and all things being dubious, it is the best way to stick to the Religion of our Ancestors. That the *Roman Empire* was first established, and afterwards arrived to its present Height by the Religion of the Gods; that they never contemned the Omens and Prefages of the Sooth-sayers, without repenting of it; and that their Oracles certainly foretold things that were really to come to pass. Afterwards he attacks the Religion of the Christians in particular, he accuses them of worshipping an Asses Head, adoring Croffes, and other things which were yet more dishonorable. He upbraids them for those Crimes of which the Heathens themselves were justly accused; to wit, the Murdering of Children, the Committing of Incests. He reprehends in them as a Crime, that excessive Love which they had one for another. He finds fault with them, because they had no Temples, Altars, nor Statues. He tells them, that they can neither see themselves, nor show to others that God whom they adore; that they feign that he sees all things, but that it is impossible that he should be able to take care of every particular thing, if he has the Charge of the whole Universe lying upon him. He pretends that it was to no purpose that the Jews adored and honoured this God. He scoffs at the Hopes of the Christians. He looks upon the Resurrection, Hell, and Heaven to be Fables, like those of the Poets. He says, that Men being necessarily Good or Evil, its ridiculous to believe that God will punish or reward them for their Actions. He examines the Condition of the Christians in this Life, which is to be Poor, Ignorant, subject to Diseases, persecuted, exposed continually to Racks and Torments: 'Which shews, says he, that their God either cannot, or will not relieve them, and by consequence that he is Impotent or Malicious. That on the contrary, the *Romans*, who do not adore the God of the Christians, are not only Powerful, and Lords of the whole World; but they likewise enjoy all those Pleasures, from which the Christians are forced to abstain. He concludes by advising the Christians not to seek any more after Heavenly Things, and not to flatter themselves vainly with the Knowledge of them: maintaining that all things being uncertain and doubtful, it is better to suspend our Judgments, than to judge rashly, for fear of falling into Superstition, or utterly destroying all Religion. After some Reflexions of *Minutius Felix*, *Octavius* answering *Cecilius*'s Discourse, observes how he has argued after a very inconstant manner, sometimes admitting a Deity, and sometimes seeming to doubt thereof. 'Which he has not done, says he, out of any Craft or Cunning, this sort of Artifice not suiting with his Candid and Frank Temper; but that has happened to him which usually happens to a Man who is Ignorant of the Way, when he sees several Paths, he stands in suspense, not daring to chuse any, and not being able to follow them all. In like manner, as he adds, he who has no certain Knowledge of the Truth, is always in doubt, and suffers himself to be led by the first Suspicion, without being able to stop himself. He afterwards reprehends all the Reasonings of *Cecilius*, and he answers every one in particular. After having shewn that Poverty and Ignorance, which was upbraided to the Christians, could be no ways prejudicial to the Truth; he proves that Divine Providence, by the Order and Beauty which is seen in the Universe, and by the admirable Perfections of all the Creatures. And he shews, that it could be no other than God, who has created all things, governing them by his WORD, ruling them by his Wisdom, and bringing them to perfection by his Power: That he is not to be seen, because he is more subtle than the Sight: That he is not to be comprehended, because he is greater than all the Senses: That he is infinite and immense: That the Bounds of our Understanding are by much too shallow to have a perfect Knowledge of him: That it is only he who comprehends himself; that it is impossible to give him a Name suitable to his Perfections: And yet that all Men do naturally know him: That the People stretching out their Hands to Heaven, invoke only this God, and that the Prophets and Philosophers have acknowledged him. He afterwards shews, that the Antiquity of their Fables ought not to give them any Authority: That they have not only so much as the least Appearance of Truth, but that they are Impertinent and Ridiculous, and that he must be void of common Sense, who gives any Credit to them: That we are not to attribute the Establishment, nor Encrease of the Empire, to the Religion of the *Romans*, since it was founded at first by Parricide, and by the Rapes of strange Women, and that it afterwards grew to its Greatness by Uncleanness, by Sacrilege, and by unjust Wars: That very often their Commanders contemned the Auguries; and that nevertheless they were successful in what they undertook: That the Answers of their Oracles were very often false and ambiguous; and that we are not to wonder, if by a great Chance they sometimes hit: That the Demons, who are impure Spirits, made use of these Superstitions to destroy Mankind; and to fet them at a greater Distance from God, after they were already lost by their Vices and disorderly Desires: That 'tis these Spirits who answer in their Statues, who possess Men, and agitate them so furiously; but being conjured by the Name of the only true God, they are obliged to go out of the Bodies of those whom they have tormented. He afterwards confutes the Calumnies wherewith they aspersed the Christians: He says, That if it were true, they ought not to be compelled to deny their Religion, but rather to own those Incests, Impieties and Murders wherewith they were accused: That the Christians are too well instructed, to adore an Asses Head, and too Chast, to commit Uncleanness in the Celebration of their Mysteries: But that there is a Religion among the Heathens, in which they worshipped Beasts, and committed execrable Villanies without Punishment; that they are not the Christians, but the Heathens, who place their Hopes in mortal Men, and in inanimate Statues, and who were frequently guilty of Murders and Incests: That the Christians do neither adore nor desire Croffes, and that they are so far from shedding Man's Blood, that they dare not so much as to eat that of Beasts: That they are modest and reserved, not only in Body, but in Mind: That they com-

Minutius
Felix.

monly Marry but once, and that they have no other Design in their Marriage, but the having of Children: That their Repairs are not only very Cheap, but also very Sober: That there are several Christians who preserve a perpetual Continency, and yet without any Vanity upon that Account: That though they refuse to bear any Offices, yet they are not for all that of the Scum of the People: That their Number encreases continually, which is a certain sign of their Virtue: That they do not distinguish themselves from others by any outward Mark, but by their Innocence and Modesty: That they love one another, and call one another Brethren, because they have all one and the same God for their Father: That they have neither Statues, nor Altars, nor Temples, because the Majesty of God cannot be represented by Images, nor enclosed in Houses built by the Hands of Men, and that it is better to consecrate our Mind, and our Heart as his Temple: *Namque melius in nostra dedicanda elementa, in nostro Consecrandis Corpore* ? That the Sacrifices and Victims which he requires, and which we ought to offer up unto him, are Justice, Purity, and Innocence: That though God be invisible, yet he is discovered by his Omnipotence: That he knows all things, and nothing can be concealed from him: That he protected the Jews so long as they honoured him; and 'twas only for their Sins that they have drawn upon themselves his Anger and Vengeance. After having thus discovered the Object of the Christian Worship, he goes on to the Proof of the other Points of their Doctrine. He shews, that the Learned do agree, That the World shall have an End: That *Pythagoras* and *Elato* believed one part of the Resurrection when they taught the Immortality of the Soul, and the *Metempsychosis*: That it is not more difficult for God to raise up Men after their Death, than it was for him to produce them out of nothing: That all the Revolutions of Nature are as so many Images of the Resurrection: That several had rather be annihilated for ever, than to rise again to endure eternal Torments; and that they were confirmed in their Opinion by the Impunity which they enjoyed in this Life: But that the judgment of God will be by so much the more Rigorous, as it is slower in Punishing: That these Torments shall be excessive, and shall have neither End nor Bounds: That the Fire which shall burn the Body without consuming it, shall nourish it (if I may so say) and make it to subsist to all Eternity: That it is sufficient not to know God to be Condemned to suffer these Pains, because it is not a less Sin to be ignorant of him, than to offend him: But that the Heathens shall not be Punished only for this Ignorance of God, they being guilty of several Crimes; that they cannot excuse themselves by alleging Destiny, since Man is a free Agent, and that Destiny is nothing else but the Execution of God's Decrees, which are regulated according to Men's Actions: That that Poverty which is so frequent amongst the Christians, makes for their Glory; that the Evils and Persecutions which they suffered, are no Proof that God has forsaken them, but that he tries and purifies them: That it is a Spectacle well becoming God, to behold a Christian stoutly contending with Pain, standing firm and steadfast in the midst of Torments, insulting over his Executioners and Judges, freely refuting even Princes and Emperors, and yielding only to God. You exalts, says he, to the Skies, a *Scævola*, who after having mist of his Aim in killing a King, voluntarily lost his Hand, and saved his Life by this courageous Action. But how many Persons are there among us, who have suffered without Complaining, not only their Hand, but their whole Body to be burnt, though they could have delivered themselves from these Torments, had they pleased? What do I say? Even our Sons and our Daughters laugh at your Gibbets, at your wild Beasts, and at all your Punishments: And ought not this to convince you, that it is impossible that they would have endured these Pains to no purpose; or that they could be able to suffer them without God's Assistance? And do not think that those Persons are happy, who being utterly ignorant of God, are loaded with Honours and Riches. These are unfortunate Men, who are raised up, that their Downfall might be the greater: these are Victims which are fared for the Sacrifice. For what solid Good can be had without God, since Death shews that all the rest is no more than a Dream? This being so, a Christian may indeed feel to be miserable, but can never be really so: *Christianus videtur potest miseri, non potest esse*. He adds, that they abstain from Pleasures, from publick Sights, and from the Pomps of the World, because all these things are contrary to good Manners, and that their Life is more unblameable than that of the Philosophers, who seem to be wise by their Discourses, and by their outward Appearance, but were by no means found at the Bottom.

After *Octavius* had thus answered all the Objections of *Cecilius*, the last acknowledges himself convinced by his Arguments: I do not expect, says he, the Determination of our Arbitrator; we are equally victorious, *Octavius triumphs over me, and I triumph over Error*. I submit my self therefore to God, I acknowledge his Providence, and I do publicly declare, that the Religion of the Christians, among the Number of whom I place my self from this present, is the only way that discovers the Truth.

This Dialogue is Elegant, the Expressions are Select, the Words proper, the Turn agreeable, the Reasons are set forth to advantage, and beautified with a great deal of Learning. In a word, this small Treatise shews, as *Lactantius* has observed, that *Minutius* had been a very excellent Defender of Religion, and of the Truth, had he entirely applied himself to this Study. But this is rather the Production of one who would divert himself from Business, than a Book written with great Affiduity and Diligence. He flourishes upon his Subject without treating of it thoroughly. He takes more pains in shewing how ridiculous the Opinions of the Heathens are, and in confuting them by their own Authors, than in explaining and proving the Doctrine of the Christians. Besides, he does not appear to be very well skilled in the Mysteries of Religion, and he seems to have believed, that the Soul should die with the Body.

That the Soul should die with the Body. He says, that being made, that there is nothing after Death, as there was no-

This

Minutius
Felix.

This Discourse passed a long time for the Eighth Book of *Arnobius*—for it being found together with the seven Books of *Arnobius* in an ancient Manuscript of the *Vatican Library*, it was printed four times under his Name, before any Body knew its true Author. The Learned Lawyer *Baldwinus* was the first that found out this vulgar Error, and caused this little Treatise to be printed by it self in the Year 1561, at *Heidelberg*, with a learned Preface, wherein he restores it to its true Author. But though we owe to this famous Lawyer the Honour of having first made this Discovery, yet 23 years after, *Cyprian* causing *Arnobius*'s Works to be printed at *Rome*, whether he had not seen *Minutius*'s Edition, or whether he had a mind to attribute all the Honour of this Observation to himself, separated this Book of *Minutius* from those of *Arnobius*, without taking any notice that it had been done before, ascribing to himself by this means the whole Credit of the Discovery. Some time after, in the Year 1603, *Wowerius* caused it to be printed at *Basel* by *Fridericus*, with very useful Notes, for the understanding of this Author. In 1610, it was printed at *Frankfurt* in *Octavo*, according to *Baldwinus*'s Edition. Afterwards *Elmenhorstius* caused it to be printed at *Hamburg* with some new Observations, in the Year 1612, adjoining thereto the Preface of *Baldwinus*. The Year following, *Haraldus* the Lawyer published at *Paris* an Edition of *Minutius* in *Quarto*, which was more correct than the others. Lastly, *Rigaltius* revising very diligently from a Manuscript in the King's Library, being the same which was in the *Vatican*, put it forth in the Year 1643, with very learned and curious Notes; and it was re-printed at *Amsterdam* in 1645, together with *Julius Firmicus*. This Edition of *Rigaltius* was followed in the Edition of *S. Cyprian* of 1666, to whose Notes they have added part of those of *Wowerius*, *Elmenhorstius*, *Oigelius*, and those lately made by *Prætorius*. Lastly, All these Notes were printed together with the Text, after the manner which they call *Variorum*, in the Year 1672.

S. Hieron says, That in his Time there was a Book concerning Destiny attributed to *Minutius Felix*; but though this might be the Work of an eloquent Author, yet it was not written with the same Style with this Dialogue. It is true, that *Cecilius* promises in this Dialogue, to treat more largely of Destiny upon another occasion: but to tell whether he did it or no, or whether this Treatise that was extant in *S. Hieron*'s Time, was the same which he promised, or rather, whether this Promise gave occasion to some other Author to forge a Discourse thereof under *Minutius*'s Name, are things which we cannot positively determine.

Four times.] The first by *Sabaeus*, according to the Manuscript of *Rome*, in the Year 1542. The second in Germany by *Gelenius*. The third in Holland, at *Leiden*, in the Year 1552. The fourth at *Basel*, by *Erasmus*, in 1560.

AMMONIUS.

Ammonius
Felix.

AMMONIUS, a Christian Philosopher, the Master of *Plotinus* and *Origen*, flourished in *Alexandria*, where he publicly taught Philosophy in *Alexander Severus*'s Reign. *Porphyry* falsely accuses him for having quitted the Christian Religion, in which he had been educated: for it is certain, as *Eusebius* and *S. Hieron* observe, That he always continued steadfast in the Doctrine and Precepts of Christianity. Witness, says *Eusebius*, those excellent Works that he has left behind him, which are so many authentick Monuments of his Faith and his Ability; as the Book intitled, *The Agreement between Moses and Jesus Christ*, and all the other Pieces which may be found in the Hands of studious Persons. In the Number of these Works we may reckon a Gospel composed out of all the Four: which was a kind of Harmony and Concord which he had drawn up with a great deal of Pains and Study, as is testified by *Eusebius* in his Epistle to *Carpianus*, placed at the beginning of his Canons upon the Evangelists. Which has given occasion to *S. Hieron* to affirm, that *Ammonius* writ Canons like those of *Eusebius*. But they were not, properly speaking, Canons which *Ammonius* composed; for the Canons were no more than Indices of the Places of the Gospels, which are contained in One, Two, Three or Four of the Evangelists; whereas *Ammonius*'s Harmony or Concord contained the entire Text of the Four Evangelists, which *Eusebius* made use of in making his Canons, which referred to this Concord, and were a Table to it. *Trithemius* likewise attributes Canons to *Ammonius*, but they are those of *Eusebius*. We have at present in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* an Harmony of the Four Evangelists, falsely attributed to *Tatianus* by *Vittor* of *Caesus*; which Cardinal *Baronius*, Father *Labbe*, and several other Learned Men do ascribe to *Ammonius*. It is certain, that this was not written by *Tatianus*, who retrenched the Genealogies of Jesus Christ, which are to be found in this Concord. It bears the Name of *An Harmony*, and it is ascribed in the Title to an *Alexandrian*, which made *Baronius* conjecture that it was written by this *Ammonius*, who was of *Alexandria*, and whose Works bore the Title of an *Harmony*. *Zacharias*, Bishop of *Cyprus*, who lived in the Twelfth Century, and made Commentaries upon *Ammonius*'s Harmony, has followed this word for Word, which confirms *Baronius*'s Conjecture.

Master of *Plotinus* and *Origen*.] *Porphyry* says, in *Plotinus*'s Life, That this Philosopher, when he was twenty years old, came to hear *Ammonius*; that he was his Disciple for eleven years; and that he had another Disciple named *Origen*. But, as we shall observe elsewhere, this is a different Person from the famous *Origen*. Nevertheless, *Eusebius* assures us, That our *Origen* was likewise his Scholar, and it

seems undeniable, and we must needs confess, that there were two *Origen*s, who were Disciples to *Ammonius*. Flourished in *Alexandria*.] There was another *Ammonius*, a Philosopher likewise, who lived after the Council of *Chalcedon*. He was somewhat older than *Origen*, and a *Platonist*.

ORIGEN.

Origen.

ORIGEN^a was born in the City of *Alexandria*, about the year 183; from the Birth of *Christ*. Besides the Name of *Origen*, he had moreover that of *Adamantius*.^b His Father, who was called *Leonidas*, educated him in the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, and did not only cause him in his Youth to learn the polite Learning, with all the profane Sciences, but he particularly ordered him to apply himself to the understanding of the Holy Scripture, before any other kind of Learning, giving him every day some Portions thereof to learn and repeat. And it happened very luckily, that the Son's Inclination exactly answered the Father's Design; for he pursued his Study with a most extraordinary Zeal and Ferrency; and as he was endowed with a quick Apprehension, and very great Sagacity, he did not content himself with that Sense which at first view presented it self, but he afterwards endeavoured to dive into the mysterious and allegorical Explication of the Sacred Books, and sometimes would even puzzle his Father by asking him the meaning of some Passages of Scripture, which obliged this good Man seemingly to reprehend him, and to advise him not to soar above the reach of his Understanding, and to content himself with the most clear and natural sense of the Scripture; though inwardly he was extremely joyful, and returned Thanks unto God with all his Heart, for his great Mercy, in bestowing on him such a Son. But that these Opinions may not be attributed either to the blind Love of a Father for his Child, or to that Affection which *Eusebius*, who relates these things, had for *Origen*, it may be sufficient to observe, That *S. Hieron*, even then when he wrote against *Origen*, with the greatest Earnestness, was obliged to acknowledge, that he had been an extraordinary Person from his very Infancy. *Magnus vir ab infanzia*. Ep. 65. ad *Pammachium de erroribus Origenis*. When he was a little more advanced in Years, he had for his Master in Philosophy, the famous *Ammonius*,^c the Christian Philosopher; and in Divinity, the learned *S. Clement* of *Alexandria*. He was not above sixteen or seventeen years of age, when the Persecution began at *Alexandria*, in the 10th Year of the Reign of *Severus*, and the 22d from the Birth of *Christ*. His Father being seized and imprisoned upon the account of the Christian Faith, he would also have offered himself to the Persecutors, out of the great Zeal he had to suffer Martyrdom; but his Mother opposed it very stiffly, and was even forced to hide his Cloaths, to prevent him from going abroad to put his Design in Execution: And being thus detained against his Will, he wrote a Letter to his Father to exhort him to Martyrdom, wherein he expresses himself thus: *Stand steadfast, my Father, and take care not to alter your Opinion upon our Account*. *Leonidas* being animated by his Son's Exhortation, courageously suffered Martyrdom, and was beheaded within a little while after. His Goods having been confiscated, *Origen* remaining with his Mother and Brethren, was reduced to extreme Poverty; but a certain Lady of *Alexandria*, who was very rich, whether out of Compassion to his Misery, or out of the Respect he had for him, afforded him all kind of Assistance, and even took him into her House. There lived with her at the same time a famous Heretic of *Antich*, whom she had adopted for her Son, who held Conferences in her House, where a great Number, not only of Heretics, but also of Catholics, were present. But though *Origen* was obliged of necessity to converse with this Man, yet he would never hold Communion with him in Prayer, keeping exactly to the Ecclesiastical Constitutions, and testifying the Abhorrence that he had for the Doctrine of the Heretics. However, in a little time he put himself into such a Condition, as not to stand any longer in need of his Ladies Assistance; for applying himself entirely, after his Father's Death, to the Study of Human Learning, he taught Grammar, and by his Employment he got a sufficient Competency to maintain himself.

^a *Origen*.] There is not any Ecclesiastical Author, whose Life we have more exactly. *Eusebius*, who was his great Admirer, has described it very particularly. 'Tis from him that we have taken, without citing him, almost all that we have related concerning him. We must add thereto *S. Hieron* in his Catalogue, and in several other Places. *Ruffinus* against *S. Hieron*. *S. Epiphanius* in the 6th Heretic; *Plinius* in the 118th Volume, where he has given an Abridgment of the Apology of *Pamphilus*, and what *Origen* says of himself, *Tom. 6. in Math. & alibi*. We have also made use of the Assistance of the Moderns, and particularly of that famous Work of *Huetius*, intitled *Origéniana*; of the Life of *Tertullian* and *Origen*, written in French by a worthy Man; which we say as much to do them Justice, as to take off from our selves the Imputation of being a Plagiary. [Our Author means *Dr. Alix*, Treasurer of the Church of *Swan*, who had a great Esteem paid to him in his own Country for his extraordinary Learning, till the late Persecution forced him thither for Relief.

^b *Was born in the City of Alexandria, about the year 183 from the Birth of Christ*.] *S. Epiphanius* says, That he was an *Alexandrian*. *Eusebius* says, That he was seventeen years old at the time of the Persecution of *Severus*, which was in the year 102 from the Birth of *Christ*, and by consequence he was born in 185.

^c *He had moreover that of Adamantius*.] *Plinius* believes that he had this Name by reason of the strength of his Reasonings. *S. Hieron* says, That he had it because he resisted Errors like a Diamond. But this is only guessing: We may say the same of those who seek for the Etymology of the Name of *Origen*, out of a needless Curiosity.

^d *He had for his Master in Philosophy, the famous Ammonius*.] There were two *Origen*. Disciples to *Ammonius*: The first of whom, *Porphyr* speaks of in the Life of *Plinius*, and *Leontius*, who wrote nothing but a small Treatise of Demons, and lived but to the Reign of *Gallienus*, and who was *Porphyr*'s Disciple and Friend, which does not agree with our *Origen*, as has been observed by *Valsius* and *Huetius*.

Whilst

which he followed this Profession, the Chair of the School at *Alexandria* becoming vacant by the Retreat of *S. Clement*, and by the Flight of all those who were dispersed by the Persecution, some of the Heathens, who were willing to be converted, made their Application to him, though he was not then above eighteen years old. The two first of his Disciples were *Plutarch*, and *Heracles* his Brother, who succeeded *Demetrius* in the See of *Alexandria*. At length, the Reputation and Number of those that were converted by him increasing every day more and more, *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, confirmed him in the Employment of Catechist, or Professor of Sacred Learning in the Church of *Alexandria*. When he saw himself settled in this Charge, he left of teaching Grammar, not being willing to depend upon any other Profession for his Subsistence: He sold all his Books that treated of human Learning, contenting himself with four *Oboli* a day, which were allowed him by the Person who purchased them.

And then it was that he began to lead a very strict and severe Life, which contributed no less than his Learning to attract to him a great number of Disciples, notwithstanding the Fury of the Persecution, which being then begun at *Alexandria*, under the Government of *Letus*, continued still with greater Violence under *Aquila* his Successor. He had several of his Disciples there, who suffered Martyrdom in the same Place; among others, *Plutarch*, *Serenus*, *Heracles*, *Hero*, &c. And he was himself very often exposed to the Rage of the Heathens, when he went to the Assistance and Encouragement of the Martyrs. He then carried his Austerities so far, as to commit an Act of their Excess, so to be blamed even by those who have been his greatest Defenders, and which he himself afterwards condemned, though he might do it upon a good Motive, and out of an excessive Zeal for Charity. For as his Employment obliges him to be often with Women, whom he instructed as well as Men, that he might take away from the Heathens all pretence of Suspicion of any ill Conduct by reason of his Youth, he resolved with himself to execute to the Letter that Perfection which he was persuaded was proposed by *Jesus Christ* in these Words of the Gospel; *That there are some who make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven*. He was willing to keep this Action private, and did all he could to conceal it from his Friends: but it was presently discovered; and being come to the Knowledge of *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, he commended his Zeal, and the Ferrency of his Faith, and bad him not be discouraged upon that Account, but to continue more earnestly in the Instruction of the Catechumens.

In the mean time, *Origen*'s Reputation increased daily more and more, and procured him so great a Number of Disciples, that he himself alone was not able to manage it: and therefore he committed to his Friend *Heracles* the Care of those who were to be instructed in the first Principles of Religion, reserving to himself such as were advanced to a higher Degree of Knowledge. It was about this time, in the beginning of the Reign of *Antoninus*, that he went to *Rome*; under the Pontificate of *Zephyrinus*; and much about the same time, he likewise composed that great and famous Work, called the *Tetraloga*; which was a Bible, wherein by the side of the Hebrew Text, he had transcribed in different Columns, the Translation of the *Septuagint*; that of *Aquila*, that of *Symmachus*, and that of *Theodotius*, distinguished by Verbs; and he added thereto afterwards two other Versions without any Authors Name, and a Seventh only upon the Psalms, which he found at *Jerico* in a Barrel; and these Versions, with the Hebrew, written both in Hebrew and Greek Characters, make up that which is called the *Hexapla*. These Works mightily increased his Reputation, and drew from all Parts into *Alexandria* a great Number of learned Persons to converse with *Origen*, and to be instructed by him. *Ambrase* was one of this Number: He anathematized the Heresie of *Valentinus*, in which he had been engaged, to embrace the Orthodox Faith. *Origen* was afterwards obliged several times to leave *Alexandria*: For first he was sent for by an Arabian Prince, who wrote to *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and to the Governour thereof, to send him to him to be instructed by him; and a little while after, this City being cruelly harra's'd by the War which the Emperor *Antoninus Caracalla* made against its Inhabitants for having affronted him by their Jears and Scoffs, *Origen* retired into *Palestine*; and being come to settle in the City of *Cæsarea*, the Bishops of that Province desired him to expound publicly the Scripture in that Church, and to instruct the People in their Prefence, though he was not yet a Priest; to which Request of theirs he complied. Now whether *Demetrius* envied him this Honour, or whether he was persuaded that they had violated the Rules of the Church, he wrote to these Prelates, telling them, That it was a thing unheard of, and that it had been never practised till then, that Lay-men should Preach in the Prefence of Bishops. But *Alexander of Jerusalem*, and *Theodotius of Cæsarea*, writing back to him, proved by several Instances, That this had been often put in Practice. In the mean time, *Demetrius* had written to *Origen* to come home; and having also sent some Deacons to press his Return, he was obliged to betake himself again to his first

^e *And which he himself afterwards condemned, though he might do it upon a good Motive*.] *Eusebius*, his great Advocate, speaks of it in such a manner as shews he was ashamed of it. The Passages where *Origen* himself has condemned it, are in the 15th Sermon upon *S. Matthew*, Chap. 19. Ver. 12. and against *Celsus*, Book 7. We do not know whether he made use of Iron, or of some particular Simple; nor is it any great matter if we did not know it.

^f *In the beginning of the Reign of Antoninus, that he went to Rome*.] *Barnius* places this Voyage under

Heliogabalus, and says that *Origen* was sent for to *Rome* by *Mammaea*; but he is mistaken, for *Mammaea* caused him to come to *Antich*, and not to *Rome*.

^g *That Work which is called the Hexapla*.] See *Valsius* upon *Eusebius*, where he proves that the *Hexapla* do comprehend six entire Versions, and that the seventh was only upon the Psalms. *Eusebius* writes, that they were composed at this time. *S. Epiphanius* believes that they were made at *Tyre*. As they are great Works, and tedious to compose, 'tis likely that he began them then, and finished them afterwards.

P p

Employ

Employment. Some time after, he was again diverted from it by Order of the Prince's *Memoirs*, who caused him to come to *Arsinoë*, that he might see, and discourse with him: but staying with her but a little while, he returned to *Alexandria*, and fell again to work upon the Holy Scriptures, with the Assistance of his Friend *Ambrose*, who furnished him with Copies. He continued there till the Year 228, when he departed from thence with Letters of Recommendation from his Bishops, to go into *Achaia* about some Ecclesiastical Affairs. It was in this Voyage, as he passed through *Palestine*, that he was ordained Priest by the Bishops of this Province, being 42 years old. This Ordination of *Origen* by Foreign Bishops extremely incensed his Diocesan *Demetrius* against him, it having been done without his Permission. He wrote every where Letters against him, upbraiding him for the Action which he had committed in his Youth. However, *Origen* returned to *Alexandria*, where he continued to write his Commentaries upon the Sacred Scripture. It was then that he published his five Books of Commentaries upon the Gospel of *S. John*, eight Books upon *Genesis*, Commentaries upon the first Five and twenty *Psalms*, and upon the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*; his Books de *Principiis*, and his *Sermons*.

All this while the Bishop of *Alexandria* was not at all appeased, but continued to persecute him: And in a Council which he assembled in the Year 231, it was ordained, That *Origen* should go out of *Alexandria*; that he should not be permitted to teach there any longer, nor so much as to live there; but that nevertheless he should not be deprived of his Dignity of Priesthood. *Origen* being banished from *Alexandria*, retired to *Cæsarea*, his ordinary Place of Refuge, where he was very well received by *Theophilus*, Bishop of that City, and by *Alexander*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who undertook to defend him, and commissioned him to expound publicly the Scripture, hearing him as if he had been their Master. But *Demetrius* not being satisfied with the first Judgment given against *Origen*, accused him in a Council of the Bishops of *Egypt*, and having caused him to be Deposed, and even to be Excommunicated, according to *S. Hierom*, wrote at the same time to all Parts against him, to procure his being thrust out of the Communion of the Catholic Church. For when once a Priest was excommunicated, and deposed by his Bishop by the Consent of the Bishops of the Province, he could not be any longer received in any Church. There was no need of examining whether it was justly or unjustly that he had been condemned in his Province. So that it is no wonder if all the Bishops of the World, excepting those of *Palestine*, *Arabia*, *Phœnicia* and *Achaia*, who were particularly acquainted with *Origen*, and with whom he had a most familiar Intimacy, should consent to his Condemnation; and if *Rome* its self, having assembled its Senate against him, says *S. Hierom*, that is to say, its Clergy, did condemn him after the Example of his own Bishop. We believe, says *S. Augustin*, to a Subject almost like this, *whatsoever we are informed of by Letters from a Council, and we must not do otherwise*. For those who had not any particular Knowledge of *Origen*, ought to believe him guilty; and those who knew him, that they might not violate that Order of Discipline, ought to consent to his Excommunication, after it was once signified to them by his own Bishop. And so it was that *Marcion* being excommunicated by his Father, and his Bishop, and being come to *Rome*, desiring to be received there into Communion, received this Answer from the Clergy of that Church: *We cannot receive you, without the Consent of your Father; for as there is in the Church but one and the same Faith, so there ought to be therein but one and the same Spirit, and one and the same Discipline*. Therefore, by a great Number of Canons and Ecclesiastical Constitutions, it was absolutely prohibited to any Bishop whatever, and even to the Bishops of *Rome* himself, to receive into Communion those Priests who had been excommunicated by their Bishops upon any Pretence whatever. Nevertheless *Origen* found, as we have said, some Protectors, especially in *Palestine*, where he continued to explain the Scripture at *Cæsarea* with great Reputation, both in the Life-time, and after the Death of *Demetrius*, who lived not long after he had condemned *Origen*. All sorts of Persons, not only from that Province, but even from remote Countries, came to be his Disciples. The most famous were, *Gregory*, Surnamed afterwards *Theaumaturgus*, who was Bishop of *Neocesarea*, and his Brother *Athenodorus*. But though after *Demetrius*'s Death, the Persecution which he had raised against *Origen* abated a little, yet he was always looked upon as a Person excommunicated by all the Egyptians, and the Sentence which was given against him by *Demetrius* continued under his Successors. *Heraclius* and *Dionysius*, though the first had been *Origen*'s Disciple, and the second had a great Esteem for him. In this time he went on with his Commentaries upon *S. John*, and he began to compose some upon *Ezekiel* and *Isaiah*.

^b About some Ecclesiastical Affairs. This Buiness was without doubt to confute Heresies which were at that time very numerous in *Achaia*, as *S. Hierom* and *Ruffinus* relate. This probablist was in this Voyage that he wrote, whilst he was at *Nicomedia*, (as he himself observes) his Letter to *Africanus* concerning the History of *Susaena*. It was likewise at this time that he convinced two Hereticks of falsifying the Conferences which he had with them, and of making him say what he never said. *Ruffinus* relates this in the Book de *Adul. lib. Orig.*

¹ Accused him in a Council of the Bishops of *Egypt*. *Photius*, Cod. 118. makes mention of these two Councils, and *S. Hierom*. Lib. 2. in *Ruff. c. 5.*

² The Sentence which was given against him by *Demetrius* continued under his Successors. *Gennadius* says, That *Theophilus* reports that *Heraclius* drove *Origen* out of the Church; and the Author of the Life of *S. Paphnutius*, says the same thing, as well as *Peter of Alexandria*, cited by *Justinian* in his Letter against *Origen*. It is most certain that the Sentence given against him was not revoked, and that not one of the Egyptians would have any thing to do with him.

After the Death of *Alexander*, under whose Reign all this hapned, his Successor *Maximinus* stirred up a Persecution against the Church in the Year 235. *Ambrose*, *Origen*'s Friend, and *Theophilus*, Priests of *Cæsarea*, having been taken and brought before this Emperor, upon the account of the Christian Religion, *Origen* lent them an Exhortation to Martyrdom. Nevertheless, he concealed himself during this Persecution, and retired for some time to the City of *Athens*, where he finished his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel* and went on with the Commentaries upon the Song of *Solomon*, which he finished when he returned to *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, from whence he went afterwards to *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, where he remained some time with *Firmilian*, who invited him thither.

Under the Reign of *Gordianus*, which began in the Year 238, *Beryllus*, Bishop of *Bostira*, in *Arabia*, fell into a very gross Error, affirming, That our Lord, before his Incarnation, was not a Person subsisting. Some Bishops being assembled to convince him of this Error, they caused *Origen* to come thither also. After that several Bishops had had Conferences and Disputes with this Bishop, *Origen* being desired to enter the Lists with him, disconcerted him at first familiarly, being willing to be thoroughly informed of his Opinion; and after having perfectly understood his Error, and the Grounds upon which he pretended to maintain it, he convinced him by several Reasons, and set him again in the right Way, forcing him to acknowledge his Error. The Records of all that passed in this Affair were preserved for a long time after, wherein was to be seen the Sentiments of *Beryllus*; the Opinions of the Bishops who met there, the Questions proposed to him by *Origen*, and the whole Conference which they had together in his Church. *S. Hierom* takes notice, That in his Time, *Origen*'s Dialogue with *Beryllus* was extant. This Bishop having acknowledged his Error, preserved the Purity of his Faith even to his Death, and had an extraordinary Kindness for *Origen*, to whom he wrote several Letters. *S. Hierom* places him among the Number of the Ecclesiastical Writers.

Afterwards *Origen* was called, under the Reign of *Philip*, to another Assembly of Bishops, which was held against some *Arabians*, who maintained, That the Souls of Men died, and were raised again with their Bodies. After having spoke in the Preference of them all, upon the Question which was in agitation, he defended the Truth, and attacked this Error with that Force of Argument, that he caused all those to change their Opinion, who had fallen into the Mistake.

He was then Threescore years old, or thereabouts, and yet this did not hinder him from carrying on his Works with the same, or rather with greater Diligence; for he did not only compose several Books in his Study, but he made almost every day Discourses to the People, and for the most part without any time allowed to prepare them, which were nevertheless so well esteemed, that the Transcribers took them after him as he delivered them, and published them afterwards. This Employment did not take him off from composing several considerable Books; as his Eight Books against *Celsus*, Twenty five Volumes upon *S. Matthew*, Twenty five Volumes of Commentaries upon the Minor Prophets, a Letter to the Emperor *Philip*, and one to *Soveria* his Wife. *S. Hierom* says, That he wrote also a Letter to *Pope Fabianus*, wherein he sets forth his Recanting of the Errors which he had written, and laid the Blame of them upon *Ambrose*. If this be so, he did it to make this Pope favourable to him, that he might get again into the Communion of the Roman Church. He wrote also at this time against the Hereticks called *Helesaites*.

Afterwards, in the Persecution of *Decius*, which was about the same time, *Origen* suffered with great Contancy for the Faith. He was seized, put into Prison, loaded with Irons; he had for several Days his Feet in the Stocks, where they were cruelly extended, even to the greatest Extremity: They threatened him to burn him alive, and they rack'd him with several sorts of Tortures, to try his Patience to the utmost; but he endured all with an undaunted Resolution. ^a Being come out of Prison, he held several Conferences, and wrote Letters worthy of a Holy Confessor of Jesus Christ. Lastly, After having laboured so much, and suffered with such great Credit and Glory, he died in the beginning of the Reign of *Gallus*,

^a A Letter to the Emperor *Philip*, and one to *Soveria* his Wife. Some have believed that this Emperor was a Christian, and say that *Babylas* deprived him from the Communion of the Church till he had repented for the Murders which he had committed; but this Story is very uncertain.

^b But he endured all with an undaunted Resolution. *S. Epiphanius* accuses him for approaching to the Heathen Altars, and for making as if he would offer Incense to the Gods: But this Story, and almost every thing that *Epiphanius* says concerning *Origen*, is fabulous, and invented by some Enemy to *Origen*, who deceived *S. Epiphanius*, a Man easily imposed upon. To shew that this Story is false, 'tis sufficient to observe, that even *Origen*'s greatest Enemies, as *Theo-*

philus, *S. Hierom*, *Justinian*, &c. who have omitted nothing to cry him down, have taken no notice at all of it; and that his Defenders, *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus*, are so far from excusing him from this Crime, that they have on the contrary commended his Constancy and Resolution. 'Tis true, *S. Epiphanius* does not say that this hapned in the Persecution of *Decius*, as *Nicephorus* does; but in what time soever they fix this Accident, it is equally overthrown by the Observation we just now made. It is also less probable, when it is referred to the time of *Maximinus*'s Persecution; for what likelihood is there that *Origen*, after having committed so gross a Fault, should be honoured, as he was, by the Bishops of *Palestine*?

in the Year Two hundred fifty two, from the Birth of Christ; and in the Sixty sixth Year of his

Though what we have remaining at present of the Works of Origen, makes up several considerable Volumes, yet they are nothing in comparison to what he has wrote. *Eusebius*, had made an exact Catalogue of his Works, in the Apology which he made for him, under the Name of the Martyr *Pamphilus*; and *S. Hierom* did the same in one of his Letters. But both of these Catalogues being lost, we have no knowledge of any, but those that have been cited by the Ancients; which still are much more in number than those which we have now remaining.

We may distinguish two kinds of Works written by Origen. The One are upon the Sacred Scriptures, and the Others are separate Treatises upon different Subjects. He had composed three sorts of Books upon the Scripture, not to mention his *Hexapla* and *Tetrapla*, which were rather a Collection than a Work; to wit, *Commentaries*, *Scholia*, and *Homilies*. In his *Commentaries*, he wholly gave up himself to that Heat and Fire which was natural to him, to penetrate the height and depth of the Scripture, and the most mysterious Interpretation thereof, the better. His *Scholia* were, on the contrary, only short Notes to explain the difficult Places. These two kinds of Works were more for the Learned, than for the use of the People; whereas the *Homilies*, which the *Latins* call *Treatises*, and which we call *Sermons*, were Moral Instructions upon the Holy Scripture. We have none of the *Scholia* remaining, nor have we hardly any of the *Homilies* in Greek; and those which we have, in *Latin*, are translated by *Ruffinus*, and others with so much Liberty, that it is a difficult matter to discern what is Origen's own, from what has been foisted in by the Interpreter. A great part likewise of his *Commentaries* are entirely lost. The following Table will present you in one View those Works which we know to have been composed by Origen upon the Scripture, what we have left of them in Greek, and what we have only remaining of them in *Latin*.

He died in the Year 252 from the Birth of Christ, and in the 66th Year of his Age. According to *Eusebius*, Lib. 7. cap. 11. he died in the first Year of the Reign of *Gallus*; and *S. Hierom*, in his 67th Epistle, written 400 years after Christ, says, That it was 150 years after Origen's Death. It is certain, according to *Eusebius*, that in the Year 202 Origen was seventeen years old, and that in the third year of the Emperor *Philip* he was above sixty years old. So that if we suppose him to have lived but sixty six years, as *S. Hierom* assures us in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, he must have died in the beginning of the Reign of *Gallus*, in the Year 252; but if he lived sixty nine years, as *Eusebius* writes, he must have lived to the end of the Reign of *Gallus*; that is to say, till the year 254 or 255.

Yet they are nothing in comparison to what he has written. It is certain that he composed a very great Number of Books; and he made them with that ease, that he could hardly find Scribes enough, as both his Friends and Enemies agree. *S. Hierom* in his 67th Letter to *Pammachius*, speaking of Origen, says, Who is there of you that can read as many Books as he has composed? And in another Place, he says, That he compiled an innumerable company of Books. *Theophilus* says the same thing. *Eusebius* says, That he filled the World with his Works. *Vincentius Lirinensis* affirms, That none has written more than him; and it is upon this Account that he had the Name given him of *Chalcocentus*, and *Synacticus*. *S. Epiphanius*

and *Ruffinus* say, That he writ 6000 Volumes. *S. Hierom* seems to dispute it, telling us, That there is not the third part of them in *Eusebius's* Catalogue. By the Word *Volumen*, we must not understand such Tomes as are now a days, but only small Works; so every Homily, every part of a Book, is in this sense a Volume: so that we need not admire, though he had written 6000 Volumes.

As translated by *Ruffinus* and others with so much Liberty. *Ruffinus* says it himself in the Conclusion to his Version of the *Commentaries* upon the *Romans*; and *S. Hierom* also somewhere upbraids him with it. And besides, this appears by the Translation itself, which is full of Figures and Allusions to *Latin* Words, of Terms taken in another sense than what they were in Origen's Time, where the Trinity and other Mysteries are expressed in such Terms as were not used till after the Council of *Nice*, and where there are Points of Discipline more modern than Origen's Age; which has given occasion to those who have not considered the Liberty that *Ruffinus* took of adding or leaving out what he pleased, to doubt whether the greatest part of these Works were Origen's or no. The Liberty which *Ruffinus* has given himself is still more evident, by what he has written in the Prologue to his Version of the *Commentary* upon the Epistle to *Romans*, which he says he has Abridged by above the half. *S. Hierom's* Versions are not more exact; and the most faulty of all is that of an ancient Translator, who has interpreted the *Commentaries* upon *S. Matthew*.

DAVID.

The Books of Origen, of which we have any knowledge, and by whom they are cited.

The Books or Fragments of Origen, which we have in Greek, and whence they are taken.

The Latin Books of Origen, and their Translators.

Proofs and Notes upon the Table.

Origen.

S. Epiphanius, and after him *Cedrenus* and *Suidas*, say, That Origen writ upon all the Books of the Holy Scripture. We shall here give the several Books in order, of which there remains now any knowledge.

Thirteen Tomes of *Commentaries*, and two Books of *Mythical Homilies* upon *Genesis*, related by *Eusebius* in his Books of *Præparations*. The first upon Ver. 12. of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, taken from the 7th Book. The second taken out of the third Tome, upon Ver. 14. taken from the 6th Book; and *S. Hierom* himself on *Damasius*, q. 1.

Two Books of *Mythical Homilies* upon *Genesis*. *Ideen* *Ibid*.

Pamphilus in his Apology produces a small Fragment of his Preface upon *Genesis*.

Commentaries upon *Exodus* in the *Philocalia*, cap. 26. *Item*, Some *Scholia*.

And twelve *Homilies*. *Scholia* upon *Leuiticus*, and sixteen *Homilies*. *Ruffinus*, *myth. 2. c. in Prologo Homil. in Num.*

Commentaries upon *Deuteronomy*, which he cites himself, *Tom. 32. in Joan.* and in the 2nd Homily upon *S. Luke*. *Calixtus* had seen eight Books of them, *de Inst. Doct. c. 2.*

Some *Homilies*. *Ruffinus*. *Prologo de Urul.*

Six and twenty *Homilies* upon *Ysaiah*.

Nine *Homilies* upon the Books of *Judges*.

Two *Homilies* upon the *Kings*: One upon the first Chapter of the first Book; and the other, *intituled*, *De Evangelio*.

Calixtus had seen another upon the first Book of *Kings*, one upon the Second, and a very long one upon the second Book of *Chronicles*. *Lib. Oriental. Div. cap. 2.*

He composed several *Homilies* upon *Job*; witness *Eusebius* in *Diagnostico de Evangelio*; and *S. Hierom* Ep. 75. The first of whom tells us, That he had said some things very childlike concerning the Names of *Job's* Daughters; and the second, that he had said some things concerning the Stars, and against the Devil, which the Church does not receive.

He was the first that made *Commentaries* upon all the *Psalms*, as *S. Hierom* tells us, Ep. 89. *S. Hilary* has copied

Three Fragments of Tomes, some *Commentaries* upon *Genesis*, related by *Eusebius* in his Books of *Præparations*.

The first upon Ver. 12. of the first Chapter of *Genesis*, taken from the 7th Book.

The second taken out of the third Tome, upon Ver. 14. taken from the 6th Book; and in the 22d Chapter of the *Philocalia*.

The third, which is in the *Philocalia*, cap. 14. is extracted out of the same Tome upon the 16th Verse.

Some Fragments taken from the *Philocalia*, cap. 16, & 17. Some *Commentaries* upon *Exodus*, and upon *Leuiticus* [2].

A Fragment of the 20th Homily upon *Ysaiah*, in the *Philocalia*, cap. 12.

The Homily de *Engelismis* was taken from a Manuscript of the *Vatican Library*, and published by *Leo Allatius* in 1629, with *Eusebius's* Edition in *Hebræum*, who wrote against this Homily of Origen's. The Subject of this Discourse is, to enquire whether the Witch of *Endor* did really raise the Soul of *Samuel*, or whether the Devil only appeared in his shape. Origen maintains the first Opinion, and *Eusebius* the second, Authors are divided hereon.

A Fragment upon the first Psalm, taken from *S. Epiphanius*, *Heret. 64*. Three others taken from the *Philocalia*, cap. 2, & 3.

Another Fragment containing the Catalogue of the Sacred Books, taken from *Eusebius's* History, *lib. 6. cap. 23*. Another from *S. Epiphanius*, *Ibid*.

Seventeen *Latin Homilies* upon *Genesis*, translated by *Ruffinus* [1]. It is doubted whether they be not extracted from the two Books of *Mythical Homilies*, because they seem to be of the number of those which were made *ex tempore*, and transcribed by the Writers. The last Homily is imperfect.

Twelve *Homilies* upon *Exodus*, translated by *Ruffinus*.

Sixteen upon *Leuiticus*, attributed falsely to *S. Cyril*, translated also by *Ruffinus*.

Eight and twenty *Homilies* upon *Numbers*, which are doubtful, because they were translated by *Ruffinus* with great liberty [3].

Six and twenty *Homilies* upon *Ysaiah*, to which there is a Preface attributed to *S. Hierom*; but 'tis more likely to be by *Ruffinus*, as well in the Translation of this Work, both because of the conformity of Style in the Prologue and in the Version, as because he owns them in the conclusion of the *Commentaries* upon the Epistle to the *Romans*.

Nine *Homilies* upon *Judges*, all translated by *Ruffinus* for the same Reasons.

The first Homily upon the *Kings*, which is in all probability done by the same Interpreter.

Nine *Homilies* upon the *Psalms*, translated by *Ruffinus*.

[1] In the Prologue to *Urul*, which is written by *Ruffinus*, he says, That he has collected and translated into *Latin*, the *Homilies* of Origen upon the whole *Pentateuch*; so that this Version in *Merlin's* Edition bears *S. Hierom's* Name, yet it was made by *Ruffinus*, as *Erasmus* and *Genebrard* acknowledge. The Author of the Conclusion to the Version of the *Commentaries* upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, which is also *Ruffinus*, says positively, That he had translated Origen's *Homilies* upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Leuiticus*: They are those that follow.

[2] There is in the *Philocalia*, cap. 1. a passage taken from the second Homily upon *Leuiticus*, which is not to be found in those *Latin Homilies* which we have. He must therefore necessarily have written more than sixteen. Besides, in the which we have, *Hom. 4. & 6.* he cites more of them.

[3] The Style is *Ruffinus's*, who made a Preface thereto; in which he affirms, and also in his Prologue to *Urul*, that he has collected in this Work, and disposed in order, all that he could find of Origen upon *Numbers*, whether they were written in *Hebrew*, or *Scholia*; so that this Work is more *Ruffinus's* than Origen's; and we must not wonder, if we therein find some Explications, which appear to be of a *Latin Author*, and later than Origen.

Origen.

Works of Origen.

A Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians. *Apolog. de Pampilio.*

One upon the Epistle to the Thessalonians. *Her. Ep. 52.*
One upon the Epistle to Titus. *Apolog. Pampilio.*

Some Commentaries and Homilies upon the Epistle to the Hebrews.

He promised a Commentary upon the *Apocalypse*, Tom. 3 in *Matth.*

Greek Works or Fragments of Origen.

Eusebius lib. 6. cap. 25. relates a Fragment upon the Epistle to the Hebrews.

All these Greek Fragments are exactly collected by *Huetius* in the two Volumes which he has published, containing all that remains in Greek of Origen's Works upon the Scriptures; and 'tis to him that we are indebted for almost all the Remarks that are here. He has not inserted the Fragments which are in the *Catena*, because he believes they are not of any great Authority.

Latin Works of Origen.

Fragments or Commentaries upon the Epistles to the Galatians and to Titus, in the *Apology of Pamphilus*.

S. Hieron, in the Epistle to *Alexander*, declares a Fragment of the Commentaries of Origen upon the Epistle to the Thessalonians.

Lastly, There are some Fragments of a Commentary upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the *Apology of Pamphilus*.

Proofs and Notes upon the Table.

Origen.

1658. The *Exhortation to Marrydom* has been lately published by *Wagenaar*, the Greek Professor at *Basil*, together with the Letter to *Africanus*, concerning the History of *Sufanna*; which was formerly set forth in part by *Hefebelin*, in the Year 1602. We have likewise the Version of the four Books of *Principiis*, compiled by *Ruffinus*. But he has taken too much Liberty^a, that we cannot discern what is Origen's own. There are some Latin Fragments of the Books of the Resurrection, cited in the *Apology of Pamphilus*, which we have only in Latin. The Letter to *S. Gregory Thaumaturgus* is entire in Greek in the *Philocalia*. *Ruffinus* relates a Fragment of a Letter to *thoile of Alexandria*, where he complains that he had corrupted his Books. *S. Hieron* accuses him for having omitted, that in this same Letter *Origen* railled at *Demetrius*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and at those others who had condemned him. *Eusebius* also produces, as we have already said, some Fragments of two Letters. The Book of Prayer, which *Huetius* had promised, has been lately published in Greek and Latin in *England*. This Work was addressed to *Ambrase* and *Tatianus*, and it may be divided into three Parts. In the first, he treats of the Necessity, the Advantage, and the good Effects of Prayer. In the Second, he discourses of the different kinds of Prayer, and particularly explains the Lord's Prayer. In the Last, he speaks of the Circumstances and Conditions which ought to precede, accompany and follow our Prayers. Lastly, We may join to Origen's Works the *Philocalia*, which is a Collection of several Passages of Origen, relating to the Holy Scripture, made by *S. Basil*, and *S. Gregory Nazianzen*, and published by *Tarinus* in the Year 1618, and the Book of the *Apology of Pamphilus*, of which we have the Translation done by *Ruffinus*, which is amongst *S. Hieron's* Works in the Fourth Tome.

We ought also to have reckoned here the Dialogue against *Marcion*, which bears his Name, if it was not more probable that it was compiled by another Author^b, who has introduced Origen in this Dialogue defending the Churches Cause, and therefore has given it Origen's Name: as *Cicero* gave that of *Lucius* and *Cato* to his Books of *Friendship* and *Old Age*.

^a But he has taken therein so much Liberty, He declares it himself in his Preface, where he says, that he has retrenched and added several things concerning the Trinity. The Passages out of these Books, inserted in the *Apology* are quite different from this Version, as well as those which are in the *Philocalia*.

^b If it was not more probable that it was composed by another Author, This Dialogue is a Dispute against the *Marcionites*, and the *Valentinians*, wherein he introduces Origen, defending the Doctrines of the Church; *Megethius*, and *Marcus* taking the Part of the *Marcionites*; *Droserius*, *Valens*, and *Maximus*, that of the *Valentinians*, and *Eutropius* as a Judge between them. We have three different Versions of it, that of *Periplus*, that of *Piclus*, printed in 1655, and that of

Hemfridus in 1557, which is much the exactest. But it has been lately published in Greek by a Learned Englishman, who pretends that it is Origen's. *Huetius* after *Hallucius* and *Riverius* believes that it is not Origen's, and this Opinion seems the most probable. 'Tis

not probable. 'Tis not probable that it is Origen's. But it is possible that *S. Gregory* and *S. Basil* might have been deceived, because it bears his Name; or that believing that this Book containing nothing but Origen's Opinions, and going under his Name, they might quote it in a Work wherein they made a Collection of his Opinions. Besides it appears by the Title, that they had taken this Passage from *Eusebius*, who relates it word for word as it is in the *Philocalia*, in his 7th Book of *Preparationes Evangelicæ*, as taken from the Treatise of one *Maximus* *deu't. 2.*, that is to say, concerning Matter; and at the end they add the following Remark: This is extracted from *Eusebius's* Book, *De Preparatione Evangelicâ*; the Author thereof is *Maximus*, a famous Writer among the Christians, at *Eusebius's* disposal; but it is likewise found, also, in the same Term in Origen's Dialogue against the *Marcionites* and other Heretics, in which *Megethius* is the Disputant, and *Eutropius* the Judge. This Observation makes it appear, that the Authors of the *Philocalia* believed, that this Passage did really belong to *Maximus*, relying upon *Eusebius's* Authority; but having also found it in a

Dialogue which bears Origen's Name, they believed that they might cite it as his, without examining whether he was the Author of it; for 'tis a thing very unlikely to affirm, that Origen had taken this Passage from *Maximus*, to insert it into his Dialogue, since it is already in *Eusebius* in form of a Dialogue, though the Names be suppressed. So it seems that we may say that *Maximus* was the Author of this Dialogue, wherein he introduces Origen, disputing against the Heretics, and *Eutropius* as Judge. But there are considerable Difficulties raised against this Hypothesis. The first, That *Maximus* was more ancient than Origen, as appears by *Eusebius*, who in the first Book of his History, Chap. 27, places him amongst the Authors, who flourished under the Emperours *Commodus* and *Severus*. The Second is, That it is not likely the Treatise of *Maximus* should be this Dialogue, because it was Entitled concerning Matter, and he only proved therein, that Matter was a created Substance, whereas this Dialogue contains several other Points of Religion. We may answer to the first Reason, That *Eusebius* was not exact in setting down the Times of Authors, and especially of those about whose Lives he was not particular. The second Objection is more difficult; though we may say, that *Eusebius* having extracted out of this Book of *Maximus*, only what relates to the Original of Evil, and the Creation of Matter, he gave it the Title of *de Origine, & de fine mali*, though it treated of other Subjects; besides that, this Dialogue as chiefly designed to confute the Error of the *Marcionites*, who admitted of several Principles for the explaining the Cause of Evil, and that of the *Valentinians*, who made Matter Eternal. Which agrees with what *Eusebius* says in his History, that *Maximus* composed several Volumes concerning that famous Question among the Heretics; *From whence comes Evil?* And to prove that Matter is a created Substance, for though there are other things discoursed of in this Dialogue, yet these are the two Principal Heads. Nevertheless, as the Passage which is related by *Eusebius*, and in the *Philocalia*, does not agree exactly with what is in this Dialogue, and that the Names of Origen, and the other Disputants are not there to be found, 'tis likely they were added after the Death of *Maximus* and Origen. There are likewise in this Dialogue some Things which

The other Treatises of Origen are not near so many in Number as his Works upon the Holy Scripture: and yet they were very considerable: for not to mention his Commentaries upon the Philosophers, which *Eusebius* speaks of in the 6th Book, Chap. 18. of his History, he wrote 2 Books of the Resurrection; the Treatise of *Principiis*, divided into 4 Books; 10 Books of *Stromata*,^a witnesses the same *Eusebius*, Chap. 24. The Book of *Marrydom*, mentioned in the 28 Chapter. The 8 Books against *Celsus* in the 35 Chap. The Letter to *Africanus*, concerning the History of *Sufanna*; to which we may add the Dispute which he had with *Beryllus*, which was extant in *Eusebius's* Time,^b and some Discourses & Letters which *Eusebius* collected, and divided into three Books, as he declares in the same 5th Book, Chap. 26. *S. Hieron* mentions almost all his Works; and besides these, two other Dialogues of the Resurrection, and a Treatise explaining the Hebrew Names of the New Testament, which he added to that of *Philo*, concerning the Explanation of those of the Old. And also in the *Apology of Pamphilus*, there is mention made of a Treatise concerning Prayer, composed by Origen. *Theodoret* often cites our Author against divers Heretic: but we must not therefore think that he composed so many express Treatises against these Heretics; they are only some Passages of his Works, where he confutes several Treatises, whilst he is writing upon other Subjects.

The Chief of all these Books is the Discourse against *Celsus*, divided into eight Books, which were published in Greek long since, with the Translation of *Galenus*, and the Notes of *Hefebelin*, and of one *Christoph. Perizon*, printed at *Rome* in the Year 1471, and afterwards very correctly in *England* in

^a He wrote two Books of the Resurrection. *S. Hieron* in *Ruffinus* lib. 2. *Invect.* says, That Origen composed two Books, and two Dialogues of the Resurrection. The same in his 6th Epistle cites the 4th Book of the Resurrection. *Methodius* wrote against this Work.

^b The Treatise of *Principiis*, divided into four Books, and ten Books of *Stromata*. This last Book was composed in imitation of that of *S. Clement of Alexandria*; witness *S. Hieron*, Ep. 84. who says, That Origen compared therein the Opinions of the Philosophers and Christians, and proved our Doctrines from *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Namianus* and *Cornutus*. In the tenth Book he explained the Epistle to the *Galatians*, and some Passages of *Daniel*.

^c And some Discourses and Letters which *Eusebius* had collected. *Eusebius* has related a Fragment of that which he wrote to his Father, being then very young, lib. 6. cap. 2. Item, of another against those who accused him of applying himself too much to the Study of Human Learning, Chap. 19. He makes mention in the 28th Chapter of the Letters which he wrote in the time of the sixth Persecution; afterwards in the 36th Chapter, of a Letter to the Em-

peror *Philip*, and of one to *Severa* his Wife; and lastly, of one to *Italianus*, and of several others, cited at large in the 39th Chapter. *S. Hieron* in his Catalogue, cites the three last, together with a Letter to *Beryllus*. *Ruffinus* cites a Letter to his Friends, *Lib. de Adult. lib. Originis*; where he complains that some had falsified his Writings. In the 13th Chapter of *Philocalia*, there is part of one set down to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*; *Codrus* and *Suidas* have preserved a Fragment of another Letter.

^d Concerning the Explanation of those of the Old. *S. Hieron* in *Prefat.* ad lib. *Hebr. Nom.* The Author of the Orthodox Questions, attributed to *S. Justin*, *Quest.* 82, and 86.

^e *Theodoret* often cites our Author against divers Heretics. *Lib. 1. cap. 2.* He says, that he wrote against *Menander*. In the 4th Chapter against *Basilides* and *Idorus*; in the 7th, against the *Heleceites*; *Eusebius* says, concerning the last, That it was in his Homilies. In the 19th Chapter, against *Apelles*; in the 30th Book, Chap. 2. against the *Neoplatonists*. He attributes to him in the 5th Chapter, the little Labyrinth against *Theodorus*, which is by another Author.

might give occasion to conjecture, that it is more Modern than any of these Authors: For it having been objected in the First Part, that the God of the Creation, who has the Hearts of Kings in his Power, must of necessity by a wicked God, since he suffered the Christians to be persecuted: He answers, *This playful Shift: which you make, might have had some probability in former times, and these might have been some necessity then of returning an Answer to them, which might have been done very easily: But now we have a Religious Prince, who rules his Heart, since this Godly Prince governs us much better than the others, and yet after a quite contrary manner, for he establishes what the others would have destroyed, he overturns the Images and Temples which the others honoured.* Which shews that this Dialogue was composed in Constantine's

But we must reckon amongst the Supposititious Books two different Commentaries upon Job, Printed in Latin under *Origen's* Name; the first divided into three Books, which concludes about the middle of the third Chapter of Job: We do not certainly know whether it was composed in Latin, or whether it was translated from the Greek: It is however, 'tis certain that it was not written by *Origen* ⁴⁴, but by some other Author, who lived since the Time of *Arian* ⁴⁵, and one that was an *Arian* himself.

The other Commentary upon the Book of Job, translated by *Perionius* from a Manuscript of the King's Library, is also by an *Arian* ⁴⁶, but different from the first, though he commends the Martyr *Lucian* as well as *Origen*, and speaks of the *Manichees*. The four Homilies upon Job, which were published under *Origen's* Name in the first Edition by *Genebrard*, were left out in the second, because they are not *Origen's*, no more than *S. Chrysostom's*, to whom they are still attributed. It is observed in a Letter prefixed to *Brassius's* Edition, that there were still remaining under *Origen's* Name, some little different Style and Genius.

There is none in the King's Library, a Commentary upon *S. Mark*, ascribed likewise to *Origen*, which is certainly none of his ⁴⁷.

The ten Homilies upon several Passages of the Gospel, collected by *Merlinus*, are all written by others ⁴⁸, being written after a quite different manner, and almost all of them composed by a La-

⁴⁴ Whether it was composed in Latin, or whether it was translated from the Greek. *Erasmus*, *Andrius*, and *Cook* are of Opinion, that it was Latin, because the Phrase and Manner of Expression is Latin; but this might proceed from the Interpreter. That which makes it believed that the Author was rather a Greek, is the Prologue which is in the Interpretation Name; which *Erasmus* rejects as Supposititious.

⁴⁵ 'Tis certain that it was not written by *Origen*. He says some things contrary to what *Origen* affirms. For Example, in the Second Book, he says that Jesus Christ preached three years and a half; and *Origen*, in his Book *De Principiis*, Cap. 2. *Hon. 32. in Lucan*, says that he preached but a Year and odd Months.

⁴⁶ But by some other Author, who lived since the time of *Arian*. He calls the Church that believes the Trinity, a Sect and a Heresy. He rejects the Martyr *Lucian*, who died a long time after *Origen*, and whom the *Arians* extolled as their Patron: Upon which *Arian* calls *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Calufulantia*: And this sufficiently shews how grossly they are mistaken, who have attributed these Commentaries to *S. Hilary*.

⁴⁷ The other Commentary upon the whole Book of Job, is also by an *Arian*. It condemns the Term *Trinitas*; and calls the Catholics *Homoclasts*; He commends the Martyr; and it is different from the Book of Job, and the First only makes him to be the Interpreter. Whereas *Origen*, in his Sixth Book against *Celsus*, says, that *Moses* wrote nothing but the *Pentateuch*. It is of a different Style from the Treatise of *Origen*, and he confutes those, who believe

time; for to say that this is to be understood of *Philo*, is to affirm a thing of which there is no likelihood; because supposing that he was a Christian, of which we are not assured, it was most certain that he did not make Profession thereof, and we cannot say of any Emperor before *Constantine*, that he overthrew Idolatry, and destroyed Temples and Idols. So the most probable Opinion is, That this Dialogue was composed in the beginning of the Fourth Age by one of *Origen's* Disciples, who has inserted *Maximus's* Dialogue into his Discourse. Besides, there is another Reason not to attribute it to *Origen*, which is taken notice of by *Huetius*; which is, that we find some Notions that are very Orthodox, and quite different from *Origen's* Errors, concerning the State of Innocence, Man's Body, the Soul, and the Resurrection.

the Stars to be animated, which is *Origen's* Opinion.

⁴⁸ A Commentary upon *S. Mark*, ascribed likewise to *Origen*, which is none of his. It is of a quite different Style. He says he will collect the Opinions of the Ancients. In some Manuscripts it is attributed to *S. Cyril*; in others to *Victor of Antioch*: It has been Translated, and Published under this Name by *Politanius*. He cites *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *S. Chrysostom*, *Apollinarius*, and *Theodoret*; and he mentions the *Novatians*.

⁴⁹ The Ten Homilies are all of other Authors than *Origen*. They have been collected in several Places, and put into order by *Merlinus*. They are all written in a different Style from *Origen's*; and composed by a Latin Author: They have all Designs that are quite differing from those of *Origen's* Homilies: They are full of Quibbles upon Words, and of affected Rhetorical Figures, which is not to be found in *Origen's* Works. In the First, he says, That Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin, without opening of her Womb: The contrary to which is taught by *Origen*, in his 54th Homily upon *St. Luke*. The Second discourses of the *Arians* and the *Manichees*; and therein the Term *Trinitas* is defended; therein likewise are cited the Books attributed to *S. Dionysius*. The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 10th Books are all filled with vain Repetitions, Antitheses, Quibbles upon Words, Synonyma and Allusions, which prove that it is a Latin Author, they are of the same Style of the First. The 9th is composed of Three Parts (as *Huetius* has observed). The First is Part of *Origen's* 54th Discourse upon *St. Matthew*. The Second is taken from *St. Hieron's* 8th Book upon *Isaiab*; and the Last from the 17th Chapter of *St. Gregory's* Ninth Book of Morals.

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tin. The Book concerning *Signs*, or *Penance*, attributed to *Origen*, and placed by *Gelasius* among the Number of the *Apocryphal* Pieces, is without doubt counterfeit, as well as his Preface. *Morrell* cautions to be printed under *Origen's* Name, in the year 1601, some *Scholia* upon the Lord's Prayer, and upon the Hymn of the Blessed Virgin, and of Zachary; but the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, &c. ¹¹ informs us, That they were written by *Petrus Laodiceus*. Besides, there were found in the Vatican Library, some Homilies upon *Jeremiah*, some whereof were printed by *Chiffenius* in the Year 1623, which also are none of his. The Book concerning Celibacy of the Clergy, which is amongst *S. Cyprian's* Works, bears the Name of *Origen* in a Manuscript of the King's Library ¹²; but 'tis the Work of a Latin Author. It is said also, That there are in Libraries some Treatises under this Author's Name ¹³, which are very dubious, they not being cited by the Ancients, and being for the most part upon such Subjects, upon which it is not likely that *Origen* should have written.

I shall not stand to let down in particular the several Editions of *Origen's* Works, as well in Greek as in Latin, having already taken notice of the greatest part of them: It shall suffice me to say, That all *Origen's* Works that are in Latin, have been collected by *Merlinus*, and afterwards by *Erasmus*, and printed in two Volumes at Paris in the Year 1512, and at Basil in the Years 1526, 1543, and 1571: That *Genebrard* has since made a larger Collection, printed at Paris in 1574, 1604, and 1619; and at Basel in 1620. That all the Greek Fragments of *Origen's* Books upon the Scripture, are published with a Translation by the Learned *Huetius*, and printed in France in two Volumes, in the Year 1667; but that he has not yet set forth the other Works of *Origen*, as he promised. That his Books against *Celsus*, and the *Philocalia* were printed in England in 1658. That *Westenius*, Greek Professor at Basel, caused to be printed there, in 1674, the Dialogue against *Martin*, the Exhortation to Martyrdom, and the Letters of *Africanus* and *Origen*, concerning the History of *Susanna*; and lastly, That the Book concerning Prayer has been lately printed in England. So that to have all *Origen's* Works, as well those which we have only in Latin, as those in Greek, we must have *Genebrard's* Edition, *Huetius's* two Volumes, the Books against *Celsus*, with the *Philocalia*, printed in England in Quarto; the Quarto Volume set forth by *Westenius*, and the little Treatise concerning Prayer, lately printed in England.

It would be very tedious, and to little purpose, to give here an Abridgment of all *Origen's* Works; and particularly of his Homilies, and his Commentaries upon the Scripture, which are almost all full of Allegories and Morality; besides, having only the Version of the greatest part of the Homilies, we cannot be certain whether that which relates to Doctrine and Discipline, be *Origen's* own, or *Ruffinus's*: I shall therefore content my self to give a Summary of his Doctrine upon the principal Points of our Religion, examining at the same time whether he be guilty of those Errors of which he is accused.

If we had had his Books of Principles in Greek, we might easily have been informed of all his Opinions; for these Books contained the Abridgment of his Doctrine: But since we have only *Ruffinus's* Translation, in which he himself confesses that he altered and omitted several Passages, wherein *Origen* discourses concerning the Mystery of the Trinity, which he believes were corrupted by the Heretics, we cannot be assured of *Origen's* Doctrine from this Version, except it be in those things for which he is condemned: so that we must have recourse to those Works of *Origen* which we have in Greek.

Origen's Notions concerning the Nature and the Attributes of God are very Orthodox; he believes that he is a Spiritual, invisible, Simple, and Eternal Essence. He is wrongfully accused for believing that God had a Body, since he says directly contrary in several places, and proves it by many convincing Arguments. He discourses admirably concerning the Knowledge and the Providence of God. Some have accused him of having set Bounds to his Power, because he says, That he is called Omnipotent only because he governs all things, and not because he can create any thing new. *Justinian* cites in his Letter to *Mennas*, a Passage taken from the second Book of *Origen's* Principles, where he says that the Power of God is finite, and that he made all the Creatures that he can govern. *Ruffinus* also taxes him of this Error. He seems indeed to have believed that God created that Matter from all Eternity, whereof he has made the World, and of which he will make successively several other Worlds.

The Ancients are extremely divided as to the Judgment that is to be given of *Origen's* Doctrine concerning the Trinity.

¹¹ But the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, &c. *Michael Chabert* tells us in the Preface to his Commentary upon *Jeremiah*, Printed in the Year 1623, that he found four and twenty of them, and that the Last was the Treatise of *St. Clement*, What Rich Man can be saved? He sets down Eight.

¹² Bears *Origen's* Name in a Manuscript of the King's Library. By *Vincencius Beluacensis*, and some others. *Pamilius* is of this Opinion. In other Manuscripts it is attributed to *St. Hieron* and *St. Augustin*. Some have believed that it was Translated from Greek, but it is, as we shall shew hereafter, written by a Latin.

¹³ Lastly, They say that there are in Libraries other Treatises under this Author's Name: There is a Book

concerning the Astrolabe, which was said to be in the Vatican Library; the Breviary or Abridgment of *Origen*, a Book concerning Preaching or Catechizing, &c. And besides these, there are several of *Origen's* Fragments in the *Catena Graecorum Patrum*: But it would be an endless Labour to collect them all. *Huetius*, who neglected this Toil, thinking it to be too Great, by reason of the Multitude of the *Catena*, and to be to no purpose, by reason of their little Authority; tells us that *Father Combefis*, a Man of indefatigable Pains, having undertaken it, has referred us to the Collection, which he has made of them. 'Tis probable he did not think them worth publishing.

St. Hieron

Origen.

S. Hieron, *John Bishop of Jerusalem*, S. Epiphanius, S. Austin, and after them Theophilus, Justinian, and the fifth Council, have accused him of several Errors about this Mytery: On the contrary, Didymus, S. Ambrosius, S. Basil, & Gregory Nazianzen, and anonymous Author, of whom Photius speaks in the 127th Volume, S. Chrysostom and Rufinus have either cited him against the Arians, as an Author who had Orthodox Notions concerning the Trinity, or defended him against the Accusations of his Enemies; the One by giving a favourable Sense to his Words, and the Others by maintaining that those Passages which were found not to be agreeable to the Faith of the Church were added; and that there were other contrary Expressions, which were entirely conformable to the Doctrine of the Church. It is certain that in Rufinus's Latin Versions which we have of the Book de Principiis, and the Apology of Pamphilus, and of his other Works, the Doctrine of the Trinity is explained after a very Orthodox manner. But we must confess, that we cannot rely upon Rufinus's Credit, who acknowledges that he added and altered several Passages relating to the Trinity. It is true, he says he has taken what he has added from other Places of Origen; but S. Hieron denies it, and we are not obliged to believe Rufinus upon his own word. So likewise we ought not to give Credit entirely to what S. Hieron says against Origen, since he was as violent against him, as Rufinus was passionate for him. Therefore, Neither believing his Enemies, nor his zealous Defenders, let us consult those Pieces of his Works which we have in Greek. And here still we are in a Labyrinth, from which it will be difficult to extricate our selves. Hence, we find some things which appear no less contrary, than the Opinions themselves of the Authors who have written for and against him. He often speaks very excellently of the WORD, which gives us reason to believe that he was persuaded of his Godhead: He says, That he was from the beginning in the Father; That he is the Image of the Father; That He was begotten of the Father from all Eternity; That he is a Subsistence, and a Person distinguished from the Father; That he is the Wisdom of God, and that he is God himself; That he never leaves his Father; That those are in an Error, who deny that the Godhead of the Father and the Son is the same, though their Substance be different; That he is God, *ὁ θεός*, though he be not the Source and Original of the Godhead, as the Father is, whom upon that account he calls *ἄρχη*; That he is above all Creatures; That we may address our Vows and our Prayers to Him, as to God the Father; That he is only known by the Father; That he ought to be honoured as the Father, and that he has the same Power. Lastly, S. Ambrosius cites two formal Passages for the Eternity of the WORD, and for his Equality with the Father; and S. Basil also cites one which is very clear for the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.

But, on the other side, in his Books we meet with many Expressions which are very harsh, little conformable to the Orthodox Doctrine, and which seem to favour the Arians. He says, That the Word is a *Hypostasis* different from the Father; and he takes the Word *Hypostasis* to signify *Nature* and *Substance*. He says likewise, That the Father and the Son are One in Concord and in Will; and that the last is not properly God, *ὁ θεός*, but only called God, because he is the Image and Resemblance of the Divinity; That the WORD and the Holy Ghost were made by the Father; That we must not compare the Father with the Son; and that the Father is greater than the Son, who is inferior to Him, though he be superior to all Creatures, as the Sun-beam is inferior to the Sun; and lastly, That the WORD is the Minister of the Father. These Expressions, and some others like them, are hard indeed; but when there are Contradictions in Authors, we ought always, in my Opinion, to take the most favourable Side. Besides, That it is more easy to put a good Construction on these last Expressions, which were very common before the Council of Nice, than to put a bad one upon the First: For, without making use of Rufinus's way of defending him, who says that these Places are either added or corrupted; and without alleging in his Exeats, that being to dispute against the Sabellians, he was obliged to make use of some Terms which might seem to favour the opposite Error: without making use, I say, of these general Defences I believe we may explain in a very Catholic Sense, those Expressions which I have just now related. When he says, That the Father and the Son were Two *Hypostases*; he understands by the Word *Hypostasis*, all that is opposed to nothing; and he had no other Design than to maintain against the Sabellians, That the WORD was not a Verue or a Quality from the Father, but a Person subsisting. It is certain, That in Origen's Time the Word *Hypostasis* and *Substance* were synonymous Terms; but so too by the Word *Substance*, was often understood a Person subsisting; and some Catholic Authors, not only before the Council of Nice, but even afterwards have affirmed that the Father was a Substance, the Son a second Substance; understanding, as S. Hilary observes, by *Substance*, the *Persons* subsisting. In the second Place, Origen does not say that the Son is a Creature: He does not deny but that he is God, but he only denies that he is God of himself, as the Father is, *ἄρχη*; and this is what he would explain by the Comparison of the Sun and the Sun-beam, which the Fathers, who lived after the Council of Nice, thought to be very proper for the explaining the Mytery of the Trinity. And thus it is, that going upon this Principle, he says, That the Son is inferior to the Father, and that the Father was greater than the Son; not that he believed them to be of a different Nature, since he owned that they are One and the same Divinity, and One and the same Substance; That the Son was equal to the Father, and that he was in Him from all Eternity; but because the Son derives his Divinity from the Father, who is the Source of the Godhead. As to what he says, That the Son is

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the Minister of the Father; That the Father made use of him in making the World; and that the Son was created. These are Expressions that are too common amongst the Ancients, to be particularly objected to Origen as a Crime.

S. Hieron accuses Origen, for saying, That the Son, in comparison of the Father, was not Goodness itself, but only the Image and Representation of Goodness; and Huetius confirms this to have been Origen's Opinion by some of his Greek Passages. The same S. Hieron upbraids him also, for affirming that the Son in comparison of the Father, was a lesser Light; That he was not the Truth, but the Image of the Truth; That he was Visible, and the Father Invisible; but we may easily discern that these Expressions, as harsh as they may seem, being considered separately, were meant by Origen in a good sense, he having no other Design than to prove that the Father was the Source and Original of Goodness and Truth; and that the Son received it from him; and that in this sense he was the Image of the Father's Goodness, the Brightness of his Godhead: Expressions which in this sense are very Orthodox. As to what he says, that the Father is Invisible, and the Son Visible, we have shewn in other Places what the Ancients meant by this way of speaking.

Lastly, It is easy to answer what S. Epiphanius and several others object to Origen, That he denied that the Father was Visible to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost: for he affirms so expressly in so many places, That the Father is perfectly known of the Son, and even of the Holy Ghost, that he must of necessity have had some other meaning, when he seems to assert the contrary. Rufinus answers this Objection, That he denied that the Father was visible to the Son, as Bodies are visible to Bodies: that he might confute the Error of the Valentiniens, who believed that God was Corporeal; and he cites a Passage of Origen, where he distinguishes betwixt *Seeing* and *Knowing*, and affirms, That we may say that the Son knows the Father, but that we cannot say that he sees him, because Seeing is the Property of a Body. I shall not make any Answer to other more trivial Objections, because it is easy to satisfy them, as well by what we have just now said, as by what we have observed upon the other Fathers. (a) There are no very considerable Objections made against Origen's Doctrine concerning the Incarnation; for though he be accused of several Errors, he affirms so positively in all his Works, That the WORD had taken a Body and a Soul like ours, in the Womb of a Virgin, by the Operation of the Holy Ghost; That Jesus Christ had true Flesh; That he really suffered; That he is altogether God and Man, in that the Human Nature was united with the Divine Nature in one and the same Person: That it is impossible to accuse him of any Error concerning the Mytery of the Incarnation. Perhaps, as he was of Opinion, That the Souls were in Heaven before they came down into their Bodies, he might think the same thing of the Soul of Jesus Christ. But this was only a particular Error, for which he was not very earnest.

(a) Lib. 1. *cont. Celsum*, lib. 2. lib. 3. & lib. 4. *Com. in Joan.* & in *Mat.* *Psalm* lib. 1. *de Actibus in Apol.* *Pamphilus*, *Vide* *Tom. 1. in Joan. p. 3.* *Tom. 2. p. 307.* *lib. 6. Lib. 1. in Celsum*, *lib. 2. de Actibus in Apol.* *Trappellus*, *Ep. 2. Paschal.* *Hier. Ep. ad Rufinum*, *lib. 1. esp. 5. & Ep. 61. ad Autim.* *C. 4. Sulpit. Severus Dial. 1. c. 3. Bern. Serm. 44. Albert. in Ep. 8. Dion. Hier. 49. in Lactant. Rom. 1. in Levit. Lib. 5. in Ep. ad Rom. T. 1. in *Joh. p. 32.* *38. T. 2. p. 63. r. 11 in Mat. p. 313.* *r. 15. in Mat. p. 313. L. 1. de Actibus in Apol.* *lib. 5. in Ep. ad Rom. Justin. Ep. ad Monim. Hier. Ep. ad Autim.* *Vide*, *Hier. 1. in Levit. in Luc. c. 2.* *Hier. 12. in Lev. & 8. Hier. 20. in Luc. lib. 2. de Princip. c. 3. Tom. 1. Com. in Johan. Tom. 2. p. 320.**

He is accused of believing that the Death of Christ was of Advantage to all reasonable Creatures, as Angels, Devils, and even insensible things; and 'tis certain that he does assert this wild Notion in several places of his Works. He has feigned a Spiritual Death of Jesus Christ in the other World, which has given occasion to tax him for holding that Jesus Christ died several times. He believed that Christ did not come out of the Virgin Womb by Penetration; and he accuses the Virgin Mary of Diffruct. But these are but slight Errors, and common among the Ancients.

As he believed that the only Point of Faith relating to the Angels, was, That there were such Beings, and that neither Scripture nor Tradition had determined any thing as to their Nature and their Number; so he has taken the Liberty to deliver his own Thoughts hereupon: He imagines that they are Corporeal, though invisible, having nevertheless a Spiritual Soul. He says, That the good Angels have a finer, and the Evil ones a grosser Body. The Principle from whence he has drawn this Conclusion, is, That all intelligent and spiritual Creatures having been created in Heaven with a perfect Freedom of Will, they have been afterwards, for a Punishment of their Faults, confined to Bodies more or less gross, according to the Quality of their Crimes, and ranked in such and such Orders or Degrees of Creatures inferior one to another: yet so, nevertheless, as that after having suffered this Exile, if may so say, for some Ages, they may by living virtuously, return to the Place from whence they were banished. (b) And going upon this Principle, he affirms, That men may become Angels, and Angels Men; That the Angels being free, do often commit Faults; That the Devils shall one day be delivered; That the Angels are guilty of several Offences in their Administration of things here below, for which they are immediately rebuked, and for which they shall be judged in the Day of Judgment. All these Fancies, and several others, are the Consequences of Plato's Doctrine, to which Origen was wonderfully addicted. We must nevertheless acknowledge, that he does not propose these things as Doctrines of our Religion, but only as his Opinions and Conjectures.

Now for some Points of Discipline which may be observed in his Works. The Christians assembled together in his Time in the Churches, not only on Sundays,

but on Festivals, but also on other Days. (a) He often speaks against those who neglected to do it, and who did not hear the Word of God with due Respect. There were Priests and Bishops in his Time, who were elected by the People. And their Duty was to teach the People; they instructed the Catechumens, and prepared them for Baptism for a considerable time. They Baptized the Children; and Baptism was never reiterated; they anointed those who were Baptized with Oil. They observed Lent; and also fasted Wednesdays and Fridays. They expelled out of the Church, such as committed Public Crimes after baptism. And (a) he observes in his Book against Celsus, that there were some Persons set apart on purpose to take care of the Manners of the Faithful. They showed of Penance but once, and that rarely too. Excommunication was the greatest Ecclesiastical Penalty. Nevertheless, it was not doubted but that those who were unjustly Excommunicated, might be saved. Simony also was Prohibited.

In his time Sins were confessed to the Priests; and they examined those who were to teach in Public. They believed that one ought to have a very Holy Life, to approach the Blessed Sacrament, and that as it was very advantageous to those who received it Worthily, so it was Damnation to those who received it Unworthily. They did not admit Persons that were twice Married to Holy Orders. They concealed the Mysteries, and principally of the Eucharist from the Infidels and the Catechumens. They Prayed to God on their Knees, and turning towards the East. They celebrated Good-Fridays, Easter, Pentecost, and Sundays, with very great Solemnity.

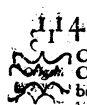
And these were the principal Points of Discipline, that can be observed in the Books of Origen: It would be too tedious to make notice of Points of Morality that he discourses of in his Homilies, which are all filled with them. We shall here present you only with some of them. He says, that we ought not to make use of Marriage, but only for the sake of having Children: that he who does Good out of Servile Fear, shall be less rewarded than him who does it out of Love. (2) There are in his Homilies upon Exodus, a great many curious Allegories upon the Necessity of Renouncing the World, and leading a Christian Life. He says, that Pharaoh represents the World, who led the Male Children, that is the righteous, and preserved the Females, that is to say, Vicious and Effeminate Persons; and he makes a pretty Moral upon this Allegory. He says that Egypt is the Type of the World, from whence we must depart, not only in Body, but in Mind; by renouncing it entirely. There are a great many other Allegories, and Moral Thoughts of the same Nature. He distinguishes the Acts of Sins into Great Sins, and Lesser Sins. He counts about the number of Lesser Sins, such as may prove Mortal; and by great Sins, he understands such for which we can do Penance but once. He gives seven Remedies for Sins; Baptism, Mourning, Alms-Giving, Forgiving of our Enemies, the Conversion of our Neighbour, and so forth. He speaks of the Beatitudes, Charity, and Laborious Penitence; and lastly, that Repentance and Obedience of which St. James speaks. (3) He says, that we must not presently reprehend publicly the Sin of our Brethren, but that we ought first to rebuke him in Private, afterwards before one or two Witnesses, and lastly, if he did not reform, then we are to tell it to the Church. He shews that true Fasting is an Abstinence from Sin, and that we ought to Fast in order to Feed the Poor. He shews that the Church is the Temple of God, and that the Priests are more filled with Allegories than Morality. Those which he composed upon the Psalms have more Morality in them: He there discourses of Humility, of Prayer, of Patience, of Meekness, of the Prosperity of the Wicked, of Repentance, of that Hope which is grounded on Communicate Worthy, of the Choice of a Guide. His other Homilies are mixed with Morality and Allegories: His large Commentaries have more Learning in them. He therein handles several Questions very learnedly, and makes very judicious Remarks upon them. He gives some Explications upon the Holy Scripture, that are very curious and ingenious: But he goes too far from the Design of his Work, when he enters into Allegorical Sense, and he confines himself in Explaining too scrupulously all the Words of Scripture, that he might the better give them a Mystical Sense. He is a great Enemy to Heretics; he attacks them as often as he discourses of any Subject that has any relation to their Errors. He does not condemn many of them by name, sometimes he writes against Simon, Basilides, Carpocrates, Valentinus, Marcion, and Manichæus; at other times he attacks them by Name, the Helvidians, the Ebionites, the Encratites, the Encratites, the Ophites, and the Gnostics. (4) He acknowledged for Canonical Books of the Old Testament, only those which were in the Canon of the Hebrews to the Number of Two and Twenty. (5) He ranks the Book of Esther in the Number of Apocryphal, and joins the Book of Ruth with the Book of Judges, and Brach with that of Jeremiah. As for the Books of Malachi, Judith, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, he commends them as Good Books, profitable for Catechumens; but such as are out of the Canon of the Books of the Sacred Scripture.

Scripture. He calls them nevertheless in some places Divine Books. He cites the Book of Wisdom under the Name of the Scripture. He cites likewise the Maccabees, and the Book of Ecclesiasticus, which he affirms to be among the Books of Solomon. We have already taken notice of his Opinion concerning the History of Salomon. He receives as Canonical Books of the New Testament, the Four Gospels, the Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul; (d) He always cites it under St. Paul's Name. Hom. 8. in Eccl. 7. in Levit. in Jerem. Hom. 1. lib. 1. Per. Lib. 2. in Matt. c. 13. ap. Ephes. lib. 6. c. 23. lib. 2. Per. c. 5. c. 11. 2. Per. in Matt. c. 13. in Galat. c. 3. c. 12. in 1. Cor. 8. Matt. Hom. in Jer. 14. in Eccl. in Luc. Hom. in Eccl. Hom. 10. in 2. Tim. lib. 1. Per. lib. 2. lib. 3. in Luc. Hom. 35. Luc. 3. per.

(d) He says however, concerning that to the Hebrews, that the Thoughts of this Epistle are St. Paul's; but that it was Composed by some other Person, and that there is none but God who knows the Author of it, though some attribute it to S. Clements, others to S. Luke. He says that there is but one Epistle of S. Peter, which was received by all the Churches, but that we may grant the Second likewise to have been his. He says the same thing of the Two last Epistles of S. John. He cites the Epistles of St. Jude, and St. James in his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans. He likewise quotes the Revelations, and attributes them to St. John. Besides these Books, he often cites Apocryphal Writings, as the Gospels according to the Egyptians, and according to the Hebrews; the Book of Hermas, the Epistle of S. Barnabas, the Book of Enoch, and even some Heretical Books, as the Apocalypse of S. Paul, a Book concerning the Twelve Apostles, the Doctrine of S. Peter, the Acts of S. Paul, the History of Iphis, and some others.

Origen had very quick Parts, a very strong and Extensive Phancy: but he relied too much on the Vivacity of his Genius; and often lost himself out of too great earnestness to fathom, and subtilize every thing. He had a very happy invention, and a much more happy delivery of what he had invented: But he had not that exactness in his Inventions, nor all that Gracefulness in the Delivery as might be wish'd. He carried on his Work with so great ease, that he is said to have Dictated to Seven or Eight Persons at a time, and he was so ready in Expressing himself, that he made the greatest Part of his Homilies Extempore. Upon which account his Style was not very Correct, nor Coherent; He had a vast Memory, but he often trusted too much to it. He was a Person of most profound Learning; and he particularly Studied Plat's Philosophy, which he undertook to Perfection, and indeed he was too much addicted to it for a Christian. He understood likewise the Maxims of the other Philosophers. He had apply'd himself mightily to the Study of Humane Learning: He was neither ignorant of History, nor Mythology, and he had as great knowledge in all the Profane Sciences, as those who had Studied nothing else all their whole Lives. But he particularly excell'd in the knowledge of the Holy Scripture, to the Study of which he entirely addicted himself. He had Learned it all by heart, and that he might not neglect any thing which might be of use for the understanding the Letter thereof, he carefully Examined all the Versions of the Bible, which were in his time, and compared them all together with the Hebrew Text, adding thereto a Literal Commentary upon the most difficult Places. He was not very well skill'd in the Hebrew; yet he knew enough of it to understand it, and to observe the Differences of the Text, and the Translations; but he did not keep to the Literal Explication of the Bible. He thought it necessary for the setting off of the Holy Scripture to the best advantage, which appeared but plain and simple to the Heathens, and for the rendering it of greater use to all the World, to give Mythical or Allegorical Interpretations of every thing in it. And herein imitates the way of Philo and Aristobolus, and followed the Genius and Manner of the Platonists. We have already taken notice, that Hippolytus explained the Scripture Allegorically, and that it was in imitation of him that Origen undertook this way of Writing. St. Clement of Alexandria his Master, is also full of Allegories, and 'tis not to be denied but that the Hellenistical Jews, and the Primitive Christians made very frequent use of them: But Origen has carried on an Allegory as far as it can possibly go, and he has furnished Matter to all the Greek and Latin Fathers who have imitated him, and have hardly done any thing else than copy him. This way of explaining the Holy Scripture by continual Allegories, seems to me to be very defective. For though it may be good sometimes to awaken, if I may so say, the Auditor, and to direct him by such kind of Allegories, yet they become useless and tedious, when they are perpetuals; and the Mind, which requires great Application for the comprehending of them, is tired, and soon loses the Consequence both of Reasoning and Thought: Besides, that by binding only the Allegorical Sense, we neglect the Literal, which is oftentimes more excellent, and of greater Advantage than all the Allegories in the World, that divert the Mind without instructing it, and strike the Imagination without affecting the Heart. Lastly, If in explaining the Holy Scripture, we should only stick to the Allegory, as Origen has done, it might give occasion to believe, that the Scripture taken barely in the Literal Sense would be but of very little Advantage, which is a very great Error. 'Tis therefore a very ill way of defending Origen in this Point, to say with a modern Author, that he seems to have been excusable in this, because he had learned by Experience, that the Letter of the Scripture was but of little use for Instruction. For this is to make him assert a thing which is very false, the Letter of the Scripture being of exceeding use for Instruction, and even more profitable than any Allegory, which is not to be us'd, but only now and then to awaken the Auditors.

Origen's Books against Celsus are an excellent Work, and stored with extraordinary Learning. He answers the Objections against Celsus, who of all the Heathens that have written against the Christian Religion, has made the most cunning ones, and proposed them the most maliciously, very solidly. He establishes by convincing Proofs, the History of Jesus Christ, his Miracles, his Divinity and Resurrection. He confutes the Calumnies and Impostures of Celsus, and of the other Heathens against the Christians;



Christians; and Lastly, he proves the Truth and Excellency of the Doctrine and Religion of Jesus Christ. This Book is written very Politely, and with great Care and Exactness. 'Tis not only the best of *Origen's* Works, but also the most accomplish'd and best Composed Apology for the Christians which we have of all the Antients. The Books of Principles were likewise written with great Care, and they had been of very great use, if he had contented himself to explain the Principles of Religion according to Scripture and Tradition, without mixing therewith his own Philosophical Notions. His Commentaries upon the Scripture are more Politic than his Homilies, they are full of Learning, but they are not very Exact, and we may observe therein a great many Fancies which are useless, obscure, and perplexed. Often after having begun one Explication, he passes to another, without finishing the first. His Homilies are plainer and intelligible, but their style is less Elegant.

The Treatise concerning Prayer is an Excellent Piece of Devotion. It contains a great many Excellent Principles of Morality, and is full of very profitable Instructions. We may also find there several Curious Remarks relating to the Discipline of that Time. But it is not absolutely free from the Errors and Defects which we have observed in the other Works of *Origen*. As this Discourse is very Instructive and not very much known, I have thought it convenient to give a Summary of it.

Origen begins it by a Common Place, to wit, that there are an Infinite Number of Things which we cannot know without being enlightened from Heaven. He applies this Reflection to his Present Subject, saying, that it would be impossible for him, without the Assistance of Heaven, to explain how we ought to Pray, what we ought to say when we Pray, and what are the most Proper Times for Prayer. That he who treats of this Matter, must be enlightened by the Heavenly Father, instructed by the Son, and inspired by the Holy Ghost: That in order to Pray as we ought, 'tis not sufficient to repeat some certain Prayers, but we must have Good Dispositions; and that our Prayer may be acceptable to God, it must be accompanied with a Conscience, Pure, and without Blemish. Afterwards entering upon his Subject he observes that the Greek Word *εὐχὴ*, which signifies Prayer, is mentioned in Scripture the first time, in that Place where it is said that *Isaac* coming from *Mesopotamia*, made a Vow to offer unto God the Tenth of all that he should bring from that Country. He adds that the Word is often taken in this Sense, to signify a Promise or Vow of Performing a Thing, if God grants us what we ask of him in our Prayers. But he observes at the same time that there are other Places where it is taken for Prayer it self; and he sets down some Examples wherein it is taken in both Senses.

After having spoken of the word *Prayer*, he treats of the necessity of the thing it self: He confutes the Arguments of those who pretended to maintain that it was to no purpose to pray; he observes, that this Error could not be maintained by any but notoriously wicked Persons, and by Atheists, who deny God's Providence: but that the Devil endeavouring by all means to spread detestable Doctrines among those that bear the Name of Christ, had put it into the hearts of some persons to reject every thing that is sensible in Religion, to despise the Holy Eucharist and Baptism, and to neglect Prayer as a useless thing. Now these are the Reasons which these Persons bring for their Opinion: *First*, God knows every thing, *say they*, therefore what need is there of Praying? *Secondly*, He does not only *know* what must happen, but he *ordains* it; therefore what necessity is there of asking that of him, which shall infallibly come to pass? *Thirdly*, If we are Predestinated before our Birth, it is to no purpose to pray, since we shall be necessarily *Saved* or *Damned*. *Fourthly*, God being immutable, we do but deceive our selves in believing that we are able by our Prayers to make him alter his Decrees. *Origen*, in answer to these difficulties distinguishes Three sorts of Things which are in motion. The *first* are those that are moved by a Foreign Power, such as, Inanimate Beings. The *second* are those that are moved by their own Nature, but without Knowledge as Animals and Plants. The *third* are those that move themselves, and determine themselves, as Intelligent Creatures. He proves, That these are free, and that Precedence and Predestination does not at all destroy this Liberty. He proves, That those doings nothing relating to free Actions, but what he has foreseen that intelligent Creatures would do freely: And that so Precedence is not the cause of Things, nor of Actions which are done freely; but it only supposes that these things will be, or will not be; and that the knowledge which God has of them, is followed by the Decree, whereby he is resolved to grant or not to grant his Grace, to hear or not to hear; That he foresees the Good and Evil which Men shall commit; That he knows whether they will repent or no; and that, in consequence of this knowledge, he Predestinates or Reproaches them. He adds, That God has appointed Angels over Men to preserve them, as long as they deserve it. One might here take notice of his particular Opinion concerning the Sun, the Moon, and Stars, which he says are intelligent and free Agents.

After having confuted the Reasons of those who reject Prayer, he shews the advantage of it. He says in the first place, That he who prays, puts himself in a condition of presenting himself before God, and of conversing with him; That in order to this, he ought to drive away all evil Thoughts, to banish all earthly Affections, to raise up his mind towards Heaven, to forget Injuries, to pardon his Enemies, and by no means to repine against God. From hence he concludes, That Prayer cannot be of any advantage, if it be not preceded with great preparation. Secondly, He assures us, That Christ Jesus, the High Priest of our Offerings, prays with us; That the Angels pray with him, and that the Saints which are departed pray with us, (and this here is one of the most ancient and excellent Arguments to prove the Intercession of Saints.) His words are these: *The Souls of the Saints which sleep among the number of the just, pray with us, as it is said in the Book of Maccabees* ——— *And since the imperfect Knowledge which we have in this World is made perfect in the other Life, 'tis a very great Absurdity not to believe the same thing of the other Virtues, and principally Charity towards our Neighbour, which*

we ought to believe to be much stronger in the Saints than in mortal Men, who are subject to Weaknesses and Imperfections. He adds, That every faithful Person has his Angel that bears him, and preserves him whilst he prays. Lastly, He proves the necessity of continual Prayer, by the Example of Jesus Christ, by that of Just Persons, and by the reckoning up of those Benefits and Graces which have been bestowed upon Men from their Prayers: He exhorts the Faithful to pray for spiritual and heavenly Things, rather than for earthly and sensual Goods, such as Beauty, Nobility, Riches: He shews the meanness and the vanity of these things.

He distinguishes four kinds of Prayers, after the Apostle *S. Paul* in his first Epistle to *Timothy*. The *first*, that is to say, Supplication, which is to ask any Good of which we stand in need. The second called *intercession*, is, according to *Origen*, a request that is made in any danger, with assurance of obtaining what we desire: He observes, that this kind of Prayer is commonly joined with *Doxology*, that is to say, with Praising of God's Holy Name: The third *supplication*, is a Prayer made by a Person who has great confidence that he shall obtain what he asks, he being much in God's Favour. The last is, Giving of Thanks for the Benefits which we have received. He gives Examples taken from the Holy Scripture, of each of these kinds of Prayer.

This first Part of his Treatise concerning Prayer, is followed with an Explication of the Lord's Prayer.

He makes two Observations upon these first words, *Our Father*; The first is, That it is only in the New Testament, where there is given to God with assurance the Title of *our Father*. The second, That if we would say these words as we ought, we must be of the number of the true Children of God, that is to say, *Free from Sin, and in a state of Grace*.

He says upon these words, *Which art in Heaven*, That we must not understand them in a gross sense, as if God was in Heaven after a corporeal manner.

Upon these words, *Hallowed be thy Name*, That it is not as if God were not Holy in himself, but only that we desire that men should acknowledge this Holiness in his Conduct. He observes, That this and the following Forms are in the Imperative, but that it is taken for the Optative Mood. And from hence he takes occasion to confute *Tatian*, who affirmed that these Words of God in *Genesis*, *Let there be light*, was not an express Command, but only a simple Wish. By these other Words, *Thy Kingdom come*, the faithful Person prays the Lord, That the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which is in him, may be perfected and completed by the expectation of the Day of Judgment. By these, *Thy Will be done*, we desire of God, That men may fulfil God's Will upon Earth, as it is accomplished in Heaven; or else, That the Wicked, being represented by the Earth, should perform God's Will, as it is already done by Just Persons. *Origen* would not have us understand these following words, *Give us this day our daily bread*, of bodily Bread; but he understands them of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, who is our Bread and our Nourishment. He observes, that the word *Quoniam*, *Superfluous*, which we render by *DAILY*, is not to be met with in any Author; and that it is peculiar to the Evangelists. In order to explain it, he tells us, That as bodily Bread is changed into our Substance, so this Bread of the Word of God communicates its Nature and Efficacy to our Souls. By *Daily Bread*, he means *Eternity*. Upon these Words, *And forgive us our trespasses*, as we forgive them that trespass against us, he explains the several Duties of Men. He says, That they owe to themselves the good of their Souls, that they owe very much to their Guardian Angels, but that they are above all things indebted to Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost; that every Condition and every Estate has its peculiar Duties. There is one Duty, says he, of a *Wife*, another Duty of a *Widow*, another of a *Deacon*, another of a *Priest*, another of a *Bishop*, whose Charge is much the greater, and he shall render an exact Account to God, who will punish him very severely, if he does not acquit himself well of his Duty. He adds, That as we are indebted to others, so others are indebted to us; and that if we call to mind those Duties wherein we have been wanting towards others, we shall easily pardon those who have been deficient therein towards us, as God forgives us the faults which we have committed against him; That the Priests forgive in the Name of Jesus Christ the Sins of Men; but that, in imitation of the Priests of the Old Law, they must be instructed by the Holy Ghost who those are for whom they ought to offer up Sacrifices, when, and after what manner they must do it. Wherefore he blames those who not being sensible of what is beyond their Power, boast of their being able to pardon *Idolatry*, and to forgive *Adultery* and *Fornication*; which shews, that at that time they refused Communion to Idolaters in some Churches. Upon these words, *And lead us not into temptation*, *Origen* says, That it is impossible to pass through this life without temptations; and he proves it, by giving a Catalogue of those temptations to which we are exposed in all conditions and at all times: from whence he concludes, That we ought not to pray *not to be tempted*, but only *not to sink under temptation*. He observes, That God suffers us to fall therein, for a punishment of our sins. He here delivers his Opinion of those Souls that were always free, which were sent into this world for a punishment of the faults which they had committed in the other life. He afterwards discourses of the advantage of temptations, for the trial and proving of our Virtue. Lastly, Upon these words, *But deliver us from evil*, he says, That God does not deliver us from all the troubles and afflictions of this life, but that he makes us support them with patience.

After having explained the Lord's Prayer, he discourses of the temper and disposition of mind that is requisite for Prayer, of the place where we are to pray, and of the time proper for Prayer. He would have him that is to pray, to recollect and prepare himself, that so he may perform it with the greater attention and fervency; and that after having purified his mind from the thoughts of this World, and banished from his heart all passions and earthly affections, he should reflect upon the excellency of



Origen.

the life to come; That he should drive from his heart all thoughts of hatred and enmity; That he should lift up his hands and eyes towards Heaven, when nothing hinders him; for he allows sick Persons to pray sitting or lying. He observes that kneeling is necessarily when we ask God pardon for our Sins. Concerning the place of Prayer, he says that every place is proper to pray in, but that Custom will have it that we should choose the most retired part of the House for our Prayers; and that we should prefer the place which is set apart for the Assemblies of the Faithful, where the Angels are present, where we may be sensible of the Efficacy of Jesus Christ, of that of the Holy Ghost, and of the Suffrages of the Saints departed. He would have us always turn our selves towards the East, whether we be in our Chamber, or in an open place. Lastly, He distinguishes four Branches, or common-Places of Prayer; *The Devotions*, which ought to be said, says he, at the beginning of Prayer, praising and glorifying the Father of Jesus Christ through the Holy Ghost; It ought to be followed with *Thanksgiving*; Afterwards we must make a *Confession*, or an Accusation of our selves for our Sins; to which we ought to add the craving of *Heavenly Benedictions* for us and our Friends. Lastly, We must conclude our Prayer by *praising God* through the Son in the Holy Ghost. And this is a great part of what is contained in this Treatise of *Origen's*, which sufficiently shews it to be of great use. There is nevertheless one passage which may create a great deal of difficulty to those that read it: For he therein affirms, That we ought to address our Prayers only to God the Father, and not to Jesus Christ; because the Son of God being different from the Father, 'tis absurd to direct our Prayers to him. This expression is very harsh, and difficult to excuse: yet we may say, That he would have us address our Prayers to the Father alone, for fear we might seem to acknowledge several Gods; and that when he says, That Jesus Christ is an *Essence different from the Father*, he takes the term *Essence* for *Person*. And indeed he owns in several other places, and principally in the fifth and eighth Book against *Celsus*, That we may and ought to direct our Prayers to Jesus Christ. Be the thing as it will, it cannot be denied but that he has asserted in this place several Propositions favourable to the Opinion of the *Arians*, on which it is difficult to put a good Construction.

There is nothing more for me to do, to complete all that relates to *Origen*, than to give an Account of the Quarrels and Disputes which arose in the Church after his Death, upon the Account of his Person and his Writings: But this not being a Subject which any ways relates to the Design which I have proposed in this Work, I do not think it necessary to engage my self in this Relation, which otherwise would be but of very little use.

AMBROSE and TRYPHON, Disciples of ORIGEN.

Ambrose and Tryphon.

AMBROSE would not have deserved to be reckoned amongst the Ecclesiastical Authors, had he not been *Origen's* Friend, and contributed very much to the Publishing of his Works, both by furnishing him with Amanuenses, and by continually pressing him to his Work. He had been a *Marcionite*, and though he was converted, yet he retained some of his Errors, (it we believe *St. Hierom's*.) However he was ordained Deacon, and generously confessed the Faith of Jesus Christ, with *Theodotus* the Priest in the time of the Emperor *Maximus*. He was a Person of Quality, and wanted not Parts, which he shewed in some of his Letters to *Origen*, that were extant in *St. Hierom's* time, but now are all lost. He died before *Origen*, and *S. Hierom* says that he was blamed because, though he died Rich, yet he left nothing to his Friend, who was Poor.

Tryphon who was likewise *Origen's* Disciple, and who had written some Letters to him, was looked upon in *St. Hierom's* time as a Man very well versed in the Learning of the Sacred Scripture, which still appears, says this Father, by several Works which he had composed; but more particularly by a Treatise concerning the *Red Heifer* in the 19th Chapter of *Numbers*, and upon the Division of the Sacrifices made by *Abraham* in the 15th Chapter of *Genesis*: From whence it appears, that *Origen's* Disciples following their Masters Genius, applied themselves wholly to Allegories.

[It is most probable, that *Tryphon's* Commentaries, are, in imitation of his Master *Origen's*, Allegorical; yet it is only probable, at least, for any thing, that *M. Du Pin* has to say against it: and when things are lost, to determine concerning them positively, is only beating the Air; and though we our selves know how little weight can be laid upon our words beyond conjecture, yet it may lead others into mistakes, who think we can prove what we say, though we do not.]

BERYLLUS.

Beryllus.

BERYLLUS Bishop of *Baſtra* in *Arabia*, after he had been, as we have said, undeceived of his Error by the Conference which he had had with *Origen*, wrote several small Treatises, and particularly some Letters, wherein he returned *Origen* Thanks for his Conversion: The Conference which *Origen* had with him upon the occasion of his Error was extant in *Saint Hierom's* time; but at present we have nothing of his remaining.

Saint

Saint CYPRIAN.

Saint *Cyprian* was by Birth an *African*, and taught Rhetorick with great Reputation before he was a Christian. He was converted by the Persuasion of a Priest called *Cecilus*, *St. Cyprian* from whom he took afterwards his Surname. From the time that he was a Catechumen, he made a resolution within himself to live continently, believing, as his Deacon *Pontius* tells us, who has written his Life, that it was almost impossible otherwise to come to the Knowledge of the Truth. Presently after he was Baptized, he sold all his Goods to assist the Poor. He was afterwards ordained Priest, and after the Death of *Donatus* Bishop of *Carthage*, he was elected Bishop in his Place, in the Year 248, by the Suffrages of the Clergy, and the People of *Carthage*, and the Choice was confirmed by a great Number of Bishops, who were then assembled in that City. The Persecution of *Decius* beginning two Years or thereabouts, after his Ordination; the Heathens being enraged because he encouraged his People to stand firm to the Religion of Jesus Christ, demanded him several times in a full Theatre, to expose him to the Wild Beasts. And this obliged him to retire from *Carthage*, according to the Command which he believed he had received from God in a Vision. In this Retreat he wrote several Letters to his People, his Clergy, the Confessors, and the Clergy of *Rome*, of which we may see a Catalogue, with an Account of their Subjects in the Sequel of this History. When the Fury of the Persecution abated, *St. Cyprian* came back to *Carthage*, and called a Council there the 15th of *May*, in the Year 251, wherein he, with the Bishops his Colleagues, regulated whatever related to the Penance of those who had fallen in the time of Persecution, either by taking Testimonies or Testimonials from the Magistrates, certifying that they had committed Idolatry; or by offering Incense publicly upon the Altars of their Gods, or by eating the Meat which was Sacrificed to them. For the first they ordained that they should be reconciled; but for the Latter, they judged it necessary to leave them still under Penance, and not allow them Reconciliation till they became dangerously sick, provided also that they had begun to do Penance before they fell sick. For as for those who staid till they were seized by some desperate Distemper, before they desired to undergo their Penance, it was thought expedient wholly to refuse them Absolution, because then, says *St. Cyprian*, 'Tis not so much their Sorrow for their Sin, as the Fear of Death that obliges them to desire it. Quia eos non tam Delicti Penitentia, quam Mortis Admonitio petere compellit. As for those Ecclesiastics, who had fallen into Idolatry, it was ordained that they should for ever be excluded from the Clergy, that they should communicate no more with the Faithful but as Laymen, and that even some of them should be obliged to undergo the Severities of Penance. They Excommunicated *Felicitissimus* and those of his Party, who had disturbed the Tranquillity of the Church of *Carthage*, in *St. Cyprian's* Absence. Perhaps it was at this Synod that *Priscilianus*, a Heretic of the Colony of *Lambesa*, presented himself, who had been already Condemned in a Synod of Ninety Bishops, and seeing himself so far rejected, that they would not so much as hear him make his Defence, embraced the Party of *Felicitissimus*. The Council, after they had made these Regulations, wrote a Synodal Letter to *Cornelius*, lately Elected Bishop of *Rome*, who assembled likewise a Synod of Sixty Bishops and several Priests, who followed the Rules of the *African* Council in the ordering of public Penance, and Excommunicated *Novatian*, who joining himself to *Novatus*, refused the Grace of Reconciliation to those Persons, who had once fallen into any Sin, and caused himself to be ordained Bishop of *Rome*, in opposition to *Cornelius*, by three Bishops, whose Credulity and Baseness he had abused in this Matter. This for a time made a kind of a Schism in *Rome*, for *Novatian* drew to his Party, not only some Priests, but also the Confessors who were ready to suffer Martyrdom. The Heads of both Parties being desirous to obtain the Favour of *St. Cyprian*, and of the other *African* Bishops, wrote Letters to them, and sent their Deputies into *Africa*. But *Novatian's* were received very ill, and the *African* Bishops, who had for some time suspended their Judgment, and ceased to send Letters of Communion to either of the two Parties, till they were informed of the Matter by two of their own Brethren, whose Names were *Caldonius* and *Fortimatus*, whom they had dispatched to *Rome* on purpose to learn the true State

^a Saint *Cyprian*]. His own Name was *Theodotus*, as appears by the Letter to *Pipin*, and the Acts of his Passion.

^b Before he turned Christian. This is all we are able to say of what concerned him before his Conversion, because *Pontius* the Deacon in his Life, and *St. Jerome* in his Catalogue tells us no more of him. What *Baronius* has cited, taken out of the Oration of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, concerning one *St. Cyprian* a Martyr, does not belong to our Bishop of *Carthage*: 'Tis commonly believed that *St. Gregory* speaks of another *St. Cyprian*, but 'tis a great deal more probable, that the Greeks, who knew but little of what passed in the West, feigned these Circumstances in the Life of *St. Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*.

charge; as it was a familiar thing with them to adorn and set off the Lives of Saints, with several uncertain and fabulous Narrations.

^c He was converted. His Conversion might happen towards the Year 246. Having been Baptized at *Easter* or at *Whitsuntide*, he writ his Letter to *Donatus* in *Autumn*. He tells us in his 59th Letter to *Cornelius*, which was written in the Year 252, that it was four years since he had been made a Bishop. Thus he was Bishop 10 years. He calls *Donatus* his Predecessor.

^d The Year 248.] The Persecution under *Decius* began at the end of the Year 249, or else at the beginning of the Year 250.

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of

St. Cyrian

of the whole Affair: after they were fully instructed by them, and two other African Bishops, who were present at the Ordination of *Cornelius*, after what manner he had been ordained, decided it in Favour of him, and sent him Letters of Communion, having first confirmed the Judgment he had passed against *Novatian* in Italy. The Judgment of the Church in *Africa*, and the Eloquent Letters of *St. Cyrian*, brought the Confessors of the Roman Church over to *Cornelius's* Party. Thus the *Novatian* finding themselves cryed down in Italy, to be revenged upon *St. Cyrian*, raised Disturbances in *Africa*, where they called one *Maximus*, Deputy of *Novatian*, to be chosen Bishop; and on the other side, *Felicitus* the Deacon, an Enemy to *St. Cyrian*, got *Privatus* of *Lambeth*, whom we have already mentioned, to ordain, in opposition to him, one whose Name was *Fortunatus*, and afterwards came into Italy, to get his Ordination ratified there by *Cornelius*, and by the rest of the Italian Bishops, pretending that this *Fortunatus* had been ordained by five and twenty Bishops, and that *St. Cyrian* favoured the Party of the *Novatians*. *Cornelius* immediately rejected *Felicitus*, and those of his Faction, but at last being either frightened by their Menaces, or else shaken by their Discourses, he entertained some Suspensions to the Prejudice of *St. Cyrian*, and writ to him after a very disliking manner; to this the Saint returned a vigorous Answer, exposing his Weakness, and acquainting him with the Malice of his Enemies.

In the mean time, while *Felicitus* endeavoured to create a Misunderstanding between *St. Cyrian* and *Cornelius*, that Holy Man assembled a Council of Sixty six Bishops at *Carthage* in April, in the Year 252, wherein some Ecclesiastical Regulations were made concerning a certain Priest, whose Name was *Victor*, whom his Bishop had received to Grace contrary to the Decision of the Council, and also concerning the Baptism of Infants. About the same time he opposed one *Fortunatus* a Bishop, who still held his Bishoprick, though he had Sacrificed to Idols, and offered to reconcile those, who after they had held out for some time, at last yielded to the violence of Torments, and who had undergone Penance for this their Transgression three whole Years.

St. Cyrian after this, having had several Revelations, which inclined him to believe that the Church was to be Perfected within a short time, was of Opinion, that in order to prepare the Christians for this new Assault, it would be necessary to fortify them with the Eucharist, and to that Effect, to reconcile them to the Church. So in the Year 253, he assembled a Council of several Bishops, who were all of the same Judgment, and signed their Resolution to Pope *Cornelius*, that he might use the same Conduct in his own Church. Soon after happened the Persecution of *Gallus*. Pope *Cornelius* was sent into Banishment, and suffered Martyrdom the very same Year. *Lucius*, who succeeded him, was immediately banished, from whence he returned after the Death of *Gallus*, in the beginning of the Year 254; but he did not long enjoy the Comforts of Peace, but suffered Martyrdom, after he had held the See of *Rome* for the Space of Eight Months only. *Stephen* was elected in his Place towards the End of that Year, or the beginning of the next. Under this Pope the celebrated Dispute about the Validity of the Baptism of Heretics was warmly discussed between the Churches of *Africa* and *Rome*. *St. Cyrian* being consulted in the Year 255 by *Januarius*, and the other Bishops of *Nimidia*, whether it was necessary to re-baptize those, who after they had been Baptized by Heretics, desired to be re-united to the Church, returned this Answer, as did several African Bishops assembled in Council, that no Baptism could be valid out of the Church; that it was absolutely necessary to Re-baptize those who had received the Baptism of Heretics; and in one Word, that this Question had been already decided by the African Bishops their Predecessors. *Quintus* having also sent the same Demand to *St. Cyrian*, he made the same Answer, and sent him the Decision of this Synod, which was moreover confirmed in another African Council held in 256, which wrote to *Stephen* about it, to exhort him to embrace this Discipline. But he was so far from submitting to the Reason of the Africans, whether because he imagined they had a Design to condemn the Roman Church, or because he thought this Question was of too great Consequence, that he was enraged against *St. Cyrian* and his Colleagues, and used their Deputies ill: Nay, he prohibited all Christians belonging to his Church, to receive or lodge them, depriving them not only of Ecclesiastical Communion, but also refusing them the common Civilities of Hospitality. The Letter he writ back was full of Injuries and Invectives, and his Decision was comprised in these Terms: 'If any one comes to you, of whatsoever Heresy he is, let there not be made the least Alteration in what has been regulated by Tradition, but only impose Hands upon him, and so receive him. This Letter being brought into *Africa*, *St. Cyrian* moved at the Proceedings of *Stephen*, sent his Letter, with a Refutation of it, not only to *Pompey* of *Africa*, but all to *Firmilian*, and the other Bishops of *Cappadocia*, who were all of the same Opinion with *St. Cyrian*, touching the Baptism of Heretics. *Firmilian* having received it, writ a long Letter, wherein he amply refutes the Opinion and Letter of *Stephen*, and establishes the Discipline which *St. Cyrian* defended; saying, It had been observed in his Country by an immemorial Custom, and confirmed in two numerous Synods held at *Icenum* and *Synada*. As soon as *St. Cyrian* had received this Letter, he assembled a Synod at *Carthage*, in which the Letter he had writ to *Gubianus* upon this Question was openly read, and all the Bishops gave their Suffrages in favour of *St. Cyrian's* Opinion: Thus I have delivered in a few Words, the History of this famous Quarrel between two great Bishops, both of whom the Church still reverences as Saints.

However, If I may be allowed to make some Reflections upon their Opinions and Conduct, I shall not scruple to observe after *St. Austin*, that *St. Cyrian* shewed a great deal more Moderation in this Dispute, and that we can by no means excuse that Heat and Passion which so far transported *Stephen*: For though the first maintained his Opinion vigorously, yet he did it with abundance of Candor, and always

St. Cyrian

always declared he would leave other Bishops the Liberty to do as they judged convenient, and openly professed he would separate himself from the Communion of no body upon the score of this Controversie, *Neminem separantes*, said he often, *aut a Communione submoventes*. Whereas on the other hand, *Pope Stephen* not only offered his Opinion with a world of Heat and Rigour, but also treated those Bishops unworthily, who followed a Practice different from his own, calling them false Christians, false Apostles, and Seducers, and refusing their Deputies not only the Communion of the Church, but even Lodging and Hospitality. As for what respects the Merits of the Cause, though 'tis commonly believed that the Pope had the Truth on his Side, yet there is sufficient reason to doubt whether he did not in the heat of his Opposition to *St. Cyrian*, carry things too far on the other side, and whether the Opinion of *St. Austin*, which the Church has since embraced, That we ought to receive those Persons without Baptism, who have been baptized by Heretics in the Name of the Trinity, and to re-baptize those who have not been baptized according to that Form: Whether this Opinion, I say, does not steer the middle Course between *Stephen's*, who seems to have maintained that all those who had been baptized by Heretics should be received without Re-baptization, which way fewer they were baptized, *a quacunque heresi*, and *St. Cyrian's*, who asserted that all such ought to be re-baptized. Be it as it will, 'tis certain ¹ that *St. Cyrian* never altered his Opinion; that the Greek Churches were for a long time after him ² divided upon this Question; that the Council of *Arles* ³ first decided it in the West; that it is not improbable that this was the Council which *St. Austin* ⁴ calls the full Council, which first decided this Controversie; that *St. Austin* followed its Decision, and proves it at large in his Books against the Donatists; that the Western Church has embraced this Opinion, and that though ⁵ the Eastern Churches have not agreed with her absolutely in this Point, yet they always made a distinction between Heretics, and differently received them, it would be no difficult matter to justify all this; but as this is no proper place to discuss this Question, so it would carry us too far from our Subject. The Reader need only consult our Annotations, to be better satisfied.

To complete what remains of *St. Cyrian's* Life, it would be necessary here to transcribe the ancient Acts of his Passion, and what his Deacon *Pontius* has related concerning it; but the Description of his Martyrdom does not concern the Subject or Design of this Work; and therefore I shall only observe, that towards the beginning of *Valerian's* Persecution, in the Year 257, on the 30th of August, he was banished to *Carris*, a City about ten or twelve Leagues distant from *Carthage*, by the Command of *Apostolus Paternus*, the Proconsul; that after he had tarried there eleven Months, he was

¹ Between that of *Stephen*, who seems to have maintained What induces us to believe that *Stephen* was of this Opinion, is in the first place, because he makes no distinction at all, but says plainly, *a quacunque heresi*. Secondly, because *St. Cyrian* and *Firmilian* takes *Stephen's* Words in this sense; now who can imagine that they would have engaged themselves in a Dispute, without so much as knowing the Opinion of their Adversary. Thirdly, There were scarce any Heretics before *Stephen*, who Baptized in the Name of the Trinity, so that it had been only a Chimerical Question about a thing which had never been practised, to dispute whether it were necessary to Re-baptize those who had been Baptized in the Name of the Trinity by Heretics, since there were almost no Heretics that used to Baptize after that manner. Fourthly, The ancient Author of a small Book written against the Opinion of *St. Cyrian*, makes no mention of this Distinction of Heretics, but generally approves all Baptism whatever given in the Name of Jesus Christ. Fifthly, *St. Augustine* never cites *Stephen's* Decree for his Opinion; on the other hand, he opposes the Opinion of *Stephen* and *St. Cyrian*. and in his sixth Book *de unico Bapt.* c. 14. he tells us *Stephen* maintained that no body was to be Re-baptized, *in nullo iterandum Baptisma*. There are several other Reasons which I pass over in silence.

² *St. Cyrian* never altered his Opinion. There is not the least probability that *St. Cyrian* altered his Opinion. In the time of the Council of *Arles*, the Africans still continued this Practice, and in *Optatus's* time they distinguished between Heretics and Schismatics, receiving the latter without Baptism, but Re-baptizing the former.

³ Divided upon this Question. *Denis of Alexandria* in *Eusebius* testifies that the Eastern Churches were divided upon this Question. *St. Athanasius* rejects the

Baptism of Heretics. *St. Basil* in two Canons of his Letter to *Amphilochius* explains the different Customs of several Churches about this Question, and inclines to the Party of those who reject the Baptism of Heretics as invalid.

⁴ First decided it in the West. The Council of *Arles*, 1. c. 8. *De Afris qui propria lege utuntur ut Re-baptizent*.

⁵ Calls the full Council. This Question has been discussed with mighty Heat in our time, though it be but of small importance. It is certain that the Council of *Arles* has decided it agreeably to the Opinion of *St. Austin*, and that the Africans gave the Name of a full Council to Councils consisting of more than one Province, as was that of *Arles*. However it is, the Council of *Nice* has not decided this Question, but only ordained that the *Pelagians* should be Re-baptized. Now it is not certain whether they Baptized in the Name of the Trinity or no: And *St. Athanasius* himself seems to affirm the contrary; besides that, though they had not Baptized in the Name of the Trinity, yet we cannot say that this Council has determined the Question.

¹ The Eastern Churches. Those of the East did not make use of *St. Austin's* Distinction either in the Council of *Constantinople*, or in the Council that was held in the Emperor's Palace; but they distinguished between three sorts of Heretics. Those that were to be Re-baptized as the *Paulinists*, and the ancient Heretics, together with the *Emmonians* and *Sabellians*, who did not observe three Immersions. Secondly, Those that were to be anointed, such as were the *Arians*, the *Macedonians*, the *Novatians*, the *Quarto decimani*, and the *Apollinarians*: And lastly, those who had nothing more to do than barely to make an Abjuration, as the *Eutychians*, the *Nestorians*, the *Severians*, the *Acephali*, and the *Monothelites*.

re-called by the Proconsul *Galerius Maximus*, who confined him to his own Gardens near *Carthage*; *St. Cyprian* that being informed that the Proconsul had sent some Soldiers to seize and carry him to *Utica*, he retired into a private Place, that he might not suffer Martyrdom out of his own Church, or after any other manner than in the Presence of his own People; and that at last being come back again to his Gardens, after the Proconsul's return to *Carthage*, he was apprehended, and carried before him; where after he had generously made Profession of the Christian Faith, he had his Head cut off in a Place called *Saxi*, near the City of *Carthage*, on the 14th of September, in the Year 258, under the Consulship of *Tylius and Bassus*.

The first ^a Letter which *St. Cyprian* writ to *Donatus*, contains a Relation of a Conference he had with that Friend a little after his Baptism: wherein after he has spoke of the marvellous Effects of that Sacrament, he eloquently lays open the Perils we run in this World, the Crimes and Injustices that are there committed, and afterwards shewing the Excellence and Happiness of those Persons who consecrate themselves to the Service of God; he exhorts his Friend to live a retired Life, to renounce the World, and to apply himself diligently to Reading and Praying. This Letter, which we are to consider as the First-fruits of *St. Cyprian's* Works, is written in a very gay florid Style, by no means suitable to the Matter in hand, as *St. Austin* observes in his Book of *the Christian Doctrine*; adding, That this Martyr did not follow the same manner of Writing in his other Letters, but that he took up a more masculine and graver way of Writing, and which was more becoming a Christian. These Letters are divided according to the Order of Time ^a into five Classes: The first comprehends those which he wrote in his first Exile. The second those which he wrote under the Pontificate of the two Popes, *Cornelius* and *Lucius*. The third, those which he wrote under the Pontificate of *Stephen*. The fourth those which he wrote during his last Exile, towards his latter End. The fifth, those of which we cannot fix down the precise time when they were written, which are but few. But besides this general Order, which it is easy to observe, we are to take notice what Letters follow each other immediately, and this indeed has been attempted by *Pamelius*, but with very little Success. The Order he has followed, has been reformed by a Learned Person, who has translated *St. Cyprian's* Letters into our Language, in the Preface which he sets before his Translation. And lastly, He that published a new Edition of *St. Cyprian in England*, has disposed them in a new Order, according to the Series of Time. We shall follow either of them as we see convenient.

The first of those Letters that were written in the first Exile of *St. Cyprian*, in all probability is that which is the fourth in *Pamelius's* Edition, addressed to his Clergy, that is to say, to his Priests and Deacons, wherein he exhorts them to acquit themselves in his Absence of their own Functions and his, so that nothing may be defective in relation to Order and Discipline: He recommends to their Care those Christians who were imprisoned for the Religion of Jesus Christ, to assist them in their Necessities, and to advise the Christians not to go in Multitudes to the Prisons, for fear of provoking the Pagans; that the Priests, who went to offer the Sacrifice of the Altar in Prison, should go thither each in their Turns, along with a Deacon; and lastly, that the Christians should accommodate themselves to the Times, and take care, as much as in them lay, to lessen the Rigour of the Persecution.

[What *Du Pin* renders to offer the Sacrifice of the Altar in *St. Cyprian*, is only to offer. It is well enough known that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was called a Sacrifice, the Lord's Table an Altar, and the Administration Offering, in *St. Cyprian's* Time; and it has been as often proved by all that have given an Account of the Belief of the Fathers in this Matter, That their Opinion was widely distant from that of the Church of *Rome* in this Point.]

This first Letter was soon followed by another, mentioned by him in his sixth Epistle, wherein he commends the Confessors for their Courage, and exhorts them to do nothing unworthy of such glorious beginnings. Monsieur *Lombert* is of Opinion that it is lost, whereas the Editor of the *English* pretends that it is the eighty first Letter which *Pamelius* supposes to have been written during his last Exile; but it is more probable that this Letter was written in his first, because he there excuses his Absence, which he would never have done in his last, where he was ^a detained against his Will.

It happened at this time, that a Subdeacon of *Carthage*, named *Clementius*, who had gone to *Rome* towards the beginning of the Persecution, came back to *Carthage*, bringing two Letters with him from the Clergy of *Rome*, during the Vacancy of that See by the Death of *Fabian*: One of them was

^a The first Letter. 'Tis rather a Treatise than a Letter, but all *St. Cyprian's* Works were called Letters, as it appears by *Ruffinus* in his Apology. *St. Papias* calls the Book de *Lapsis*, a Letter, Ep. 3. ad *Symphoniam*. *St. Austin* likewise not only calls the Treatise to *Donatus* but the Book of *Unity*, the Treatise of *Zeal and Envy* by this Name; and in some other places he gives the Title of the Book to the Letters. It is on case matter however to distinguish the Letters from the Treatises; We leave the Treatise to *Donatus* amongst the Letters, though it is a Treatise.

^a Into five Classes. In the English Edition before the other Letters of *St. Cyprian*, we find four that are

said to have been written before his Retirement, but they bring no Proofs or Conjectures strong enough to support this Opinion, and therefore we had better own that we cannot tell when they were written.

^a Detained against his Will. The Five and thirtieth Letter is placed after this, in the Edition lately put out in *England*, but it seems to me to have been written towards the end of the Persecution, because he there speaks of his Return. We are to pass the same Judgment upon the Sixth, and Seventh, and the fifth, which were all written at the same time.

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directed to *St. Cyprian*, and gave him Intelligence of the Martyrdom of *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*; the other was addressed to the Clergy of *Carthage*, exhorting them to take care of the Flock of Jesus Christ in the Absence of their Pastor, and encouraging the Faithful to continue steadfast in the Faith of Jesus Christ, and to raise up those who had the Misfortune to fall; to look after the Prisoners, the Needy, the Widows, and Catechumens; to reconcile the relapsed Penitents at their Death to the Church, and to bury the Bodies of the Martyrs. It reproached the Pastors who abandoned their Flock in the time of Persecution; which Passage seems indirectly to condemn *St. Cyprian's* Retreat. This Letter is the second in the Order of *Pamelius*.

St. Cyprian answered this Letter of the *Roman* Clergy, by congratulating them for the glorious Martyrdom of *St. Fabian*; and having received a Copy of the Letter which the Clergy of *Rome* had writ to him, though it was both without Inscription and Subscriptio, yet he sent to *Rome* to know whether this Letter was really writ by the Clergy of that City, giving them to understand that he was concerned at their seeming to disapprove his Retreat: This is the third Letter. Some time after this, the Proconsul coming to *Carthage*, persecuted the Christians after a cruel manner, causing some of the Prisoners to be put to Death, and among the rest, *Mappalicius*, who suffered Martyrdom on the 17th day of April. *St. Cyprian* being informed of this, made use of their Example to encourage the other Confessors to imitate their Constancy and Generosity; and this he did in the 8th Letter. At the same time also he writ the 36th, addressed to his own Clergy, to whose Care he recommends the Confessors that were in Prison, requiring them to inter the Bodies of those who died there, to reverence them as Martyrs, and to send him word of the Day of their Death, that he might offer Sacrifices in remembrance of them. Some of the Christians being then returned home from their Exile, without receiving Orders to do it, *St. Cyprian* writ a Letter to them, which is the 8th according to *Pamelius's* Account, wherein he takes occasion to blame their Conduct.

[Mr. *Dodwell*, in his 5th Dissertation upon *St. Cyprian*, tells us what kind of Sacrifices these are: They could not be offered as Propitiations, because the Church believed the Martyrs were already Blessed. They were only Anniversary Celebrations of the Memory of the Martyrdom of those who suffered so gloriously for the Faith. Thus all the Saints were also remembered in the Diprychs of the Church: Thus the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and the Blessed Virgin her self, though no Man ever thought they could stand in need of the Prayers of the Faithful. But the Christians were careful, even in the most Primitive Times, to pay all possible Honours to the Memories of those who made a glorious Confession of the Faith. The Acts of *St. Polycarp's* Martyrdom, which are the oldest we have, shew how solicitous the Christians of *Smyrna* were to have his Ashes, not to worship them, as they themselves declare, but by paying the last Respect to them that was possible, to shew how willing they should have been to suffer in the same Cause, if they had had an equal Call. Nay, all Christians that dy'd in the Communion of the Church, had in those early Ages some Honours paid to them after their Death. Therefore *St. Cyprian* commanded that no Honour should be paid to *Geminus Vitar*, because he had left *Geminus Faustinus*, a Priest, his Executor by his Will: And so *Du Pin's* Words, when he speaks of this Business afterwards, are to be understood; for the same Phrases are used, when he speaks of the Commemoration of Martyrs Anniversaries, and of this of *Geminus Vitar* there forbidden.]

The Persecution that still continued, as it augmented the Number of Martyrs, so it augmented the Number of the *Lapsed*; that is to say, of those Christians who were so weak as to deny the Faith of Jesus Christ, and offer Incense to Idols, or else such as, to avoid Persecution, got Certificates or Attestations under the Hands of some Judge, to certify that they had sacrificed. Now those who had once fallen away, being thrown out of the Church, and excluded from Communion, addressed themselves to the Martyrs, whose Credit and Authority in the Church at that time was extraordinary, who gave them Tickets, wherein they desired that they might be admitted to Reconciliation. They writ to *St. Cyprian* on the same account, praying him to take this their Desire into consideration, and to receive these Persons whom they recommended, whenever the Church should be in Peace. But some of them happening to abuse these Tickets of the Martyrs, demanded to be reconciled immediately, and addressing themselves to *Felicissimus*, and some other Priests, who were Enemies to *St. Cyprian*, received Absolution from their Hands. *St. Cyprian* being informed of these irregular Proceedings, after he had continued some time in silence, writ a Letter full of Zeal and Earnestness to his Priests and Deacons (this is the ninth) wherein he severely reproves the Priests, who forgetting their Rank, and the Duty they owed their Bishop, had rashly absolved those who had fallen into Idolatry. He reproaches them with deceiving the Faithful, inasmuch as they reconciled them before they had done Penance for their Transgression: He remonstrates to them, that if in Sins of less Scandal and Consequence, it is necessary to undergo public Penance for some considerable time, before the Party offending is re-admitted into the Church, by Imposition of Hands from the Bishop and Clergy, it is a strange perverting of Discipline, to admit these to the Communion, who, though they have shamefully denied the Faith of Jesus Christ, and sacrificed to Idols, yet have undergone no Penance for their Crime, nor received the Imposition of Hands of the Bishop and Priests; that as for the Martyrs, they were excusable, because they did not know the Law; but that those who gave them this false Reconciliation were highly to be blamed: That it was a scandalous thing for Ecclesiastics to abuse the easy Temper of the Martyrs, whom they rather ought to have disuaded, in case they requested any thing which was contrary to the Discipline of the Church, but that indeed the Martyrs had demanded nothing like it, since they only writ to him to grant the Favour of Reconciliation to those, to whom they had given Tickets, when the Persecution should cease; At last he threatens some of his

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Clergy

St. Cyprian

St. Cyprian

Clergy who had shewn themselves rash, indifcreet, and presumptuous upon this Occasion, if they continued in their Obstinacy, to forbid them to Offer, till such time as they gave an account of their Behaviour before himself, and the Confessors, and the Congregation of the Faithful. He writ likewise at the same time to the Confessors, to advise them not to be so free of their Tickets, or give them to all Petitioners, but to inform themselves better of the Character of those Persons, to whom they designed this Indulgence; and then dissuades the People from soliciting their Admission into the Church with so much Precipitation, by making them sensible that a rash Abolution was so far from appeasing God's Anger, that it would rather draw his Vengeance down upon them. These Letters are the Tenth and Eleventh.

His Clergy returning him no Answer, obliged him to write a second Letter to them, wherein, after he has complained of their Silence, he gives the Priests and Deacons leave to reconcile those, who having fallen into Idolatry, had received Tickets from the Martyrs when they were dying; and Orders them to Baptize the *Catechumens* that were in danger. This Letter is the Twelfth in *Pameliu's* Order, and was written towards the beginning of the Summer 250. His Clergy, finding him word, that they did not fall to advise those that had fallen, not to be over hasty, but to undergo Penance; and yet, notwithstanding all the Remonstrances they made, there was some amongst them who daily pressed them; he answered as he did before in his former Letter, that they ought to reconcile those who had received Tickets from the Martyrs, when they were dangerously Sick; but that others, though they had received Tickets, ought to wait till the Bishops could assemble to fix this Buiness, by common Consent. This Letter is the Thirteenth.

About this time having received Information, That the Letter, a Copy whereof he had by him, without any Subscription, came from the Clergy of *Rome*, he writ to them to justify his Retreat, and give them an Account of the Pastoral Care he had of his Flock, all the while he was absent. This he does in his Fourteenth Letter, wherein he at large acquaints the Clergy of *Rome* with all that had passed upon the Occasion of the Lapsed; and tells them of the Resolution he had taken conformable to theirs, not to give Abolution to those that had fallen, except they were in danger of Death, till such time as several Bishops could meet to deliberate upon the Affair, by communicating the same to other Churches.

At the same time *Celerinus*, a Confessor at *Rome*, writ a Letter to *Lucian*, a Confessor at *Carthage*, wherein he desires him to pray to God for his Sister, who having fallen away in the Persecution, was enjoynd Penance: This is the Twentieth. *Lucian* sends him word again, that he had reconciled all those who had fallen, pursuant to the Order he had received from the Martyr *Paul*, but upon condition that they would apply themselves to their Bishop, and do publick Penance for their Fault: This is the Twenty first Letter; and indeed this *Lucian* had given Tickets in the Name of *Paul* and *Marpalis*, to all the Lapsed, who presented themselves before him, after he was informed of the Penance they had done after their Fall, and had writ to *St. Cyprian*, desiring him to acquaint the Bishops with it: This Letter is the Fifteenth. *St. Cyprian* having received it, sent word immediately to his Clergy, that since the Demand of the Confessors concerned all the Bishops, he durst not prevent them, or take upon himself the Decision of a Matter, wherein all his Brethren had a Share; that therefore he would not reconcile the Penitents till Peace was restored to the Church, and he had the Advice of the rest of his Brethren: This Letter is the Seventeenth. At the same time he sent a Copy of a Letter of a certain Bishop named *Caldonius*, who was of the same Opinion with himself, as to the Reconciliation of those that had fallen, together with his own Answer to it. These two Letters are the Eighteenth and Nineteenth. At this Juncture arrived Letters from *Rome*, one from the Clergy, the other from *Moses*, *Maximus*, *Nicostratus*, and the other Confessors.

The first is addressed to the Clergy, the second to *Sturmius*, *Aurelius*, and some other Persons, The Scope and Design of both, is to exhort those that had fallen into Idolatry, not to use over much haft in getting themselves reconciled, but to wait a sufficient time to undergo a true Penance. These Letters that were full of an Evangelical Spirit, rejoiced *St. Cyprian* exceedingly, and secured him from the Complaints that were made against him. He thought himself therefore obliged to thank the Clergy and Confessors of *Rome* in two Letters, which he wrote to them. In that directed to the Clergy, the 22d in order, he gives them an Account of all that had happen'd in *Lucian's* Affair, he complains of the Rashness of that Man, and tells them very properly to this Subject, *That the Martyrs don't make the Gospel, but the Gospel the Martyrs.*

In the other, which he sent to the Confessors (the 24) he commends their Zeal exceedingly, and tells them, That to be true Martyrs, we ought always to observe an inviolable Sanctuary in our Words, and not to destroy the Precepts of *JESUS CHRIST*, when we pretend to die for him. He ordained *Saturus* a Reader, and *Optatus* a Sub-deacon to carry these Letters, because it was the Custom of Bishops in those days to send their Letters by none but Clergy-men. He acquainted his Clergy with this Ordination in his 25th Letter, and sent them a Copy of the Letters he writ to *Rome*, and excused himself for being obliged to do this Buiness in the Absence of his Clergy. The Clergy of *Rome* being fully informed of *St. Cyprian's* Conduct, sent him a Letter of *Novatian's* composing, full of Esteem and Respect, which was brought him by *Optatus* and *Saturus*. They acknowledged, that though *St. Cyprian* being assured by the Testimony of his own Conscience, was therefore under no

great Necessity to justify himself; yet he deserved, however, abundance of Commendation, for desiring that his Actions might be approved by his Brethren; that if he had communicated his Resolutions to them, it was not because they were his Judges, but only that they might partake the Glory of it with him, by supporting and authorizing them, as they do in the 30th Letter, wherein they declare, that they were of *St. Cyprian's* Opinion, That it was necessary to tarry till Peace was restored to the Church, that so the Advice of the Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Confessors, who continued firm to the Church might be consulted, before they regulated a Matter of that great Importance: That as for themselves and their Neighbours, they would determine nothing till they had a Bishop: That in the mean time they desired to give those Persons Abolution who were able to tarry; but as for those who were in danger of Death, and had given sufficient Marks of a sincere Repentance, and unfeigned Sorrow, they looked upon themselves obliged to relieve them in that Necessity, leaving to God the Judgment of those Persons. This Letter is writ with a World of Elegance and Politeness, and abounds with admirable thoughts upon the regarding of Abolution, and also upon that Penance that is necessary to satisfy God. "Let those People, say they, who, by reason of their Crimes, have "deserved to be ejected out of the Church, knock at the Gates, but not break them open; Let them "come to the Church-Porch, but let them go no farther: Let them demand Peace and Abolution, but "let it be with Modesty, Humility, Patience, and Submission: Let their Tears and their Sighs intercede for them, and testify the real Sorrow they have for their Sins.

The Confessors of *Rome* likewise returned an Answer to *St. Cyprian* at the same time. Their Letter, which is the 25th, though not so polite as the former, is equally Learned. They thank *St. Cyprian* for the Letter he sent them, and assure him they received no small Satisfaction and Comfort from it; they looked upon the Condition of those Persons who had suffered Martyrdom to be extremely happy, since they went directly to Heaven, and thought themselves to be unfortunate, because they were deprived of that Blessing. They commend *St. Cyprian* for his great Vigilance over his Flock, though he was constrained by Necessity to be absent from it. In short, they were of Opinion, that Penitents ought not to be admitted to Reconciliation, before the Church was in a State of Tranquility, shewing how necessary Repentance is to blot out our Transgressions, and how dangerous it is to close up a Wound before it be thoroughly healed.

These Letters being mighty advantageous to *St. Cyprian's* Affairs, he dispatched a Copy of them to his Clergy, with Orders to shew them to the Faithful of *Carthage*, and to the Bishops that were Strangers, as we find in the 31st Letter: But notwithstanding all this Advice, the *Lapsi*, in a full Body, writ a Letter to *St. Cyprian* in the Church's Name, wherein they demanded of him to grant them reconciliation, as being a thing they might justly claim, pretending that *Paul* the Martyr had given it to all of them before he died. *St. Cyprian* sent them word, in the 26th Letter, that the Church consisting only of the Bishop and Clergy, and all the Laicks who continued firm and steadfast, he wondered how they durst be so bold, as to write to him in the Name of the Church, and demand Reconciliation of him as a thing that was their Due, instead of writing to him after a submissive manner, as some had done before, who, though they had received Tickets from the Martyrs, yet humbly signified to him, that they acknowledged their Fault, that they were heartily sorry for it, and were by no means urgent to receive the Peace of the Church: That he desired them therefore, for the time to come, to let him know precisely what they requested, and to send him their Names, that he might know what to do. He wrote also the 27th Letter to the Clergy, to inform them, that if any of his Priests and Deacons, or else any Stranger should be so presumptuous, as to communicate with the *Lapsi*, before that Affair were solemnly decided, he declared him to be cut off from Communion. He commends them for separating themselves from *Caius* a Presbyter of *Didida*, and his Deacon, who communicated with Apostates, though they had been twice reprimanded by the Bishops; and declares, That he will not judge the Cause of *Philomenus* and *Fortunatus* the Deacons, and of *Favorinus* the *Acolyth*, who had withdrawn themselves in the Heat of Persecution, but that they must tarry till his return before he examined their Cause, not only with his Colleagues, but also with the People; that in the mean time he would have them deprived of the Distribution that was given to the Clergy, though in such a manner, as should not do any Prejudice to the Merits of their Cause. He afterwards, in his 28th Letter, acquaints the Clergy of *Rome* with all that he had regulated and done about those that had fallen; and they, for their part, return him a very obliging Letter, wherein they commend his Steadfastness, and condemn the Precipitation of those that were so eager to be reconciled to the Church; but at the same time they excused the Martyrs, who sent them to their Bishop. Towards the end of the Letter, they thank him for the Information he had given them concerning *Privatus* of *Lambesa*, and assure him that they think themselves obliged to shew, that they are not indifferent in those things which relate to other Churches, because "Pastors ought to watch in common for "the Body of the whole Church, the several Parts of which are extended in many Provinces. This Letter is the 29th. Towards *October*, *Celerinus* of *Africa*, after he had generously confessed the Christian Faith at *Rome*, came back to *Carthage*; and going to find out *St. Cyprian* in his Retirement, comforted him exceedingly, by letting him know what an Affection *Moses*, and the other Confessors of *Rome* bore unto him. This obliged him to write another Letter to them, to acquaint them how sensibly he received their Good-will, and to encourage them to persevere in the Resolution they had taken upon them to dye for *JESUS CHRIST*. This is the 17th Letter in the Order of *Pameliu's*. It contains an admirable Commendation of Martyrdom; he observes in it, that it was almost a full Year since they were in Prison; but then endeavours to satisfy them, that their Recompence would be proportionable to the length of their Sufferings, and that immediately after their Martyrdom, they would

† *Celerinus* the Confessor.] These Letters are placed in this Year, because it is not unlikely that they were written some time after the Persecution was begun. This of *Celerinus* was written after

would receive the Happiness of enjoying *GOD*. These Confessors, animated by this eloquent Letter, suffered Martyrdom soon after the Receipt of it.

In December, *St. Cyprian* ordained the Readers, *Aurelius* and *Celerinus*, both of whom had confessed the Faith of *JESUS CHRIST*, and signified this Ordination immediately after to his Clergy and People, in his 32d and 33d Letters, wherein he excuses himself for having Ordained them before he had consulted his Church, because we need not stay for the Testimony of Men, when we have that of *GOD*. He gives them both an extraordinary Character for their Virtue, and the great Constancy they shewed in suffering for the Christian Faith. He says, they deserved to be advanced to the highest Dignities of the Church, but that he judged it more convenient to Ordain them only Readers, because they were so very young: That in the mean time he designed to make them Priests; and therefore ordered them to give them their Distributions, as if they were so already. At the same time he associated *Numidius* the Priest to his Clergy, who was as illustrious for the Strictness of his Virtue and Faith, as for the Glory of his Confession; for after he had, by his Exhortations, sent a great Number of Martyrs to *GOD* before him, who were either burnt or stoned to Death, and saw his Wife, whom he entirely loved, cast, amongst several others, into the Fire, with Joy, he himself was half burnt, braited with Stones, and left for Dead. This is related in the 34th Letter, which was writ in his Favour.

In the beginning of the Year 257, the Confessors that were in Prison at *Carthage*, being set at Liberty, some of them were licentious in their Behaviour. *St. Cyprian* being informed of it, writ two Letters, one to his Clergy, and the other to the Confessors. In the first, which is the 5th according to *Pameliu's* Order, he lends his Clergy word, that he earnestly desired to come back to *Carthage*, but that the time not permitting him to do it, he conjured them to supply his Absence, to have a particular Care of the Poor, and to exhort the Confessors not to lose the Honour of their glorious Confession by their Sins, but to suffer themselves to be governed by the Priests and Deacons; that as for himself, he could not regulate the Affairs of his Church alone, having obliged himself, when he was first made Bishop, to do nothing of his own Head, without the Advice of his Clergy, and the Consent of the People.

In the Letter which he writ at the same time to the Confessors, he advises them to a strict Observance of the Discipline of the Church, lest otherwise they should seem to renounce *JESUS CHRIST*, by their irregular way of Living, where they had confessed before with their Tongues. He commands those who behaved themselves discreetly, and vigorously reprehends the rest; he exhorts all Christians to live soberly, and to forsake all Vices, that so they may be perfectly changed, and become perfect, when Peace, which *GOD* promises to send in a short time, shall be restored to the Church. He gives the same Advice to his Clergy in the 7th Letter, where he tells them, that as the Persecution had been occasioned by the Corruptions of the Manners of the Christians, so it would be impossible to obtain a Cessation of it from *GOD*, by any other Means, than offering up Prayers to him in the Spirit of Union, and living a Virtuous Life. Soon after the writ the 35th Letter to his Clergy, wherein he assures them, that he passionately desired to come and see them, but that he was obliged to have a Regard to the Peace of the Church; and he was afraid that his Presence might exasperate the Pagans; that as soon as ever they sent him word that all was calm, and *GOD* should inform him of it, he would speedily repair to them. In the mean time he recommended the Poor to their Care, and sent some Money to *Regatianus* the Priest, to supply their Necessities; as also to relieve Strangers, and those that were Sick.

St. Cyprian being not in a Capacity at that time to go to *Carthage*, dispatched two Bishops, whose Names were *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*, to relieve the Poor with Money, and to examine those Persons who were thought worthy to be chosen into Ecclesiastical Offices. *Felicissimus*, who had always called against *St. Cyprian*, and asserted, that it was necessary to admit those that had fallen into a Reconciliation, hindered these Alms and Examinations, as much as lay in his Power, and threatened to separate himself from those that should receive any thing, and obey their Bishop. After this, he retired to a Mountain, with those of his own Party, and declared himself their Head. *St. Cyprian* being informed of this Defection, writ to the two Bishops, signifying, that since *Felicissimus* had threatened to communicate no longer with those who were in his Place, he would deprive him, and all the rest of his Faction, from the Communion of the Church; and that, setting this Crime aside, he deserved to be Excommunicated for the Rapines, the Cheating, and Adulteries of which he was accused. This Letter is the 37th. He writ likewise the 38th Letter to his own People, wherein, after he had represented what a Grief it was to him, that this Disturbance regarded his Return, he remonstrates with some Vehemence, that as there is but one Church, so there is but one Chair in every Church, whereof the Bishop is Master; that we cannot set up Altar against Altar, nor establish a new Priesthood; and that those who revolt from their Bishop, and separate themselves from his Communion, are out of the Church. In short he threatens, at the same time, to exclude those for ever, who should join themselves to *Felicissimus*. *Caldonius*, *Fortunatus*, and the rest of *St. Cyprian's* Clergy, had no sooner received these Letters, but they excommunicated *Felicissimus*, and those of his Cabal, and acquainted *St. Cyprian* with it in the 83d Letter. And thus I have given the true Order, as well as the Subject of all those Letters that were written to *St. Cyprian*, during the time of his first Banishment.

The Order of the Letters written after his Return is less perplexed and confused in *Pameliu's* Edition than that of the former. The 40th and 41st Letters are the first in this second Order, and are addressed to *Cornelius*. *St. Cyprian* had sent him word of all that had passed in *Africa*, upon the

Difference he had with *Novatian*, and informed him of the Faction of *Felicissimus*. At the same time also he writ the 43d Letter to the Confessors of *Rome*, to disswade them from *Novatian's* Party, and gave *Cornelius* information of it in the 42d Letter, wherein he acquaints him, that he had given Orders to his Subdeacon *Metius*, who carried it, to shew it to him, lest he should suspect him to entertain a Commerce with the Schismatics. In the mean time, *Primitivus* the Priest, who had carried *St. Cyprian's* first Letter from *Carthage*, being returned thither, brought him a Letter from *Cornelius*, in which he complains that the Letters that were sent him from *Adrumetum*, were not directed to him, but to his Clergy, ever since *Juvenalis* and *St. Cyprian* were arrived there. To this *St. Cyprian* answers in the 44th Letter, that the Reason of this was, because they had acquainted the Christians of that Colony with a Decision lately made in *Africa*, which, by reason of their Bishop's Absence, they were ignorant of, viz. That they should neither write to *Novatian* nor *Cornelius*, but to the Clergy of *Rome*, till they had received certain News from *Caldonius* and *Fortunatus*; and that since *Cornelius's* Ordination was now approved of by all the World, he himself in particular had writ about it to all the *African* Bishops. Towards the end of this Letter he prays, That *GOD*, who chose and established Bishops, would not only vouchsafe to protect and defend them, but give them Grace and Knowledge necessary to repress the Licentiousness of Offenders with Vigor, and to manage the good Inclinations of the Penitents with Gentleness and Clemency.

In the mean time the Confessors of the Church of *Rome* returning from their Errand, and being received by *Cornelius* in an Assembly of the *Roman* Clergy, where five Bishops made their Appearance; *Cornelius* communicated this News to *St. Cyprian* in the 45th Letter, which he sent to him by the Hands of the *Aegyrian* *Nephorus*, wherein he gives him a particular Account of whatever had passed in relation to the Confessors, and how they had acknowledged their Fault, and desired to be publicly pardoned, owning that they had been abused by the Perfidiousness and Artifices of *Novatian*; and that, though they had communicated with him, yet they were always in their Hearts united to the Church, and acknowledged at the bottom, that as there was but one God, one Christ, and one Holy Ghost, so there ought to be but one Bishop in a Catholic Church: That after this solemn Profession, they had been received with the Approbation of the People; and that they had granted the Favour to *Maximus* the Priest, to keep his Rank and Dignity. The Person that carried this, brought *St. Cyprian* another Letter from *Cornelius*, wherein he informs him of the Departure of *Novatian* and his Companions, *Nicolastratus* the Deacon, *Eusebius* the Bishop, *Primas* and *Dionysius*: 'This is the 47th Letter. *St. Cyprian* having received these two Letters, answered them by two others. In the first, which is the 48th, he rejoices with *Cornelius* at the Return of the Confessors. In the second, which is the 49th, he paints *Novatian* in his true Colours, and accuses him of several Crimes: He tells him, it was he, who by his Caballing, had got *Felicissimus* to be ordained a Deacon in *Africa*; and that coming to *Rome* afterwards, he had been the Cause of *Novatian's* being Ordained; but that it was no wonder that this Man could not continue in the Church, who had violated all the Laws of Christian Morality, the Ecclesiastical Discipline; that he had plundered the Orphans and Widows; that he had cheated the Churches, by laying out their Money to other Uses; that he had suffered his own Father to die of mere Poverty; and that he had been the Cause of his Wife's proving Abortive, by Kicking and Ill-using her; that he ought not only to be deprived of the Priesthood, but also of the Communion of the Church, for his Crimes; and that he had prevented the Judgment which the Bishops ought to have passed against him by his voluntary Separation. At the same time likewise, the Confessors of *Rome* writ to *St. Cyprian*, signifying, that after they had deliberated among themselves, concerning the Welfare and Peace of the Church, forgetting what had passed, and leaving the Judgment of it to God, they had reconciled themselves to *Cornelius*, to the Clergy, and all the Church of *Rome*. *St. Cyprian* congratulated them upon their Return, in such a manner as sufficiently testified the Joy he had at such welcome News; as also the Sorrow he had formerly entertained at their falling away. These Letters in *Pameliu's* Edition, are the 49th and 50th.

Towards the beginning of the Year 252, *Antoninus* an *African* Bishop, who had been of *Cornelius's* Side, having received a Letter from *Novatian*, to acquaint him, that *Cornelius* had received *Trophimus*, and several other Persons who had offered Incense to Idols, was a little staggered at it, and writ to *St. Cyprian*, praying him to inform him what was *Novatian's* Heresie; and why *Cornelius* had received *Trophimus*, and the other Apostates. *St. Cyprian* perceiving him to waver, endeavoured to confirm him by a long Letter; wherein, after he has justified the Conduct that was observed at *Rome* and in *Africa*, concerning those that were fallen, he defends *Cornelius*, and demonstrates the Validity of his Ordination. He begins it with making a sort of a Reproach to this Bishop for his Inconstancy, telling him, it by no means became discreet Persons; who had built their Judgments upon solid Grounds, to suffer themselves to be carried away with every Wind, and to be always changing their Opinions. After this he proceeds to justify the Measures that were taken with those that had fallen into Idolatry, whether by taking Certificates, or Sacrificing to Idols. He tells him, as long as the Persecution lasted, he had been of Opinion, that it was their Duty to deny them Reconciliation, to encourage them the better to suffer Martyrdom; but that after Peace was once restored to the Church, and after a mature Deliberation upon this Affair, in a numerous Assembly of Bishops, it was thought convenient to keep a Temper, not by taking away all Hopes of Pardon from those that had

* The Cabals of *Felicissimus*. These Letters were carried by *Metius* the Subdeacon as well as the ones and fortieth.

fallen, for fear they should live as Pagani, when they saw themselves intirely shut out of the Church, but by obliging them to undergo a long Penance before they could be reconciled; that this had been regulated in Councils of several Bishops, held in *Africk* and at *Rome*. He afterwards comes to the Perion and Ordination of *Cornelius*, and tells him, that he had not all on the sudden arrived to the Episcopacy, but that he had formerly passed through all the Ecclesiastical Dignities; that he had neither defied it, nor tickled for it, but that he had received it with all Humility; that, in a word, he had not used no manner of Violence, as some have done, to get himself made a Bishop, but that he had suffered in receiving the Episcopacy against his Will, *Nam us quidam vin fecit, ut Episcopus fieret, sed vin passus est ut Episcopatum caelestis acciperet*; that he had been elected Bishop by several Bishops, who happened to be then at *Rome*, in expectation of the Choice of the Clergy, and the Suffrages of the People, and with the general Approbation of all Churches, the See being at that time vacant by the Death of *Fabian*; that after this Ordination, which was approved by all the Bishops in the World, whoever would get himself ordained in the See of *Rome*, must necessarily be out of the Church; that no Credit was to be given to the secret Calumnies that were published against him; that his Colleagues, after they had diligently examined the Accusations of his Enemies, found him to be Innocent; that he had never received any Certificates from the Magistrates, nor communicated with those Bishops that had offered Incense to Idols, but that he had followed the Regulations which the whole Church had made concerning Apostates; that as for *Trophimus*, he had only received him for the Good of the Church, and to procure the Return of several Christians, whom he had brought along with him back again to the Church; that for this Reason he had been received, but on this Condition, to be in the Number of the Laity, and not as the *Novatians* had reported, in Quality of a Bishop; that since the Benefit of Reconciliation was allowed to Adulterers and Robbers, he saw no reason why Idolaters should be totally excluded; that amongst these, some were more to be blamed than others, that the *Libellatici*, [Those who had Certificates of their having Sacrificed, though they had never done it,] were more excusable than those that had sacrificed to Idols; that the first of these had been reconciled immediately, and that it had been determined, that Absolution should not be refused the latter upon the Point of Death, because there was no Repentance in Hell, with Exception always to those who deferred to do Penance till they were in Danger. After this he largely proves and demonstrates the reasonableness of this Conduct.

He observes that some of his Predecessors formerly had absolutely refused Absolution to Adulterers, but that they had not therefore condemned their Brethren, who acted indifferently, nor torn the Church, by making a Separation; that no body ought to be alarmed at what *Novatian* taught, since he was out of the Bosom of the Church; that he could not be Bishop of *Rome*, since the Roman See was filled by *Cornelius*, who had been legally Ordained, and whose Ordination had been approved by all the Bishops in the World; that the Church being a Body whose Members were spread over all the Earth after the same manner, there was only one Episcopacy diffused in the Person of several Bishops united together; and that though *Novatian* had been rightly Ordained, yet he forfeited that Dignity by separating himself from his Colleagues, and disturbing the Repose of the Church, and that there were no hopes of Salvation for him, being out of the Church. In short, *St. Cyrian* shews that it is cruel and unreasonable to oblige Sinners, as *Novatian* had done, to undergo Penance, and yet refuse them the Favour of Reconciliation, to exhort them to make satisfaction for their Sins, and yet deny them that Cure which their Satisfaction deserves, to say to them, Weep and Sigh Night and Day, Wash your Sins in your Tears, endeavour to efface them by your good Works, and yet at the same time add, you must die out of the Church; do all you can to procure your Peace, though you shall never be able to obtain the Peace you so earnestly desire.

But *Cornelius* did not defend *St. Cyrian* at *Rome* with the same Resolution and Contancy as this Saint defended his Party in *Africk*; for *Felicissimus* arriving there with a Company of factious Persons, to get the Ordination of *Fortunatus* approved, whom he had caused to be Ordained in opposition to *St. Cyrian*, *Cornelius* at first rejected him, and turned him out of the Church, without vouchsafing so much as to hearken to him, and writ to *St. Cyrian* about it. But seeing no body came from *St. Cyrian*, and that he had sent him no Directions about it, whereas on the other hand it was openly discoursed, that *Fortunatus* had been ordained by Twenty five Bishops; that *St. Cyrian* favoured the Party of the *Novatians*, and that if the Church of *Rome* refused to receive the Letters which they brought against him, they would read them in Publick. The Pope was not a little affrighted at the Menaces, and wrote a second Letter to *St. Cyrian*, wherein he acquaints him that he was sensibly concerned at these Accusations, and wondered why he would omit to give him Satisfaction in this Affair. *St. Cyrian* surprized at the Boldness of *Felicissimus*, and the Weakness of *Cornelius*, returns him a generous Answer, in which he tacitly reprehends him for a this Procedure. He tells him, that if the Insolence of Wicked Men renders them terrible to Bishops, and that if they can obtain by Menaces and Violence what they could never pretend to get by Reason and the regular Course of Justice, then there is an end of Episcopacy. As for himself, he declares, that he feared not the Obloquies of his Enemies; that Discipline must not therefore be laid aside, because we are reviled with Calumnies, and ill-affected Persons endeavour to affright us by their threatening Speeches; that the Original of Heresies and Schisms is solely owing to the Disobedience shewn to the Bishop, whom God has established; and because People don't consider that there is only one Bishop and Judge in a Church, who for that time supplies the Place of Jesus Christ; that a Bishop being once Canonically Elected, and acquitting himself worthily in the Functions of his Ministry, whoever separates from him does actually withdraw himself from the Church; that we ought not to impute this Loss to the Bishop.

Bishop, but to themselves, who voluntarily chose it; that the Reason why Bishops are obliged to have a great Care in the Discharge of their Consciences, is that no body might pretend to leave the Church for their ill Administration; that his own Election was without any Blemish, as having been substituted in the room of a deceased Bishop, Elected by the Suffrages of the People in the time of Peace, protected by God in his Persecution, united inviolably to his Colleagues, approved by the vigilant Administration of his Office for four years, demanded often in the Cirque and Amphitheatre to be exposed to Lions, and that very lately too upon the occasion of a publick Sacrifice. He informs him at last with all that had passed in *Africk* concerning the false Bishop *Fortunatus*, who was set up by the Faction of *Felicissimus*, and ordained by *Privatus* of *Lambsa* a Heretic, particularly marked out in the Letters of *Fabian* and *Donatus*, and condemned in a Council of Nine Bishops. He tells him, that he forbore to write to him concerning this Matter, because he supposed he knew him well enough, since he was one of the five Priests who had separated themselves from his Church a long while ago, and because he himself had ejected *Felicissimus*, the Chief of that Faction, out of the Church; that *Novatus*'s Party had likewise chosen one *Maximus* an African Bishop, and that he had scarce troubled himself to write about these Matters now, but since *Fortunatus* boasted that he was Ordained by Twenty five Bishops, he assures *Conslinus*, that except the Heretic *Privatus* of *Lambsa*, there was only four Bishops, and those too all Apostates, that assisted at his Ordination. After this, he accuses *Felicissimus*, and those of his Faction, for reconciling those that had fallen in the time of Persecution, without staying till they had done Penance for their Crime, contrary to the Decree of the African Council. He likewise describes the furious Excesses of this Cabal, and adds; "After all these Irregularities, after having Elected an Heretic to be a Bishop, they have still the Impudence to go to *Rome*, and carry Letters from Schismatics to the Chair of *St. Peter*, to that Chief Church which is the Spring of Sacerdotal Unity. But what can their Design be, since they are still resolved to persevere in their Crimes? Or what Benefit can they expect from going to *Rome*? If they repent of their Faults, they ought to understand that they must come back again either to receive Absolution for them, since it is an Order established all the World over, and indeed but reasonable, that every one's Cause should be Examined where the Crime was committed. Every Pastor has received a part of Jesus Christ's Flock to govern, and shall render an Account of his Actions to God alone. Upon this account it is not to be allowed, that those Persons who are under our Charge, should run to and fro, and sow Diffension amongst Bishops by their Temerity and Artifices; but on the other hand, it is necessary for them to defend themselves in that Place, where they may be confronted by their Accusers, and the Witnesses of their Crimes. Their Cause has been examined, Sentence has been pronounced against them, and it would be below the Gravity of Bishops to be justly reproached with being Wavering and Inconstant. He concludes all with laying open the Method which he used with Schismatics, that were desirous to come back again to the Church. He says that he is extremely indulgent to those who acknowledge their Fault, and are heartily concerned for it; that his People complain of his Clemency, and that he rather offends by being too mild than too severe, but that at the same time he continues inexorable to those that pretend to enter the Church by Menaces and Force. They ought to be perwaded, says he, that the Church shall be always shut against them. He adds, That he was not in the least apprehensive of their Threats, and that a Bishop who conforms himself to the Rules of the Gospel, and keeps the Precepts of Jesus Christ, may perhaps be murdered, but can never be overcome. At last, he warns and conjures *Cornelius* to order this Letter to be read to his flourishing Clergy that presided at *Rome* together with him, that so if these malicious Reports, that were industriously spread about him, had left any ill Impression, it might be entirely effaced by the Reading of this Letter. It was writ four years after his Election to the Bishoprick, that is to say, in the Year 252.

About April, in the very same year, *St. Cyrian*, who had been consulted by *Fidus* an African Bishop, upon the occasion of a Priest, whose Name was *Vitor*, to whom his own Bishop *Therapius* had granted Reconciliation, and upon the Baptism of Infants, propounded these Questions in a Council of Sixty six Bishops, who were come to *Carthage* at the Festival of *Easter*, according to the Custom. They were surprized to hear that *Therapius* had so strangely slighted the Authority of a Decree which

■ About April in the same Year.] The Author of the Annals of *St. Cyrian*, in the English Edition, believes that this Synod was not held till the end of the Year 253, after the Persecution of *Gallus* and *Valerian* was ended: but if it was assembled at that time, the Bishops ought not to have blamed *Therapius* for giving the Peace to *Vitor*, since they themselves had freely granted it to all People before the Persecution of *Gallus*; and indeed so far was he from doing any thing against the last Decree, that he rather seems to have put it into Execution; for it is not true that *St. Cyrian* makes any mention in this Letter of the two Decrees of the preceding Synods; he only speaks of the first, whereby it was ordained that the Peace should not be given to those that had fallen, unless they fell into any dangerous Disease, or in case of Extremity. *St. Cyrian*'s Words are

these, *Quæ res satis nunc movet recessum esse à Decreti vestri auctoritate, ut ante legitimum & plenum tempus satisfactionis, & sine petitu & conscientia plebis nulla infirmis urgente, ac necessitate cogente pax ei concederetur.* He speaks only of one Decree, *Decreti nostri*, and not *Dicretum*, and he does not distinguish between two, for infirmis urgente ac necessitate cogente significat the same thing. And though *Therapius* the Bishop had reconciled *Vitor* before the Persecution, and his Conduct ought for that reason to be blamed, yet it could never be doubted after the Persecution was over; whether this Reconciliation were valid; besides there is no great probability that *Fidus* should ever be so ill advised as to accuse *Therapius* for giving Absolution to *Vitor* long after, and at a Juncture too, when all Bishops gave it to those that were fallen. 'Tis infinitely more probable

St. Cyprian of Carthage, which prohibited the giving Absolution to those that had fallen, unless in case of extreme Sickness, and the second which granted the Peace to all that had fallen. 'Twas likewise in this Interval, that the 52. Letter was written, but after this Council, which in all probability was held about *Easter*, in the Year 252. For if Absolution had been granted to all the lapsed, the Question of the Bishops concerning those Persons who yielded only through the Violence of their Torments, and

St. Cyprian's Answer, had been herein impertinent; and what is more, it was written three years after the Persecution of *Decius*. Therefore this could not happen but at the beginning of the year 253, and consequently the Synod of *Carthage* which granted the Peace, was held in the same year, and not in 252, as Bishop *Pearson* says. Thus if we would be exact in our Chronology, we ought to place the first Synod of *Carthage* about *Easter*, in the year 251, the second at *Easter* 252, which is that of the Sixty six Bishops, and the third at *Easter* in the year 253.

they had Synodically passed the Year before; but nevertheless, after they had maturely weighed every thing, they were of Opinion that the Reconciliation he had received from his Bishop was not to be reversed, and so they permitted him to enjoy Lay-Communion, contenting themselves with Admonishing their Colleague, and advising him to do so no more for the time to come. As for what concerned the Baptism of Infants, they declared it was necessary to Baptize them immediately after their Birth, and that there lay no Obligation upon Christians to tarry till the 8th day. St. Cyprian returns this Answer to *Fidus* in his Fifty Eighth Letter.

Soon after, St. Cyprian being consulted by some of his Brethren, who were assembled at *Thapsus* to ordain a Bishop, about the Case of some Penitents in the City of *Thapsus*, who having generously confessed Jesus Christ, had at last yielded to the Violence of their Torments, but had done Penance for it three years afterwards; he answers them in the Two and fiftieth Letter, that in his Opinion, they ought by no means to refuse Pardon to such sort of Persons; that their generous Confession ought to atone for the Infirmary of the Flesh, and that, since it had been judged expedient to grant Reconciliation at the Hour of Death, to all those that had fallen, we ought to shew greater Indulgence to those who had maintained the Combat a long time, than to those who had yielded merely through Cowardice: Nevertheless, since this was a Question of great importance, he promises to propole it to the Synod that was to meet about *Easter*.

About this time also he writ against *Fortunatianus*, who had been Bishop of *Asturi*, his Sixty third Letter, directed to *Epistetus*, who was Elected in his Place, and to the People of that City. This *Fortunatianus* had the unhappines to fall into Idolatry, and was upon that account divested of his Bishoprick: After his Deprivation he laboured earnestly to re-poseess himself of it, and to perform his respective Functions as formerly. St. Cyprian condemns these Proceedings in this Letter, wherein he demonstrates how necessary a thing Sanctity is to make our Sacrifices acceptable, and advises the People not to suffer him to exercise his Office, but to separate from him, in case he continued in his Design. Towards the end of this Letter, he exhorts the Penitents that were amongst them, not to be impatient at the length of their Penance, but to endeavour to satisfy God, and to continue knocking at the Gate of the Church: Which Passage evidently discovers, that it was writ before the Decree of the Council of *Carthage*, which granted Absolution to all Penitents.

This Council was held in the Year 253, about the time that the Emperors *Gallus* and *Volusian* dispatched Letters to all Parts, to oblige the People to Sacrifice to Idols: so that the Christians had reason enough to apprehend a general Persecution. Now to encourage them the more to fight against the Enemies of their Faith, the African Bishops thought it convenient to grant Reconciliation to those who were in a State of Penance since their Fall, and having accordingly determined it in this Assembly, they writ a Letter to *Cornelius*, which is the 53d amongst those of St. Cyprian, to acquaint him with their Decree, and to advise him to do the like: They represented to him, that though they had resolved to prolong the Penance of Apostates, and not to reconcile them till the Hour of Death, yet since they were informed that the Church was going to be persecuted, they judged it expedient to strengthen the Christians, that so they might the better bear the Attacks of their Enemies, and to animate them to the Combat, by giving them the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, which would inspire them with Vigour to suffer Martyrdom courageously. That if there were any Bishops who thought themselves obliged to do otherwise, it would certainly lye at their Doors, to render an Account to God of so ill-timed a Severity; that as for themselves, they had only done what they owed to Charity, as well as to their own Consciences, by declaring, that the time of Persecution drew near, and not hiding that which God had revealed to his Servants. A little after this Decree, St. Cyprian writ an excellent Letter to the *Thibartians*, which is the 55th in *Pamelius's* Order, wherein he exhorts them in a very vigorous and moving manner, to suffer undauntedly for Jesus Christ.

Some time after, St. Cyprian being informed that *Cornelius* was sent into Banishment with many of the Faithful of *Rome*, he writ immediately to him to congratulate him upon the account of his Constancy, which he had so visibly shewn by being the first of his Church, that confessed the Name of Jesus Christ: He extols his Action, and from thence takes occasion to triumph over *Novatian*, saying, that the Confession of *Cornelius* had evidently discovered, which of those two was the true Bishop; and that the Constancy of those who had fallen away in *Decius's* Persecution, sufficiently proved, that there was good reason to reconcile them to the Church. At last he exhorts *Cornelius* to pass Night and Day with all his People in Fasting, Watching, and continual Praying, because the Day of Combat and Triumph was at hand,

It was perhaps at this time, that is to say, towards the end of the Reign of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, that the Empire being invaded on all sides by the *Barbarians*; and several Christians happening to be taken Captives by them in *Nomidia*, the Bishops of that Country contributed to redeem them, and wrote to St. Cyprian, desiring him to assist them in that Conjunction.

St. Cyprian intimates to them in the 59th Letter, that he was extremely afflicted at the Misfortune that had befall'n his Brethren, that Christians, being all Brothers one to another, ought to be concerned at the Captivity of the Faithful, who were carried away Prisoners, as much as if it were their own Case: That their Suffering ought to represent to them the Person of Jesus Christ, who made himself a Captive to deliver us from the Captivity, wherein we were intrah'd: That the extreme Peril of the Virgins, who were consecrated to God, and had reason to apprehend the loss of their Virginity, was a convincing Motive to hasten their Delivery. He tells them therefore, that he returns them his Thanks, because they were willing to let him have a Share in their Works of Charity, and for giving him a fertile Field to cast his Seed in, that so he might one day reap a plentiful Harvest out of it: That all the Christians of his Church had readily and liberally contributed to raise a Sum of Money upon this Occasion: That he had sent them this Sum, which amounted to an Hundred thousand Sesterces, that is to say, the 7500 Livres, to distribute it as they should think fit, and together with it, the Names of those who had contributed towards it, that so they might remember them in their Prayers and Sacrifices.

Lucius, who was Elected Bishop of *Rome*, after the Death of *Cornelius*, being now returned from his Exile, where he had been sent immediately after his Election; St. Cyprian writ the 57th Letter; wherein he congratulates him at the same time, both upon the Score of his Banishment and his Return; as he had before writ a Letter to him, to Compliment him for his Election and glorious Confession.

About the same time *Papienus*, an African Bishop, giving Credit to the Calumnies which *Felicissimus*, and the Enemies of St. Cyprian had published against him, writ him a very disobliging Letter, wherein he assured him, that he could not with a safe Conscience communicate with him, because he did not look upon his Ordination to be lawful; and upon that he accuses him of Pride, and of being the Occasion of the Divisions that were in his Church. St. Cyprian answered him in the Sixty eighth Letter. That he wondered extremely how he came to call his Ordination in question, after he had been elected Bishop of *Carthage*, by the Consent of the Clergy and People, that is to say, by the Judgment of God himself, and had exercised that Function for the space of six years, which shews, that this Letter was writ in the Year 254. That it had been approved by all the World, and acknowledged even by the Pagans themselves; That an infinite Number of Prelates, Martyrs, Confessors, and holy Virgins had owned him for their lawful Bishop; that after this, he desired *Papienus* to judge in his Favour, and to ratify the judgment of God, and of Jesus Christ; That he had done him wrong in listening to scandalous Calumnies, and such too as were justly punishable, against his Brother, and against a Bishop; That even the Pagans were sensible of the Effects of his Humility, and that *Papienus* had formerly known him when he communicated with him; That there were no Divisions in his Church, because all his People lived in a wonderful Union with him; and that those only continued without the Church, who deserved to be ejected out of it, if they had been within. After this, he exhorts *Papienus* to repent of his Rashness and Pride, and promises to communicate with him, provided he is sorry for his Crime, and endeavours truly to satisfy God. He tells him, that God had informed him in a Vision, That whoever would not believe in Jesus Christ, when he established a Bishop, should believe him against his Will, when he came to take Vengeance upon him; That he very well knew, that the World made these Visions and Dreams pass for ridiculous; ill grounded Imaginations, but that the same thing had been said of *Joseph's* Dreams. At last, he concludes with these Words: *You have my Letters, and I have yours; they will both be read on the Day of Judgement, before the Tribunal of Jesus Christ.*

Towards the beginning of Pope *Stephen's* Pontificate, St. Cyprian was consulted by the Bishops of *France* and *Spain*, about two Affairs of great Consequence. To give the Reader a short Account of that which related to *France*, he is to know, that the Heretic of *Novatian* having spread it self in that Country, *Marcianus*, Bishop of *Arles*, being infected with it, joyed himself to *Novatian*, and brought over several Persons to his Party. And because he was not excommunicated by Name, he arrogantly insulted over his Brethren. *Faustinus*, Bishop of *Lyon*, and the other Bishops of that Province, writ to *Stephen* and St. Cyprian about it, earnestly desiring that they would concur with them in excommunicating *Marcianus*. *Stephen* neglecting to send them any Answer, *Faustinus* writ the Second time to St. Cyprian about it, who advised *Stephen* in the Sixty sixth Letter, to satisfy the Desires of the *Gallien* Bishops, and dispatch Letters into *Provence*, and principally to the Inhabitants of the City of *Arles*, wherein he should declare *Marcian* Excommunicated, and give them notice to elect another

* His Election and glorious Confession.] The English Anallist says, that this Letter was written before the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian* in 252, because St. Cyprian there speaks of the Persecution as not being quite over, or at least as being still to be feared; but this does not prove that *Lucius* returned before their Death, but only that though these Emperors were dead, there was reason still to apprehend a Persecution, and he actually suffered Martyrdom soon

after, at the beginning of the Empire of *Galerius*, or under *Emilian*.

Who advised *Stephen* in his 66th Letter.] *Novatian* and some others have made use of this Letter to advance the Authority of *Rome*, but with small success; for first of all St. Cyprian only advises *Stephen* to do what he himself might do, and what he had really done. Secondly, The *Gallien* Bishops writ to St. Cyprian as well as to *Stephen*. Thirdly, They addressed

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addressed themselves to them, because *Marcianus* had alledged in his own Defence, that these Bishops had not excommunicated him. Fourthly, *St. Cyprian* does not write to him to Cite or Depose *Marcianus*, but only to declare him separated from the Communion, and to advise the People of *Arel* to Elect another Bishop, because he was notoriously Excommunicated and Deposed, for joyning himself to *Novatian*, who was then out of the Church. Fifthly, He does by no means ground the Necessity of *Stephen's* writing into *France* upon his Authority, but only upon a Motive of Charity, whereby Bishops were obliged to assist one another, and upon the Unity of the Episcopacy. Monsieur *Lamy* has endeavoured to bring the Truth of this Letter into question, and has proposed some Conjectures to shew that it is spurious, but they are weak and ill grounded, and scarce any Body has been induced to embrace his Opinion, because this Letter is really *St. Cyprian's* Style, which has a peculiar Character, as *St. Austin* well observes, by which it may be easily known. The first Difficulty relates to the time of this Letter, but this is easily answered, by saying that it was written at the end of the Year 255, and that the Quarrel between *Stephen* and *St. Cyprian* began not till the Year 256. The second is taken from the Silence of the Ancients, but we ought not to be surprized that this particular Fact was not taken notice of, since that of *Basilides*, and *Martialis*, which are not questioned by Monsieur *Lamy*, were a good deal forgotten. Add to this, that *St. Austin* Lib. 6. de Bap. contre Donatist. Ch. 15. makes mention of a Letter of *St. Cyprian* to Pope *Stephen*, which takes no notice of the Question about Baptism, and cannot be any other than this. The Third Objection of Monsieur *Lamy* is, that it

is not to be found in several Manuscripts, as in that of the *Varian*, and above twenty more, according to the English Edition; but then it is to be found in three ancient ones, as *Rigaltius* has observed, and there are several Letters of *St. Cyprian* that are wanting in some Manuscripts. The Principal and Last is taken from the History of *Triphimius*, who came not to *Arel*, of which Place he was Bishop (if we may believe the ancient Author of the Life of *St. Saturninus*, quoted by *Gregory of Tours*) till the time of *Decius*, which is four or five Years before this Letter of *St. Cyprian* was written, though it appears by this Letter that *Marcianus* was Bishop of *Arel*, and not *Triphimius*, and the Christian Religion had been a long time established in that City. This we confess to be the greatest Difficulty, but we may answer it by admitting the Epocha of *Sulpicius Severus*, who tells us that *Triphimius* came some years before *Decius*, and that it is not the Author of the Life of *Saturninus*, but *Gregory of Tours*, who upon occasion of what this Author says, that *Saturninus* was Bishop of *Tholose* in the time of *Decius*, adds seven other Bishops of *France*, amongst whom is *Triphimius*, and it is possible that he might reckon some who came some time before. The fifth Epistle of *Zosimus*, which *Quintilian* has defended against the Conjectures of Monsieur *Lamy*, confirms our Opinion, for therein it is said: *Triphimius being sent to Arles by the Holy See, was as it were the Spring of all those Rivers that run through the whole Body of France*. Which Passage shews, that it is probable that he came some years before the Empire of *Decius*, though it were a long time after the time of the Apostles, and several years after the Martyrdom of *St. Irenaeus*.

Bishop in his Room. He remonstrates to him, that since this Bishop had joynd himself to *Novatian*, who was notoriously excommunicated, there was no necessity of having a new Judgment against him; that all Bishops were obliged to take care that Admission into the Church should not be denied to Penitents; that the numerous Body of Bishops being united to one another, by a Bond of mutual Charity, they were all bound, in case any one should make himself Chief of an Heresie, or the Flock of *Jesus Christ*, which they feed in common, should be attacked or carried away, to come to their Relief, and to re-unite the Sheep of *Jesus Christ*, like good Shepherds that truly love their Flock.

The Bishops of *Spain* likewise had recourse to *St. Cyprian*, about an Affair of the same Nature, *Basilides* and *Martialis*, one the Bishop of *Leon*, the other of *Astorga*, having been publicly proved to have taken Certificates of their having Sacrificed, and convicted of several other Crimes, were deposed, and *Felix* and *Sabinus* elected in their Places. *Basilides* owning his Crime, had voluntarily quitted his Bishoprick, and was placed in the Rank of Penitents, where he thought himself overhappy, if he could but communicate as a Laick: Nevertheless, these two Bishops being afterwards pushed on by their Ambition and Envy, used their utmost Endeavours to regain their Sees; and finding they could not compass their Designs there, they went to *Rome*, not to demand their re-establishment from *Stephen*, but only that he would be pleased to admit them to his Communion, which they said would be very serviceable to them to procure their Re-establishment. They acted their Parts so dexterously, that *Stephen* granted them what they requested; so upon this they went back to *Spain*, where they became more insolent than ever, and would by all means re-pose themselves of their Sees by Force. The Clergy and People of *Spain* writ to *St. Cyprian* about it, and deputed *Felix* and *Sabinus*, who were ordained Bishops in the room of these two Apostates, to go to him, to know what they were to do in this Exigence. But *Felix*, Bishop of *Saragossa*, whom *St. Cyprian* calls a great Defender of the Faith, writ to him likewise in particular. The Saint judging this to be an Action of no small Importance, read the Letters sent him from *Spain*, in a Synod of the African Bishops, who, after they had diligently examined the matter, came to this Resolution, That the Deposition of *Basilides* and *Martialis* ought to stand good, as well as the Ordination of *Felix* and *Sabinus* in their Place. They writ a Synodical Letter concerning it to the Clergy and People of *Leon* and *Astorga*, which is placed the 67th, amongst those of *St. Cyprian*, and sent them word, that they had no reason to suffer *Basilides* and *Martialis* to re-enter upon their Episcopal Functions, after they had been found guilty of such enormous Crimes, and *Basilides* himself had acknowledged so much; that since the People had Power to elect good Bishops, and to reject the bad, they would appear culpable before God, if they was made with the Consent of the People by the neighbouring Bishops; That it ought not to be reversed, though *Basilides* had surprized *Stephen*, who, by reason of his great distance from the Place, could

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could not exactly inform himself of the truth of Affairs; That this Conduct was so far from effacing their Crimes, that on the other hand it augmented their Guilt, because though *Stephen* was in some sort excusable for suffering himself to be deceived merely out of Negligence; yet we ought to have a Detestation for those Persons, who had so maliciously imposed upon his Easiness; That they extremely commended their Faith and Zeal, and desired them to maintain a Correspondence no more with Bishops of such a profligate Character, who were notorious for so many Crimes.

In the same Year another Synod of Bishops was held in *Carthage*, who being consulted by *Genarius*, and the rest of the *Numidian* Bishops about the Baptism of Hereticks, returned them this Answer, that it was necessary to re-baptize all those who had been Baptized by Hereticks, according to the ancient Regulation made by *Agrippinus* in *Africa*.

St. Cyprian writ the same Year to one *Quintus*, a Bishop, who had ordered the same Question to be put to him by *Lucian* the Priest. This Letter is the 71st, as *Pamelius* has ranged them. He assures him, that some of his Brethren were of a different Opinion from him in this Affair, who pretended that it was the ancient Custom before *Agrippinus*, not to re-baptize Hereticks after they had been once admitted into the Church. To weaken the Authority of this pretended Custom, he lays it down for an undoubted Truth, that we are not to be determined by any Customs of that Nature, but to examine whether they will bear the Test of Reason; That *St. Peter*, in his Dispute with *St. Paul* upon the Buifness of Circumcision, did not treat that Apostle with Arrogance and Pride; That he never alledged his Primacy, or told him, that the new Disciples of *Jesus Christ*, as *St. Paul* was, who had likewise been a Persecutor of the Church, ought blindly to obey him, and not to question his Decisions, but gave him the Hearing, and humbly received the Counsel of Truth which *St. Paul* gave him, and readily submitted to the powerful Reasons of that Apostle, teaching us by that Behaviour to be peaceable and Patient, and not to elpouse our own Opinions with Heat and Obtinacy, but to embrace the Advices of our Brethren, when-ever they are useful and agreeable to Truth.

Some time after this, *St. Cyprian* assembled at *Carthage* a Council of Seventy one Bishops, as well of the Province of *Africa* as *Numidia*, who confirmed all that had been determined by the preceding Synod, concerning the Baptism of Hereticks, and decreed, that all Priests and Deacons who were ordained amongst them, or who, after having been some time of their Party, returned to the Church, should be received only in the Quality of Laicks: And after this, to maintain that Honour and Friendship which Bishops owed to one another, they acquainted Pope *Stephen* with these Constitutions, by a Synodical Letter, which is the Seventy second amongst those of *St. Cyprian* in *Pamelius's* Order, and towards the end of it represented to him, that since the things they had ordained were conformable to the Christian Religion, and to Truth, they hoped he would make no difficulty to approve them; That nevertheless they knew there were some Bishops in the World, who could be hardly persuaded to change their Opinions, and yet though they kept up their own particular Customs, would never break the Laws of Peace and Charity; That after the same manner they would not pretend to prescribe Laws, or constrain any Persons, since they were satisfied that every Bishop was free to behave himself, as he saw expedient in the Administration of his own Church, for which he was accountable to God alone.

About the same time likewise, *St. Cyprian* immediately after this Council, writ a long Letter to *Julianus* a Bishop, who had also consulted him about this Question, wherein he urges abundance of Reasons, and Texts of Scripture to support his own Opinion; and after he has answered the Objections that were brought against it, concludes with this new Protestation, that he had not the least Design to impose Laws upon any of his Colleagues, or to fall out with them upon this Occasion, but involuntarily to preserve Faith and Charity, the Dignity of the Priesthood, and Concord with his Brethren. *Stephen* having answered *St. Cyprian* very roughly, *Pompey* Bishop of *Sabra*, a Maritime City of *Africa*, desired him to let him know what *Stephen* had writ to him. So he sent him a Copy of the Letter, with another of his own, wherein he bestows a particular Answer upon the Pope's Letter, which is the Seventy third, as *Pamelius* has placed them. In it he principally opposes the Truth of the Gospel, and the first Traditions of the Apostles, both to the Custom and Tradition which Pope *Stephen* had alledged for himself. He sent likewise by *Rogatianus* the Deacon, another Copy of *Stephen's* Letter to *Firmilian* Bishop of *Caesarea* in *Cappadocia*, and to the other Bishops, giving them an Account of what had been determined in *Africa* upon this Question, and desiring them to acquaint him with the Opinion of their respective Churches. He could not have expected a more favourable Answer than what he received from *Firmilian*, for that Bishop openly condemns, and that in Terms severe enough the Procedure of *Stephen*; extols *St. Cyprian's* Conduct, declares himself entirely in favour of the last, proves it by several Reasons, and assures him it was the ancient Custom of the *African* Churches; and that it had been regulated many years before in two numerous Synods held at

In the same Year another Synod of Bishops was held. This Synod must of necessity have been assembled in the Year 255, as what followed sufficiently shews. It is different from that which was held upon the account of *Basilides* and *Martialis*, at least the Names that are to be seen at the Head of two Synodical Letters, are different. Hence it follows, that there

must have been more than one held that very year, and we are not to wonder at it, because it was the Custom of the *Africans* to hold two every Year, one in the Spring, and the other in Autumn. This might be assembled in the Month of *September*, in the Year 255, the next in the Spring 256, and the last in the Month of *September* in the same Year.

Symada and Iconium. This Letter of *Firmilian*, which is the Seventy fourth amongst those of *St. Cyrcian*, was written in Autumn in the Year 256.

Before this Letter came to *St. Cyrcian's* Hands, he writ to *Magnus*, who had asked his Opinion about the Baptism of the *Novatians*; whether these Heretics were to be excepted out of the Number of those who were to be re-baptized, since they owned the same Faith as the Catholics did in relation to the Trinity, and Baptized after the same manner. He answers him, I say, 'in the Seventy fifth Letter, that they ought to be re-baptized as well as the rest; forasmuch as there was no true Baptism out of the Church. In this Letter he answers another Question, proposed to him by *Magnus*, concerning the Baptism of *Clinicks*, that is to say, of those that were Baptized in their Sickness, that there was no reason to doubt of the Validity of this Baptism; That the Sacrament was equally efficacious, whether the Person was plunged in the Water, or had it sprinkled upon him. He concludes with repeating his usual Protestation, that he would give Laws to none, but leave them an entire Liberty of doing what they thought convenient, and that every one must give an Account of his Conduct to *G.O.D.* alone.

Thus we have given an exact Account of all the Letters extant in *St. Cyrcian's* Works, that treat of the Baptism of Heretics. To these we ought to add the Acts of the last Council of *Carthage*, consisting of Eighty seven Bishops, who assembled there the same Year in the Month of September. In the first place, the Letters of *Subianus* to *St. Cyrcian*, and those of *St. Cyrcian* to that Bishop, were read in the Council: After that *St. Cyrcian* proposed to all the Bishops that were present, to deliver their Opinions freely, but yet so as not to condemn or excommunicate those that were of a different Judgment. "For none of us, says he, ought to make himself a Bishop of Bishops, or pretend to awe his Brethren by a Tyrannical Fear, because every Bishop is at liberty to do as he pleases, and can no more be judged by another, than he can judge others himself. But all of us ought to wait and tarry for the Judgment of Jesus Christ, who alone has Authority to set us over the Church, and to judge our Actions. After this Proposition the Bishops gave their Opinions, and concluded all in Favour of *St. Cyrcian*.

The Persecution of *Valerian*, that was raised against the Church in the Year 257, put an end to the Controversie about the Baptism of Heretics. This Emperor, who was pushed on by *Marciannus*, a professed Enemy to the Christians, and a great Protector of the *Egyptian* Superstitions, declared himself against the Christians, and published an Edict against them in July that same Year, whereby he prohibited them to meet in the Cemeteries, or any where else upon Pain of Death. Pope *Stephen* having been found in a Cemetery, contrary to the Emperor's Prohibition, suffered Martyrdom for it on the Twentieth of August the same Year, and *Xystus* was Elected in his Place.

On the 30th day of the same Month, *St. Cyrcian* generously confessed the Christian Faith before *Paernus*, the Proconul, and was banished to *Curubis*. At the same time the Prefect of *Numidia* condemned several Christians to the Mines, and amongst the rest many Bishops and Priests of his Province, after he had put some of them to Death, and ordered others to be scourged: *St. Cyrcian* from the place of his Exile, sent them a Letter, which according as *Pameliu* has distributed them is the 76th, and is the first of the 4th Part of *St. Cyrcian's* Letters. In it, with wonderful Eloquence he heightens the glory of their Confession, and encourages them to suffer with Constancy. He comforts them in their difficulties, and principally the Priests that were not able to offer Sacrifice in those places, by representing to them that they themselves continually offered up their own Bodies as living Sacrifices to the Lord. "He exhortes them at last to use more fervency in their Prayers, that so God may give Grace to all the Confessors, to finish their Course courageously, in order to be crown'd with everlasting Glory. He sent this Letter to three different places, where these Holy Confessors were dispersed, and remitted some Money to them to supply their present Extremities. It appears by the answers they made him, what Consolation and Joy this Letter gave them in the midst of their Sufferings. These Answers are the 77th, 78th, and 79th Letters, written from three several places, in which they return him their Thanks for his great Charity and Kindness in a simple unaffected Style, and assure him, that this Letter had raised their declining Spirits, healed their Wounds, and rendered their pressurs more light, and supportable to them.

* It was written in the Autumn, in the Year 256. We are told in this Letter, that it was written about Twenty two years after the Empire of *Alexander*, who died in the Year 235, and that it was composed in haste, because *Rogatus* was obliged to return by reason of the approaching Winter. It could not be written in 257, because *St. Cyrcian* was banished at the end of that Year.

† In the 75th Letter. The English Annalist thinks that this is the first Letter which was written concerning the Question of Baptism, because it does plainly and openly make mention of this Head, and was held in 257, upon that Occasion, and is more probable to me, that it was written at that time, because it supports the general Question, and is designed, and the Author clearly speaks of some of his

Colleagues that received the Baptism of Heretics. He says he knew no reason why Christians should take the Part, if he might to say, of Antichrists, which induces me to believe, that it was written after his Quarrel with *Stephen*; besides, it is more natural to imagine, that this Question, which regards the Execution of the general Rule, was made after the Decision. For *Magnus* proposes to say as a new difficulty. You demand of me, says he, whether those that come from *Novatian's* Party, are to be baptized as well as other Heretics.

‡ *St. Cyrcian* was banished in his Place. This Persecution lasted two Months, according to *St. Denis*, who says that *Valerian* was taken by the Persians in the Month of August, and was banished in July 257.

The 80th Letter, which is directed to the Confessors in Prison, was rather writ in his first Exile than in this, as we have observed after the Author of the English Edition. The 81st was writ at the beginning of the Year 258, after the Death of Pope *Xystus*, and the return of *St. Cyrcian*. It is addressed to one *Succellus*, a Bishop, and in it he sends him word, That he was informed by some Letters he had received from *Rome*, that *Valerian* had directed a Rescript to the Senate, by which he ordered all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons to be put to Death without delay, and that the Senators, the Roman Knights, and all other Persons of Quality, who were Christians, should be deprived of their Offices and Estates; and that if they continued, after this Edict, to make Profession of the Christian Religion, they should be condemned to Die; That the Ladies should not only forfeit all their Fortunes, but be banished, and that those of *Cesar's* Household should be sent to Prison. He adds, that this Emperor had dispatched Letters to the Governors of Provinces, wherein he enjoyn'd them to Punish the Christians with all Rigour and Severity, who daily expected to see these Orders put in Execution against them; That Pope *Xystus* had suffered Martyrdom on the sixth day of August, and one *Quintus* along with him; That the Prefects of the City of *Rome* were very violent against the Christians, causing some of them to be executed every day, and that they confiscated the Goods of all those that were presented before them. In fine, he desires this Bishop to communicate the news to the rest of his Brethren, that all Christians might prepare themselves the better for the Combat.

The last Letter of *St. Cyrcian* is that which he writ a little before his Martyrdom, when he withdrew from his Gardens where he was ordered to Reside, because he received information, that the Proconul had sent some Soldiers to carry him away to the City of *Uice*, and he was not willing to suffer Martyrdom in a place distant from his own Church and People. But least this retirement should be interpreted to proceed from a fearful degenerate Spirit, he acquainted his Clergy and People with the reasons that moved him to preserve himself; and at the same time conjures them not to raise disturbances, but to preserve Peace and Unity, and that no body should be permitted to present himself of his own accord to the Gentiles, since it was sufficient to speak courageously when they were apprehended by them.

Besides these Letters of *St. Cyrcian*, the time of whose writing we know, there are five others that respect some points of Discipline, and have no certain Date. The Author of the English Edition has placed four of them at the head of all the Letters, and affirms that they were written by *St. Cyrcian*, before his first Banishment in the Year 246. The first, which is the Sixty Sixth in *Pameliu's* Order, is directed to the Clergy and People of *Ephesus*, and is writ against one *Geminus Victor*, who by his Will, had nominated a Priest called *Geminus Faustinus* to be Guardian to some of his Relations. He sends them word, That both himself and his Colleagues were extremely surprized when they were informed of it, because it had been prohibited long before by a Council of Bishops to name any Clergyman in a Will to be a Guardian or Executor, since those that were honoured with the Priesthood, and undertaken the Office of Clerks, ought only to serve at the Altar, and the Holy Sacrifices, and should not take any other employment than that of Praying to the Lord. He shews them that for this reason the Laity supplied them from time to time, with all things necessary for Life, as in the time of the Old Testament they paid Tithes to the Levites and Priests. He concludes, that since *Victor* had violated a Constitution made some time ago by a Council, they ought not to Pray for him after his Death, or suffer his Memory to be honoured in the Prayers of the Church.

The second, which is the Sixty first in *Pameliu's* Order, was writ upon the occasion of an Actor upon the Stage, who after he had turned Christian, continued to follow his Profession. *St. Cyrcian* tells *Eusebius*, who had consulted him to know whether he should let him stay in the Church; that it was below the Divine Majesty, the Evangelical Discipline, and the honour of the Church; to permit a Man that exercised so infamous a Profession to be in her Communion; That if the Law forbid Men to put on Female Habits, it certainly forbade them much more to Personate the Gestures and Postures of Women, and to represent unseemly and lascivious Actions; That though this Actor had forbore to appear on the Stage himself, yet he was no less Criminal in teaching his scandalous Art to others; That if he pretended in his own excuse that he was Indigent, and had no other way left him to maintain himself, he should be relieved as the other Poor belonging to the Church were, provided he would be content with that little Subsistence the Church allowed him, and did not believe, that this was given him by way of recompence for sinning no more, since he alone reaped the benefit of it.

The third, which is the Sixty fifth in *Pameliu's* Order, was writ to *Rogatus*, against one of his Deacons, who forgetting the respect he owed to his own Bishop, had treated him after an undutiful manner. *St. Cyrcian* and his Brethren, to whom this Bishop had writ about the Matter, answered him that he might have punished him immediately for his Boldness, if he had been so pleased; and that his writing to him about it was only an Effect of his Humility. They charge upon the Respect and Obedience that is due to Bishops, affirming, that the Original of all Schisms and Heresies proceeded from the Contempt that was shewn to them. At last they advised this Bishop, in case his Deacon still continued to provoke him with new Injuries, to make use of his Episcopal Authority; and to excommunicate him, together with the other who had joyned himself with him; hoping nevertheless that he would give him full Satisfaction, because, say they, we had rather overcome the Evil we receive by Patientness, than revenge our selves by the Sacred Power.

The fourth Letter, which is the Sixty second in *Pameliu's* Edition, was writ in the Name of a Council to *Pomponius* a Bishop, who had consulted *St. Cyrcian's* Advice about some Virgins, who having made a Resolution to keep their Virginity, had been too familiar with some Persons, and particularly with a Deacon. He commands this Bishop for depriving the Deacon, and the rest that had

lived with them, of the Communion. As for what concerned the Cafe, of the Virgins, it was so *St. Cyprian* dained, that those who had lost their Virginitie should do publick Penance for their Crimes a considerable time, as being Adulteresses in respect of Jesus Christ their Spouse, and that if they would not quit the Company of those Persons, with whom they had maintained this criminal Correspondence, they should be for ever turned out of the Church, without hopes of Pardon and Salvation, since it is impossible to be saved out of the bosom of the Church. And then as for those who had not lost their Virginitie, he judged it expedient to admit them to the Communion of the Church, but with this warning, That if they still continued to live in the same House with those Persons, they should be punished after a more severe manner, and must no more expect to be pardoned so easily. Thus I have briefly run over these four Letters, which the Author of the Annals of *St. Cyprian* has placed at the head of his English Edition, and pretends to have been written before any of the rest; because *St. Cyprian* makes no mention of any Persecution either present or past in them, as he does in almost all the rest. [The Reader ought to consult Mr. Dodwell's Learned Dissertation upon this Letter to Bonifacius, wherein he will see what gave occasion to those Virgins to live in so Scandalous a manner with the Deacons, fully explained.]

There remains nothing now, but the 63 Letter, which the Author of the Annals in the English Edition, affirms to have been written in the year 433, in the time of the Persecution under *Galla and Valentinian*. It is addressed to *Cecilius* and condemns the Error, or rather the Abuse of some Priests, who offered only Water in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. He confronts this ill Custom; which was introduced in some places, with the example and precept of Jesus Christ, and shews that we ought to offer in the Chalice nothing but Wine mingled with Water. He speaks of this after such a manner as may incline us to believe that it was absolutely necessary in his Opinion to mingle Water with the Wine, for he tells us, that as the Body of Jesus Christ could not be only of Meal unless it were tempered with Water, so likewise the Blood of Jesus Christ could not be of Wine alone, if it is not mingled with Water. But besides that, in the Explication of these Words we may understand them of the Body of Jesus Christ taken in a Mystical sense, we ought not to wonder that the Fathers speak often, thus of Customs established in their own time when they are Ancient; such as this is, which came from the example of Jesus Christ, and the Tradition of the Apostles; we are not at all to wonder, I say, if they speak of them as of necessary things, without scrupulously examining whether they are of absolute necessity, taking them in the rigorous sense. He observes in this Letter, that they used in his time to Celebrate the Sacrifice of the Mass in the Morning; and that Baptism was a necessary preparation for the Eucharist. He speaks of this Sacrament in such terms, as plainly shews, that he believed it really contained the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and yet he lays down several Mystical Reasons to explain why they made use of Bread, and Wine mingled with Water. He tells us, that *Jesus Christ* is figuratively represented by the Wine, and that the Water which is mingled with it signifies the Union of the People with *Jesus Christ*. Upon these grounds it is that he says, that if we offered pure Wine, the Body of *Jesus Christ* would be without us; and that if we offered only Water, we should be without *Jesus Christ*; And lastly, That as several grains of Corn ground and kneaded together make one Loaf, so after the same manner we are one and the same Body in *Jesus Christ*, who is that Celestial Bread. [See here the power of Prejudice.] The extract which M. Du Pin has given of this Letter, demonstrates that *St. Cyprian* understood the Institution of the Eucharist to be only Mystical; *Cecilius* desired to know, what *St. Cyprian* thought of a Custom newly taken up of using Water alone in the Morning when they administered the Lords Supper; It was in dangerous times, when by their Breaths the Christians might have been discovered; if they should have drank Wine so Early: This Innovation of theirs does not seem to have proceeded from a wilful Contempt of the command of Christ, but from the Notions they had always been instructed in, concerning the Eucharist. They believed that the Lord's Supper was only a commemorative Sacrifice; and so they thought the Death of *Jesus Christ* could equally be remembered by Water in a Morning, as by Water and Wine together in an Afternoon. The Question then is, whether if *St. Cyprian* had believed that *Jesus Christ* was Corporally present in the Sacrament, he would have used such Mystical Arguments to persuade them to break off so unwarrantable a practice. He ought according to Roman Catholic Principles to have confuted their Error by a right Explication of the Nature of the Eucharist: He ought to have shewed them that it was not a Mystical but a Real Sacrifice, and that *Jesus Christ* is as literally offered up in that Sacrament as he was upon the Cross; and especially he ought to have told them, that Water could not have served instead of Wine, because upon Consecration it could not have been Transubstantiated into the Blood of Christ, and so by consequence it had been no true Sacrament for want of that real Presence, since *Jesus Christ* had never given his Ministers a Power to turn any thing besides Wine into his Blood, upon Pronouncing the words of the institution. Whereas here *St. Cyprian* owns the Eucharist to have been a Mystical Sacrifice, and gives this as a principal Reason why Water alone without Wine is ineffectual, because there was a positive Institution from which the Church had no War- rant to recede.

¹⁴ *St. Cyprian*. The principal Reason is, because, he does not speak of any Persecution in his Letters, though this reason is not absolutely convincing. ¹⁵ *Pretends to have been written in the Year 433*. Because it appears that *St. Cyprian* was then a Bishop, *San mediocris in primis scriptis humilis & servilis*

moderatus tenemus. Besides that, there he speaks of the Persecution, and says, that this was the cause why some of the Faithful obtained from offering Wine. [This answer is intimated above, was the true Reason of this Innovation.]

This is further confirmed by his secondary Arguments; In the first place, he says there must be Wine, *Quia non potest videri Sanguis ejus, quo redempti & vivificati sumus, esse in Calice; quando Vinum desit* *St. Cyprian* it, *quo Christi Sanguis ostenditur*. Because, says he, his Blood by which we are redeemed and quickened cannot seem to be in the Cup, if the Wine that represents the Blood of Christ be not in the Cup. If *St. Cyprian* had believed Transubstantiation he ought to have said, That the Blood of Christ is not in the Cup, unless Wine had been put into it. But he says, It cannot seem to be there, i. e. cannot be Typically represented by Water so well as by Wine. This is no force upon his Words; because he afterwards brings several Texts out of the Old Testament to prove that the Blood of Christ was represented by Wine, and not by Water, and that Baptism only was typified by Water by the Prophets. This Reasoning does not agree with modern Glosses; no Man ever searches for a mystical Reason when he can give a plain one. Wine after Consecration is not a Figure of Christ's Blood, but the Blood it self, according to the Church of Rome. And it is improper to say, that the Blood of Jesus Christ could not seem to be in the Cup if the Wine did not represent it, if the Wine were believed to be the real Blood; To be, and to be Represented are very different things. And though *St. Cyprian* calls the Eucharist a Sacrifice, yet since he describes it as a Commemorative one, by which we are Mystically united to *Jesus Christ*, by Faith in him, it is impossible to gather from thence, that he believed any other Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, than that which is taught by the Church of England.]

Hitherto we have not been willing to interrupt the order of the Letters, by mingling them with his other Books, according to the Series of the time they were written in, because we could not possibly have made an Abridgement of them without breaking the Continuation of the Letters, but nothing hinders us now from doing it: We shall carefully set down the years wherein they were composed, and this will be full as well for the Chronology of them, as if we had introduced them among the Letters.

It is probable, that *St. Cyprian's* first Book, I mean after his address to *Donatus*, is, ¹⁶ That small Treatise, Intituled, *The Vanity of Idols*, wherein he refused the Pagan Religion which he had lately quitted. This Treatise may be divided into three Parts. In the first, he proves that the Deities of the Heathens are not true Gods; In the second, he shews that there is only one God; And lastly, in the Third, he shews that *Jesus Christ* is the word of God, who was sent to bring Salvation to Men. The two first parts are almost word for word taken out of *Minutius Felix*, and the last out of *Tertullian*.

¹⁷ The first Books of the Testimonies to *Quirinus* were also in all probability writ by *St. Cyprian* before he was Bishop, when he wholly employed himself in Reading and Studying the Holy Scriptures. These Books are a Collection of several Texts out of the Bible, and principally the Old Testament upon different Matters. In the first Book he cites those passages that prove, that the Jewish Law was to be only for a time; that it ought to be Abolished, and the Jews to be rejected. That *Jesus Christ* was to come to establish a New Temple, and New Sacrifices, a New Priesthood, and a New Church; That the Gentiles ought to believe in him, and through his means to obtain Remission of their Sins. In the second he urges those places that concern the Mystery of the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*, and particularly those that shew that *Jesus Christ* is the Wisdom and Word of God, who took our Nature upon him, to redeem Mankind, with the Prophecies wherein it is foretold that he was to be born of the Race of *David* in the City of *Bethlehem*; That his first coming was to be without Glory; That the Jews were to Crucify him; That he should rise the Third Day, and come at last to Judge the World. ¹⁸ The Third Book was Composed after these, upon a quite different Subject.

It is a Collection of several Testimonies, taken as well out of the Old as the New Testament, containing many Precepts of Morality, that either have a relation to Christian Virtues, such as are the Fear and Love of God, Patience under Sufferings, Martyrdom, and Virginitie; or that dissuade from Vices, such as Anger, Evil Speaking, Pride, the superfluous Ornaments of Women, and the inordinate

¹⁶ A small Treatise intituled of the vanity of Idols. This Book is cited by *St. Jerome*. Epist. 84. ad *Magnentium*. *Cyprianus, quod Idola Dei non sunt, quia brevitate, quia his terrena omnium scientia, quia verborum & sensuum splendore perfrenantur*. It is probable that it was written in the year 247.

¹⁷ The first Books of the Testimonies to *Quirinus*. These Books are not only cited by *Bede*, and by *Gregorius*, but also by *St. Jerome*. *advers. Pelag.* and by *St. Austin*. lib. contra duas Epist. Pelag. c. 8. & 10. who testifies that *Pelagius* the Heretic had made a Collection of several Testimonies out of the Scripture, to imitate, or rather to complete the work of *St. Cyprian*. *St. Jerome* cites the third Book. He and *St. Austin* have drawn some passages out of it, so that though they are not to be found in several Manuscripts, yet we are not in the least to doubt of them. *Quirinus*, to whom this Work is addressed, was in all probability a *Nephris*, when it was written to him; for *St. Cyprian* calls him his Son, and

tells him in his Preface, that he sent him these Testimonies to give him the first tinctions of the Faith, and that he presented him with a little Water drawn out of the Divine Fountains, which he might make use of till he could go to drink of them himself at the Spring-Head.

¹⁸ Has been compiled since these. In the Preface of the first Book he only speaks of two Books, and the third is not to be found in some ancient Editions: but it is cited, as we have observed, by *St. Jerome* and *St. Austin*. *Retract. lib. 2. c. 3. advers. Pelag. c. 9. de Prædestin. Sancti. c. 3.* and his properly speaking, a work by it self: For the two first were written to instruct *Quirinus* in the first grounds of the Christian Faith, and the design of this is to teach him the precepts of Morality. Some few Texts of Scripture may have been since added to it, which follow the Vulgar Latin. This Treatise might perhaps be written in the year 249.

love of Riches. Or Lastly, those that lay down the manner how Christians ought to behave themselves towards their Superiours; so that we may fully say of this Treatise, that it is a very useful Collection of all the Morality in the Holy Scriptures.

The Book of the Discipline, or the Conduct and Apparel of Virgins seems to be the first Work that St. Cyprian composed. After he was ordained Bishop. The Design of it is to instruct the Virgins with the care of whom he was intrusted, to preserve in their Habits, and the whole tenour of their Life a truly Christian Modesty. He begins with recommending Discipline, that is to say, a good conduct; as being the Guardian of Hope, the Anchor of Faith, and the Guide to the way of Salvation. He shews by several Texts of Scripture that it is of great necessity, and afterwards addressing himself to the Virgins, and exhorting their Condition, he exhorts them to maintain this Discipline with the greatest exactness, as having more need of it than any Persons besides. He convinces them, that Christian Conscience can be by no means dirt with prophane Ornaments; that their Wealth did not create this Vanity of Dressing; that God gave an Riches not to throw away upon idle Superfluities, but to employ them to good uses, to feed and relieve the Poor; that a great Fortune, unless employed after this manner, does only become a great Temptation; that although these Ornaments that Virgins made use of, did not of themselves destroy them, yet they ought to abstain from them, since they had proved the ruine of others, by drawing the Eyes of young Men after them, and by that means kindling the fire of Love in their Hearts; that rich Attire and care in Dressing, only became profanities, and that the Scripture always speaks of them after the manner, that they abused the works of God to set themselves out, and that they disguised the Image made by the Painting and Curling, and abundance of other Ornaments. After this he advises the Virgins, carefully to avoid all those things that might injure their Chastity, and severely reprehends those who were not ashamed to go to publick Baths, though they did it without entertaining the least ill design. In short, after having given these Instructions to the Virgins, he takes occasion to speak of the great advantages of Virginitie, and tells them it was the bestest State to that of Martyrdom; that Virgins avoid the Curse pronounced against the first Wives; that they are equal to the Angels; that Virginitie is not of absolute necessity, but that it is a great deal more excellent than any other Condition. At last he concludes with desiring the Virgins to remember him when they should receive the Remembrance of their Virginitie. *Utque memoretis hoc mihi, cum inchoetis vobis Virginitatis honorem.* Words which make it appear that in St. Cyprian's time they believed that the Saints interceded for us before God.

The Treatise concerning those that had fallen away in the time of Persecution, and that of the Unity of the Church were composed in the year 311, immediately after the Persecution of Decius. This last was writ upon the occasion of the Schism of the Novatians, and the Faction of Felicissimus; and the first was writ against those of the Faction of Felicissimus that rashly granted the grace of Reconciliation to all that had fallen in the Persecution. He Read both these Books in an African Council held that very year, and afterwards sent them to Rome, as he testifies in his Fiftieth Letter, according to Pamelius's Order.

In his Treatise concerning those who had fallen away during the Persecution, he begins with giving Thanks to God that Peace was restored to the Church, and makes an honourable Elogium of the Holy Martyrs and Confessors. He deplores the lamentable fall of those Persons that had Apostatized, and observes that GOD never permits a Persecution but to punish the Corruptions and Vices of the Christians. He defends the crime of those who had presented themselves before the Magistrates to deny the Faith of Jesus Christ, and carried their Children to the Altars of the Gods to make them, if it were possible, partakers of their Crimes, and cause them to lose, as one may say, the Grace of Baptism. He observes that a Love for the World and an Inclination to Earthly Things occasioned the Fall of greatest part of those Persons who had Apostatized, and even hindered them from flying to avoid the Persecution: He affirms that the fault of those who were overcome by the extremity of their Torments was a great deal more excusable; but that those who had fallen away merely out of fear of Suffering, before they ever did suffer, could alledge nothing in their own defence. After he has shewn the greatness of the crime of those Apostates, he passes to the Remedies, and greatly blames those that admitted them to a rash and over hasty Reconciliation. He maintains that a Priest of GOD ought by no means to deceive Christians by a pernicious Complaisance, but to heal them with whole some Remedies, herein imitating a skilful Chirurgion, who makes deep Incisions that so he may speedily heal up the Wound, and never hearkens to the Complaints and Crys of his Patient, who will certainly thank him; for it is as soon as he is healed; that the liberty some Persons had assumed to themselves to grant Reconciliation unadvisedly to those that had fallen; was a new calamity that succeeded the Persecution; that this false Peace was pernicious, as well to those that gave it, as fatal to those

After he was ordained Bishop. He was then a Bishop, for he speaks to them, as having Authority over them, and calls himself their Father. Pamelius intimates, That it was not composed till after his Retirement; for, to prove that St. Cyprian's Retirement was of great advantage to the Church, because of the Books he wrote, during his Solitude, he places the Book about the Conduct of Virgins in this number. Who is it, says he, who has taught the Virgins to preserve Discipline, to wear modest Apparel, agreeable to

their Condition? But Pamelius in this place enumerates the works of St. Cyprian, like a Rhetorician, since the first he mentions is the Epistle to Domnus, which was certainly written before his Confinement, and in all appearance the Luxury of Women, the use of frequent Baths, and the other irregularities he is speaking of, in that Treatise, better agree with a time wherein the Church had long enjoy'd a Peace. Be it as it will, Pamelius always places the Book of the Conduct of Virgins first.

that

that received it; that a Sinner ought to have time sufficient to expiate his Sin by a true and lawful satisfaction; that it was abominable Sacrilege to approach the Holy of Holies, and to receive the body of Jesus Christ, while their hands were still polluted with sacrificing to Idols, and had scarce digested the meats offered to false Gods; that this in effect is to drink the Cup of the Lord, and the Cup of Devils, to eat at the Table of the Lord, and at that of the Devil, and to offer violence, as one may say, to the body and blood of Jesus Christ; that they deceive themselves who think that the Reconciliation which is given them before they have expiated their Crime by a publick Penance, and purified their Conscience by Sacrifice and Imposition of Hands from the Bishop, is a true Reconciliation; that is rather a War, a new Persecution, a new Temptation, whereof the Enemy makes use to consummate the destruction of those that fell, by taking away from them the Spirit of Repentance; that they ought not to flatter themselves because they were absolved by the Martyrs, since Jesus Christ only can pardon Sins; that the Merits and Works of the Martyrs can indeed do much, but that only for the day of Judgment, and that it is downright rashness to believe that they can without distinction grant Remission of Sins to all the World, against the express command of Jesus Christ; that if what the Martyrs ordain is just and lawful, it ought to be granted at their request; but if what they demand is against the Law of GOD, and the Gospel, it is not reasonable that it should be granted; besides, that it is not to be presumed that those who are Martyrs for the Gospel, would attempt any thing in derogation to it. After this to strike terror into those who had fallen, he relates several Examples of Persons, whom God had severely punished for being so bold as to receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ after their Apostasy. Then he addresses himself to those who had taken Certificates from the Magistrates, which testified that they had sacrificed, tho' they had really done no such thing, and advises them not to flatter themselves, as if there was no necessity of repenting, since to confess that one has committed a crime, is effectually the same thing as to commit it, and that this Declaration was a solemn renouncing of the Christian Religion; that tho' this crime did not appear very shameful in the Eyes of Men, yet it was heinous before God, who knows the most secret motions and inclinations of our hearts. At last he mightily extols the Piety of those who had neither offered Sacrifice, nor taken Certificates; However, since they had a desire to do it, he exhorts them to confess themselves largely and with sorrow before the Priests of God, discovering the Secrets of their Conscience, to quiet their Consciences, and to search out a remedy for their Wounds, tho' they appeared to be slight and insignificant; and to search out a remedy to themselves of this fault, not to be ashamed of discovering it, and to do Penance for it, that so they may obtain Pardon. He concludes all with an exhortation to Sinners, to renounce the Pleasures and Vanities of the World, and to satisfy the Divine Justice by a long and sincere Repentance.

[1] In his Treaty of the Unity of the Church he begins with advising all Christians to joyin Prudence to piety, and to take diligent care to keep themselves from the secret Attacks of the Devil, as Heresies and Schisms, whereby he draws Christians, before they are aware, to separate themselves from the Unity of the Church. After this, he demonstrates, by several Reasons, That the Church of Jesus Christ is essentially One, and that there cannot be more. He tells us, That for a visible mark of this Unity, Jesus Christ had built his Church upon St. Peter; and that he gave the Power of his Keys only to him, tho', after his Resurrection, he gave equal Power and Authority to all his Apostles; that as the Church is One, so there is One only Episcopacy, a part whereof every Pastor truly and really possesses; that such are out of this Church, have no Salvation to hope for; that a Man may be killed indeed out of the Church, but that he could not be crown'd unless he were actually in the Church; that Schism and Heresie are the most enormous Crimes a Man can be guilty of, which God has always punished with the greatest Severity; that the example of a few Confessors ought not to stagger or scandalize any one; for besides that, we are not to imitate them in the faults they may commit; there was still a very great number of them that continued steadfast in the Unity of the Church. At last, he exhorts all Christians whatsoever, to return to it again, to promote Union by their joynt endeavours, and to have no manner of Commerce with Schismatics.

[In the Account which our Author gives of this Discourse of St. Cyprian, he seems not to be so fair as he is at other times. He says from St. Cyprian, That for a visible mark of this Unity of the Church, Jesus Christ had built his Church upon St. Peter, and gave the Power of the Keys only to him; tho', after his Resurrection, he gave equal Power and Authority to all his Apostles. St. Cyprian's words are these, Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, & super istam Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam, & porte inferorum non vincunt eam, &c. Et iterum eadem post Resurrectionem suam dicit, Paise oves meae. Super unum edificabo Ecclesiam suam. Et quamvis Apostoli omnibus, parum potestatem tribuit, & dicit, si cui remiseritis peccata, remittentur illi: Si cui tenueritis, tenebuntur: tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, imitatus ejusdem originem, ad uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc enim unique & ceteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, parti conforsio praeiit: & honoris. Iosephus, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, ut Ecclesia una monstraret. The Lord said unto Peter, I say unto thee, I will build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it, &c. and again after his Resurrection, he says to the same St. Peter, Feed my Sheep. He builds his Church upon one. And tho' he gives equal Power to all the Apostles, and tells them, whose Sins

[2] In the Treatise of the Church, Pamelius mentions the name of the Treatise of Unity; and in some ancient Editions, it is Entitled, A Treatise of the Simplicity of Pastors.

S. Cyprian.

ye retain, they shall be retained, and who's Sins ye forgive shall be forgiven; yet that he might make that Unity manifest, he ordered by his own Authority, that the Original of that very Unity should begin from one. For the other Apostles were the same as he, equally Partners of Honour and Power, but the beginning springs from Unity, that the Church may be shew'd to be but one.

Here is no distinction made of different Powers granted before and after the Resurrection. St. Cyprian seems to have designed to obviate this Objection; and left any Man should think, that his Primacy, except that of being named first was intended, he says, that the other Apostles were St. Peter's equals, both in Honour and Power. But this Passage has had foul dealing shew'd to it long ago; *Manutius* published it at *Rome* with Interpolations in his Edition in 1563. *Regalutius* was ashamed of it; and so printed it in his Notes faithfully. The wonder is, how Mr. *Du Pin* should say, *That Jesus Christ gave the Power of the Keys to St. Peter only*, when he had the *Oxon* Edition before him, and all the other Editions that preceded *Manutius's*, of which he has given us a Catalogue. One sees the Reason now, why he desires afterwards that some Catholic Divine (as he calls them) would Reprint St. Cyprian, and Illustrate him with Catholic Commentaries. This is the Reason why the *Oxon* Edition could not satisfy him: *Bishop Fell's* Notes are too candid and sincere for any one of that Communion; so that tho he could not omit speaking honourably of it, left his judgment should have been questioned, yet the want of *Catholic Commentaries* was so very deplorable a thing, that he thought by this fly inscription to depreciate so valuable an Edition of so great a Father: For St. Cyprian alone cannot be put into all Mens hands without danger; and it is an unanswerable Argument how little Antiquity favours their Cause, when the Father who wrote more and more earnestly for Catholic Unity, and the support of Ecclesiastical Discipline against Schismatics, and Disturbers of the Peace of the Church, than any Man before the Council of *Nice*, cannot be brought to speak as they would have him, without using the most palpable misrepresentation, and the most unjust dealing that can be shewn to the Writings of any Author whatever.]

The Treatise about the Lord's Prayer immediately follows that of the Unity of the Church, in *Portius* the Deacon's Catalogue, and it is probable, that it was composed soon after, towards the beginning of the Year 252. In this Book he highly recommends Amity and Concord, which shews, that he writ it soon after the former, when he had his Head full of the same thoughts, and at a juncture when it was necessary to enforce them the second time on the World. We may divide it into seven Parts: In the first, he demonstrates, that the Lord's Prayer is the most excellent and efficacious Prayer, since Jesus Christ himself composed it for our use. In the second, he sets down Rules how we ought to Pray, and tells us we must do it with a World of Reverence and Modesty; that the tone of our voice ought not to be high; that when Christians assemble together to celebrate Divine Sacrifices with the Bishop, it is convenient that they should remember to be moderate, and not to make a confused noise with their Voice, because it is not the Voice, but the Heart which is to be elevated to Heaven; that we must pray with great Humility, which he confirms by the example of *Hannah*, the Mother of *Samuel*, and of the Publican mentioned in the Gospel. In the third part, he instructs us what things we are to Pray for; and taking occasion to explain the Lord's Prayer, he observes in the first place, that we do not say, *My Father*, but *Our Father*, because the Prayer of every Christian is a common Prayer, who does not pray for himself alone, but for the whole Congregation of the Faithful, which make up but one body; that we invoke God by the name of Father, because we are made his Children by Baptism; that we beseech him that his name may be sanctified in us, that is to say, we pray him to sanctify and purify us continually to the end of our Life; that the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, which we expect, is the recompence we hope to receive in the other Life, at the day of Judgment; that when we pray to God that his *Will may be done*, our meaning is not, that he would do whatever pleases him, but that he would work in us what he would have us to do, that is to say, that he would make us accomplish his Will, which no body is able to do by his own strength alone, without the assistance of God's Mercy; that this Will of God, which we are required to fulfil, is no other than what Jesus Christ has done and taught, that is to say, Humility, Steadfastness in the Faith, Prudence, Justice, Mercy, a good Deportment, to do wrong to none, to preserve Peace with our Brethren, to love God with all our Heart, and to prefer nothing before Jesus Christ, since he himself preferred nothing before us; that when we pray that this *Will may be done in Earth as it is in Heaven*, we mean (according to his Explication) in our Body, and in our Mind, or rather in the Unbelievers as well as the Believers. After this he says, that the daily Bread we pray for in the Lord's Prayer, may be understood either of Spiritual or Corporeal Bread; that the Spiritual Bread we beg for is the Body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, which the Christians who are truly devoted to Jesus Christ desire to receive, daily fearing to be separated from it by some great Sin; that if we understand it of Corporeal Bread, the meaning is, that we are not to beg of God what is necessary for our Subsistence every day, unless we carry our desires farther: That in praying to God that he would *Forgive us our Trespases*, we acknowledge that we Trespas continually, and impose upon our selves at the same time a Law not to obtain remission, but only upon condition, that we forgive our Brethren the Trespases they have committed against us: When we desire of God that he would not permit us to *fall into Temptation*, we intimate, that our Enemy has no Power over us, if God does not give him leave to tempt us, and that he never gives him leave but for two Reasons, either to punish us for our Sins, or else to try us: That the Lord's Prayer concludes at last with a Petition, which is a sort of an Abridgment of all the rest; for when we beseech God to deliver us from all Evil by his Almighty Power, nothing more remains for us to ask.

S. Cyprian.

In the fourth part he tells us, that Jesus Christ has instructed us to pray as well by his Example as by his Words; and since he who was without Sin pray'd often, certainly we who are Sinners are to pray continually. In the fifth, he recommends vigilancy and attention in our Devotions, exhorting us to think upon nothing but only him to whom we address our selves, and to banish all carnal Thoughts out of our Hearts. To impress the greater Authority upon this Exhortation, he takes notice of the Prayer which the Priest repeated at that time, when he celebrated the Eucharist, saying, *Sussum corda, Lift up your Hearts*, and observes, that the People answer'd, *We lift them up to the Lord*.

In the sixth part, he advises all Christians not to content themselves with vain barren Prayers, but to joyn Alms giving, and other Actions of Piety to them. And lastly, in the seventh part, he discourses of the time of Prayer, after he has taken notice, what are the most solemn hours to Pray in. He concludes with affirming, that Christians ought to Pray to God at all times; and since the serious performance of these duties will procure for them one day, everlasting Happiness, they ought, even now, to begin to thank God. This Treatise of St. Cyprian was so highly approved by St. *Austin*, that he recommended it to the Monks of *Adrumetum*, to whom he addressed his Book about Grace and Free-will, to read it over carefully, and to learn it by Heart; and he observes, that this Saint speaks after such a manner in this Treatise, as shews, that he was perswaded we ought to pray to God to give us his Grace to perform what he commands us to do in his Law. And indeed, amongst all the Treatises that were composed in the first Ages of the Church, perhaps there is not one that ascribes so much to the Grace of Jesus Christ as this does, or contains more formal Passages to prove the efficacy and necessity of it.

The Exhortation to Martyrdom, directed to *Fortunatianus*, at a time when the Christians expected the Persecution of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, was writ in the Year 253. 'Tis a Collection of Texts of Scripture, to excite all Christians to confess the Name of Jesus Christ Courageously, and to suffer Martyrdom for the Truth. In the first Chapter he cites those places, that discover the vanity of Idols. In the second, those that shew, that we must only Worship God. In the third, those that mention the severe Punishments wherewith God threatens to visit those that Sacrifice to Idols. In the fourth and fifth, those that declare, that God will not easily pardon Idolatry, but punishes those with Death who counsel others to adore Idols. In the sixth, he urges those Texts that may induce us to consider, that since we have been redeemed and enlivened by Jesus Christ, we ought not to prefer any thing before him, since he himself prefer'd nothing before us. In the seventh, those that referent to us, that since we have once escaped the Snares of the Devil, and the Ambushes of the World, we ought to take heed that we fall into them no more, but make the best use of that deliverance. In the eighth, those that recommend Perseverance in the Faith, and all other Virtues. In the ninth, those that shew, that Persecutions and Afflictions are sent only to try us. In the tenth, those that give us Consolation, and teach us not to be afraid, since God is more powerful to Protect us, than the Devil to Overcome us. In the eleventh, those that prove, that it was foretold, that the World would hate us, and stir up Persecutions against us; and that good Men always suffered. In the last, there is a Collection of Texts to encourage Christians to suffer Martyrdom, out of hopes of finding a sufficient recompence in Heaven. Here is an Abridgment of this Treatise made by St. Cyprian himself, which he sent at the end of his Letter to *Fortunatianus*, to whom he Dedicates this Book. He observes in this Letter, that it is the duty of the Bishop to train and exercise those Soldiers, whom Jesus Christ has committed to his Charge; and that Observations drawn out of the Holy Scripture, are the best Arms he can give them.

The Treatise of Mortality was composed [56] upon occasion of a certain Pestilence that afflicted the Roman Empire, but principally *Africa*, the Year after the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian*. He shews in his Treatise, that Christians ought not to be afraid of Sicknes or Calamities, but that they rather ought to wish for them, since they furnish them with an opportunity to exercise their Patience, and to merit the Rewards of Heaven; that they ought not to fear Death, but rather to desire it, since it delivers them from all the miseries of this Life, and unites them to Jesus Christ for ever; that we ought not to be surprized, that the Pestilence seizes Christians as well as Pagans, since all the miseries of the Flesh are equally common to both, nay, that a Christian ought to suffer more than the other; that the difference that ought to be between him, and one that does not know God, is, that the latter complains and suffers his Evils with impatience, whereas a Christian shews his Faith at such a juncture, by being not afraid of Death, and his Virtue in bearing every thing patiently, and his Charity in helping his Neighbour; that though the Good dye as well as the Bad, yet their end is very different, because the Good after their Death, are sent into a place of Refreshment, whereas the Wicked are thrown headlong into a place where they are Tormented for ever; that the first dye to be put into a better state of security, and the last to be more severely punished: That Sicknesse prepare us for Martyrdom, and makes us Martyrs of Jesus Christ; that for this reason we ought not to be afflicted, because they deprive us of the glory of Confession, since not to mention, that it does not depend upon our selves to be Martyrs, and that it is the Grace of God to let us dye with a Will of suffering Martyrdom, God will crown us as if we had really suffered it: That it would be to no

[56] Upon the occasion of the Infection.] It had its rise in *Africa*, then spread it self in *Egypt* and *Africa*, from whence it passed into all the West. It was an Epidemical Distemper, a great deal worse than a common Pestilence. It began under the Empire of

Gallus and *Volusian*, and lasted several Years; it raged with twice the violence, under the Empire of *Gallienus*, as we have already observed. This Treatise was written in the Year 253, or 254.

purpose to beg of God, that his Kingdom may come, if the Captivity wherein we are does still please *St. Cyrian* us: That we ought not to bewail those of our Brethren, whom God has taken to himself, since we have not lost them, and they have only gone a Journey before us, which we are all to make one time or another: That we do in some sort distrust the promises of Jesus Christ, if we concern and afflict our selves at the Death of our Neighbours and Friends, as if they were no more, and that we ought rather to rejoice that they are passed into a better Life, and enjoy a state of repose and tranquillity which will never end: At last he exhorts all Christians heartily to wish for the happy day of their Death, which will free them from the exile of this Life, and give them admission into the Kingdom of Heaven, which is their Country, where they will be everlastingly in the Company of the Saints, and with Jesus Christ.

His Treatise to *Demetrius* ^[hh] a Judge in *Africa*, was likewise composed during the rage of this Pestilence, immediately after ^[ii] the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian*. He there rebukes a Calumny, which the Pagans frequently formed against the Christians for being the cause of those Wars, Famines, Plagues, and other Calamities that waited the Roman Empire. He shews, that those misfortunes that daily happen in the World, which grows old every day, ought to be rather attributed to the Crimes and Impiety of Men; and that the Christians were so far from being the occasion of them, because they did not adore false Gods, that the Pagans rather drew down all these heavy Visitations upon Mankind, because they did not Worship the true God, and Persecuted those that Worship'd him: That all this was the immediate hand of God, who to revenge himself for the contempt they shew'd of him, and of those that served him, punished Men after this rigorous manner, and made them feel the weight of his displeasure: That the Gods of the Pagans were so far from being able to exercise this Revenge, that they were fettered and ill used, as I may say, by the Christians, who ejected them by force out of the Bodies of those Persons, whom they had possit: That the Christians suffered patiently, as being assured that their Cause would be soon revenged, that they endured the same Evils which the Pagans did in this World, but that they comforted themselves, because after their Death they should possess everlasting Joy, whereas the Pagans at the day of Judgment would be condemned to everlasting Torments. He exhorts them at last, with great zeal and ardour, to quit their Errors, and to repent of them while they are in a condition to do it; because after this Life is once over, there is no room for Repentance, and afterwards the Satisfaction is useless, since it is here upon Earth, that every Man renders himself worthy or unworthy of everlasting Salvation: That neither Age nor Sins ought to hinder any one from suffering himself to be Converted, since, as long as we are in this World, there is still time for us to Repent, the Gate of the Divine Mercy being never shut to those that diligently search the Truth. *Though you were, says he, at the point of Death, if you pray'd to have your Sins forgiven, and implored the goodness of God, you would obtain remission of your Crimes, and pass from Death to Immortality. Jesus Christ has procured this favour for us by conquering and triumphing over Death on the Cross, by redeeming those that Believe with the price of his Blood, by reconciling Man to God, and communicating a new Life to him by a celestial Birth. Let us follow them all if it is possible, and receive this Sacrament, and his Sign, &c.*

It is probable, that the ^[kk] Treatise of *Mercy* and *Alms-giving* was writ when *St. Cyrian* gathered considerable Alms to redeem the Christians, who had been taken Prisoners by the Barbarians, towards the Year 253. He demonstrates in this Book, by several Authorities of Scripture, and many Convincing Reasons, the necessity of giving Alms; he refutes the frivolous excuses, and vain pretences used by Rich Men to avoid the doing such acts of Charity; and observes, that in his time every one brought a Loaf at the Celebration of the Eucharist, [which was always once a day, in the Morning before it was Light, and often at Night after Supper.]

St. Cyrian tells us himself, in his Letter to *Jubaianus*, that he composed his Book of *Patience*, upon the occasion of a Question concerning the reiteration of the Baptism of Heretics, to shew that we ought to preserve Charity and Patience in all Disputes with our Brethren. So this Treatise was composed, at the beginning of the Year 256, and *St. Cyrian* ^[ll] sent it as soon as it was finished to one *Jubaianus* a Bishop, together with the Letter which he writ to him. In it he exhorts Christians to Patience, by the Example of Jesus Christ, and the Saints as well of the Old as the New Testament.

^[mm] The Book of *Envy* was writ a little after that of *Patience*. In it he dissuades Christians from that Vice, which is the occasion of all Mischief, and exhorts them to the practice of Charity and Christian Humility.

^[hh] After the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian*.] This Treatise was written during the Plague, to shew that the Christians were not the cause of it. He there speaks of the late Fall of Kings, which is to be understood of the Death of *Gallus* and *Volusian*, who were killed by their Soldiers.

^[ii] Judge.] It has been commonly believed, that he was Proconful: But the Author of the English Edition has very well observed, that *St. Cyrian* does not speak to him as to a Proconful; and that what he says of him, viz. that he often came to him to dispute with him, and that he drew several Persons over to his Party, is by no means suitable to the Character of a Sovereign Magistrate of *Africa*.

^[kk] The Treatise of the Works of *Mercy* and *Alms-giving*.] This Treatise is cited by *Pontius*, by *St. Je-*

rome, Ep. ad Pamm. by *St. Auslin*, contr. Jul. contr. *Pelagianus* & alibi.

^[ll] He sent to *Jubaianus* a Bishop.] Ep. ad Jub. Te mearis a nobis patienter, et firmiter Charitatis animi, Collegii amor, vinculum fidei, et concordia sacerdotii, propter hoc etiam libellum de bono patientie, quantum valuit nostra mediocritas, permittente Domino, et inspirante conscripsimus, quem ad te pro multis dilectissime transmissimus. *Pontius* mentions it, *St. Jerome* cites it, *advoc. Lucif.* and *St. Auslin* in several places.

^[mm] The Book of *Envy* was writ some time after that of *Patience*.] It was written after the Book of *Patience*, because when he writ to *Jubaianus*, he sent him only the Treatise of *Patience*. It is cited by *Pontius*, by *St. Jerome*, in *Epist. ad Gal. c. 5.* and by *St. Auslin* in many places.

Hitherto we have only mentioned those Works that unquestionably belong to *St. Cyrian*, I shall now speak a few words of those that are fallily attributed to him, which are put by themselves in *St. Cyrian's* and the English Edition. There is a great number of these Books, some of which are really useful and ancient, though we don't know their Authors, some carry the Names of their Authors at present, and some are of a later date, and deservedly despised.

In the number of the first, we must place the following Treatises. That against publick Shows, the Books of *Charity*, and the Homily against *Novatian*, all which works seem to proceed from one Author; and ^[nn] might be attributed to *St. Cyrian*, if it were not for the difference that is so visible between the Style of this Father, and that of these three Books.

The Treatise or ^[oo] Homily against *Gamesters*, is yet more different from *St. Cyrian's* Style than any of the former, being an intricate confused Book, and abounding with barbarous words. The Scriptures are cited there after another manner than they are in *St. Cyrian*; and the Author mentions a Book, intitled, *The Doctrine or Doctrines of the Apostles*, which, in all probability, was composed since *St. Cyrian's* time.

The Book of the *Calibacy of the Clergy* is extremely useful: In it he proves, that Churchmen ought not to live with Women; some have attributed it to *St. Cyrian* upon the Faith of some MSS. others to *St. Auslin*, others to *St. Jerome*, and lastly, others to *Gaudensius Brixienfis*. However, it is certain, that it was never writ by *St. Cyrian*, as the difference of Style, and ^[pp] the barbarous words, sufficiently witness. Nor is it a Translation out of *Origen*, but the work of some Latin Author: In short, it is neither ^[qq] written in the Style of *St. Jerome*, nor *Origen*.

The Author of the English Edition supposes that this Treatise was writ in the time of Venerable *Bede*, when the famous Question of the Celibacy of Churchmen was so warmly discussed in the West: But this is only a bare conjecture, supported by no solid reason; so that we can say nothing positive concerning the Author of this Work.

The Book of the *Twelve Abuses of the Age*, which is likewise attributed to *St. Auslin*, was neither written by that Father, nor by *St. Cyrian*; for, besides that, it has not the least resemblance of their Style or manner of Writing, the Scripture is always cited there, after *St. Jerome's* Version. *Pamilius* has ascribed it to one *Erastus*, whose Name he found in the Margin of this Treatise in a MSS. of *St. Auslin*. Others again bestow'd it upon *St. Patrick* Bishop of *Ireland*, and some upon *St. John Climacus*.

To these Treatises we must joyn an Oration in praise of *Martyrdom*, and another about double *Martyrdom*, both which were composed by some Author who is not very ancient for his Diverfion. The first is pen'd in an elaborate affected Style; and it seems probable, that the Person that made it, only tried how he could make an Harangue in form. He begins with an *Exordium*, as if he delivered it before an Assembly; the Periods are carefully wrought, his Thoughts are odd and uncommon, and the whole Turn is extremely Stiff. The Oration about double *Martyrdom* is writ after a more negligent way by some young Author, who had a mind to imitate *St. Cyrian's* Style. *Grassius* imagined that *Erasmus* was the Author of this Cheat; but in all probability, so able a Man as he was, would have carried on the Imposture better than it is managed in this Book: For though the Author pretends that he writ it 240 Years after Jesus Christ; yet he makes no scruple of telling us, that the Christian Religion was farther extended than the Empire. He speaks of the Persecution under *Dioclesian*, and *Maximin* or *Maximian*, of a War against the Turks, and makes mention of Monks and their Practices: And these are the Books fallily attributed to *St. Cyrian*, which may be of some use, whose Authors are not known.

The Treatise of the *Cardinal*, or *principal Works of Jesus Christ*, which was attributed to *St. Cyrian*, though it does not resemble his Style, has been restored upon the Faith of several Manuscripts, to *Arnoldus Bonevallis*, a Friend of *St. Bernard's*, who address'd it to Pope *Adrian IV.* and who composed some other Treatises besides this, in the very same Style, viz. one concerning the *Sayings of Jesus Christ*, another upon the *Cross*, the *Work of the Six Days*, and the *Praises of the Virgin*, all which are Printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; and lastly, a Treatise of *Meditations*, which was never Printed before, but has been added in the English Edition of *St. Cyrian*, to all the other Works of the same Author.

The Explication of the Apostles Creed belongs undoubtedly to *Ruffinus*. The Treatise of the *Baptism of Heretics*, Published by *Rigaltius*, but directly contrary to *St. Cyrian's* Opinion in the matter, was writ by an ancient Writer who lived before *St. Auslin's* time, and perhaps was a Contemporary of *St. Cyrian*.

The other Treatises attributed to *St. Cyrian* are not only spurious, but are full of nothing else but Impertinencies and Errors. The first is a Treatise of the Mountains of *Sion* and *Sina*, writ by some body who was wholly besotted with the dreaming Enthusiasms of the *Rabbines* and *Cabalists*. The Supper is a ridiculous impertinent Book: The *Revelation* of *John Baptist's Head* is a fabulous Story,

^[nn] Might be attributed to *St. Cyrian*.] I say it might be, for besides the difference of Style, which is obvious to every Eye, they are not attributed to *St. Cyrian* in the Manuscripts, but only in the Printed Books.

^[oo] The Treatise against *Gamesters*.] It was writ by some Bishop, but we are not to conclude, that it was by a Bishop of *Rome*, because he calls himself the Vicar of Jesus Christ, for anciently that name was given to all Bishops.

^[pp] Barbarous Words.] Such as *Repullarius*, *Confutimarius*, *Vulgaritatis*, *Flumivorum*, *Probristatis*, *Paticipis*, *Admari*, *Vanificatis*, *Eglossam*, *Presuratio*, *Adjentarii*, *Conjugaliter*.

^[qq] In short, it is neither written in the Style of *St. Jerome*, nor *Origen*.] That which has given occasion to attribute it to *Origen*, is, because the Author seems not to condemn a Man's making himself an Eunuch; but *Origen* was at last of a contrary Opinion, and repented of his Action. There is only one Manuscript in the King's Library, that attributes it to *Origen*; as some Modern Authors think, after *Vincensius Bellovesenfi*: But it rather resembles the Style of *Gaudensius Brixienfis*, were it not, that in no Manuscripts or Printed Editions it is ever attributed to him.

with after the time of St. Albanus, St. Cyril, Theodorus, the Kamdali, the Chronicle of Marcellinus and St. Cyprian, whom it mentions. His Preface attributed to Celsus upon the dispute of Basilus and Eusebius addressed to Virgilius, and the Treatise against the Jews, are two Books, wherein there is nothing regular or solid. The two Treatises directed to the Martyr, and the Confession or Repentance of St. Cyprian the Martyr, are Books which the Modern Greeks have attributed to the Martyr Cyprian, who perhaps is the Bishop of Carthage, whose Life they have amplified.

The Secrets and Prayers of St. Cyprian, are Treatises full of Superstition and Impiety. There remains nothing behind but, [¶] a Calendar upon Easter, Printed under St. Cyprian's Name in the English Edition. 'Tis the Work of an ancient Author; but the Style is wholly different from that of St. Cyprian. I say nothing of the Poems that are attributed to him, because they go likewise under Tertullian's Name, and I spoke of them when I gave an Account of that Author. [A Man must have a very nice taste of Styles, that can throw away a Book that is almost all Calculation, from any Author to whom it is attributed, if he has no other Reason to reject it.]

St. Cyprian is the first of the Christian Authors, that was truly Eloquent, as Laërtius has observed; and we may say, that there has been never another since him. * If we except Laërtius, who was Master of so much truth, and noble, and genuine Eloquence. He professed Rhetoric with mighty Reputation, before he was Converted to Christianity; and what he wrote afterwards is admirable in its kind. For as Laërtius adds, 'He had an easy, fertile, agreeable Invention; and what is more, a Spirit of Periphrasis reigns throughout all his Works, which is one of the best Qualities belonging to any Discourse. He has a great deal of Ornament in his Narration, an easy Turn in his Expressions, and Force and Vigour in his Reasonings, in such a manner that he had all the three Talents required in an Orator, which are to please, to teach, and to persuade; and it is not easy to say which of these three he possesses in the most eminent degree.' As St. Jerome said, that his Discourse resembled a Fountain of pure Water, having a sweet and gentle Stream, so we may say, that it does likewise very often resemble an impetuous Torrent, that carries away with it every thing it meets, since he was capable of raising what Passions he pleased, and of perverting us to do whatever he had a mind to. Whether he gives Consolation, or whether he exhorts or dissuades, he does it with so much force, that one cannot possibly avoid being sensibly comforted or encouraged, or deterred by what he says. His Eloquence is natural, and far removed from the Style of a Declamer. There is no insipid mean Railery, no common Proverbs; in short, nothing that has the tincture of ordinary Literature in his Writings, but the Christian and the Bishop speak all along: A Man may see that his Tongue spoke out of the abundance of his Heart, and that as he had searched into the deepest Christian Truths, so he expressed them nobly and generously: Though we must at the same time own, that after all his endeavours to speak as distinctly and purely as was possible, there is something of the African Genius in him; and he could not forbear now and then to intermix [¶] some harsh terms. So difficult a matter it is to vanquish Nature, or to abstain from those words we daily hear from those with whom we converse.

His studying and reading of Tertullian, whom he looked upon to be his Master, might in some measure contribute to corrupt his Style: But then on the other hand we must acknowledge, that it furnished him with some Advantages, and that he has borrowed several Thoughts out of him, which he sets off and beautifies, though he was Religiously careful to avoid all his Faults and Errors. For, at the bottom, the Characters of these two Authors are exceeding different. Tertullian is harsh and obscure; St. Cyprian is polite and clear; Tertullian is hot and fiery; St. Cyprian, though he does not want all necessary force upon occasion that requires it, is soft and gentle: Tertullian reproaches his Adversaries, and insults over them in a bitter railing manner; St. Cyprian is infinitely more moderate, and if he is obliged at any time to speak some Truths that displease them, he takes care to soften them by the agreeable blench of his Narration: Tertullian vents abundance of false Reasons, and teaches several Errors; on the contrary, St. Cyprian argues almost everywhere with a World of Justice and Solidity, and is exempt, I mean, not only from gross Errors, but even from those of small consequence, commonly found in the Fathers of the Three first Centuries: He says nothing concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity, or the Incarnation, that carries any difficulty with it, or stands in need of an explication. He rejects the Error of the Millennaries, and that of the State of the Soul before the Day of Judgment. He is the first that spoke clearly of Original Sin, and the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ. He plainly distinguishes between Baptism and Imposition of Hands, as two different Sacraments. He speaks of the Eucharist as of a Sacrament, wherein the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ is received, and which requires great Purity and great Preparation to be worthily received. He establishes the matter of this Sacrament, but he urges the necessity of mingling Water with the Wine, with too much heat. He is the first that talked largely of Penance, and of the Power of the Priesthood to bind and unbind. He zealously demonstrates how necessary it is towards Salvation, to be within the Church: He discourses

"A Calendar of Easter." It has been cited under St. Cyprian's Name, by Pausanias. The Scripture is cited there according to the Version made use of by St. Cyprian, but there are some words in it that have nothing of the Purity of St. Cyprian, and the turn of the Phrase is wholly different. To discover the Truth of this, we need only let down the very first Period. Multo quidem, non multo tempore parati sumus et assueti, ut in secularibus, sed in sanctis et divinis scripturis quædam invenire, quædam se primis dicit, non mensis, in quo mensis prescriptum est, ut in Egypto XII. Luna capere Pascha. Cyprian would have never used such a turn as this to express

his Thoughts. This Author tell us, That Jesus Christ celebrated the Passover five times, and died the sixth, in the 16th year of Tiberius, after he had Preached for the space of an year only. This System is ancient:

"Sunt hæc Termini." Such as excommuni, remissa, sanctissimi, magnanimitas, mortalitas, confundi, abstinerere to excommunicate, Dominicum, &c. words which are not Latin. He has likewise some harsh turns; as for example, he uses the Pronouns, se sui, instead of ipsis, ipsis for his, quando for cum, quædam for domi, ino for possit. He has also some Allusions and Antitheses proper to the Africans. very

very advantageously of the Bishop of Rome, and looks upon the Bishop of that See to be the Superintendent of the first Church in the World. But then he was of Opinion, that he ought not to assume any St. Cyprian Authority over the rest of the Bishops that were his Brethren, or over their Churches: That every Bishop was to render to God an account of his own Conduct: That the Episcopal Authority is indivisible, and that every Bishop has his Portion of it. That in case of necessity, all Bishops may assist their Brethren with their Councils, though they are not under their ordinary Jurisdiction: That Causes ought to be determined in the respective Provinces, where the Accusers and Witnesses are to be found: That Councils or Assemblies of Bishops are extremely useful: That the Keys were given to the whole Church in general, in the Person of St. Peter, to denote Unity. It may be proved out of his Writings, That they used to Offer Sacrifice for the Dead in his time; That they were persuaded that the Saints interceded for us, and that Sacrifices were Offered in Honour of their Memory: That they made use of Holy Water, that they had Virgins who made Profession of Virginity; and that this condition was mightily honoured amongst the Christians. I take no notice of abundance of other points of Discipline and Morality, which may be observed in the Abridgment we have made of his Works, where the Reader, as he peruses them, may collect them for himself; and indeed, they are of great importance to all People.

The first Edition of St. Cyprian, which appeared a little after the Invention of Printing, neither bears the name of the Printer, nor of the City where it was Printed. It is more Correct, and freer from Faults than the following ones.

The second Edition is that of Spire, by Wendelinus, in the Year 1471, in Folio. It is mighty full of Errors.

In the Year 1512, Remboldus caused this Author to be Printed at Paris, and was the first that divided the Letters into several Books. Afterwards Erasmus having review'd and Corrected it, Printed it with a Preface and some Annotations, in the beginning in 1520, and 1525, for Frobenius. It was likewise Printed the very same Year at Colon. Afterwards at Paris, for Langelier, in 1541. At Antwerp, in Octavo, in the Year 1542, by Crinitus, and for Frobenius, in 1549. At Lyons for Gryphus, in Octavo, in 1544, and 1550. At Basil, according to Erasmus's Edition, in Folio, for Jo. Hæverius, in 1558. Grævius caused it to be Printed with some Notes at Colon; and it was also Printed at Lyons, in 1535, 1543, 1549, and 1556, in Octavo. At Venice in the same Volume, in 1547. After these Editions, which are none of the most Correct, Manutius caused it to be Printed at Rome, Corrected by several Manuscripts in 1563, in Folio, in a very neat Character, and augmented with a fifth Book of Letters. Morellus's Edition at Paris in the Year following, is larger and more accurately done. It was Printed too at Geneva, in the Year 1593, with the Notes of Goulartius and Pamelius.

Pamelius, after he had taken pains with Tertullian, set himself to Publish a more exact Edition of St. Cyprian's Works. He is the first that disposed the Letters according to the Series of Time, distributing them, as we have done into five Classes: but he has not been very exact in distributing those of the same Class in their natural Order. He likewise writ St. Cyprian's Life, and has made large Observations upon this Author; wherein he applies himself more to confirm the Doctrine and Discipline of our Times, than to explain the difficulties of his Author.

Pamelius's St. Cyprian has been Printed twice at Antwerp, in 1568, and 1589. And at Paris in 1607, 1574, 1616, 1632, and 1644. These Editions are compared with several ancient Manuscripts, and the former Editions. In imitation of him, Rigaltius, after he had Rubricated Tertullian, undertook St. Cyprian, and without making the least alteration in the Order observed by Pamelius, he only Corrected the Works of this Author, upon the different Readings of two Italian Manuscripts, which Monsieur de Monchal, Archbishop of Tholose, had Copied in the Margin of his St. Cyprian, and made some Notes to explain the most difficult places; and some Observations to enlighten the Discipline that was in vigour in this Saint's Time. Some of these Observations seem to be bold, and he endeavours to excuse himself for them in his Preface. This Edition was Printed at Paris for Dupuis, in 1648.

In the Year 1666, Dupuis Reprinted the Works of this Saint, as he did those of Tertullian, that is to say, he added to the Text, which is conformable to the Edition of Rigaltius, the entire Notes and Observations of that Learned Man; together with some choice Observations of Pamelius, and joyn'd to this Author Minutius Felix, Armbius, Firmicus, and the Instruction of Commodianus. In the Year 1681, Frederic Reinard, a Minister in Germany, put out St. Cyprian's Letters at Altdorf. There is nothing particular in this Edition, but the great number of Manuscripts with which it was compared.

Monsieur Lombert having Translated the Works of St. Cyprian into French, and follow'd Pamelius's Method in his Translation, has reformed some part of this Method in his Preface, and has given us by the assistance of several judicious Men, a more accurate order of the Letters and Treatises of St. Cyprian, than that of Pamelius. [He is quoted with great respect by the Bishops of Oxford and Chester, in the Oxford Edition of this Father's Works.]

After all, two English Bishops, not long since, put out a new Edition of St. Cyprian, which is more correct, and exact, and larger than all the former. The Text is here Printed in a very fine Character, Revived upon four new Manuscripts, and several different Readings, Copied out of other Manuscripts by very able Men. The Margin is all along charged with a very short and clear Summary of all that is contained in the Text. Just under the Text, the different reading of the Manuscripts and Editions are set down. At the bottom of the Page are placed the Notes, some of which are borrowed from Rigaltius and Pamelius, and the rest which are new are made by the Bishop of Oxford. Most of them are Theological. His Tracts precede the Letters in this Edition, and are disposed according to the Order wherein they are supposed to have been written. The Letters likewise are distributed after a new Method, but very exact. The Books that are fully attributed to St. Cyprian, are Printed at the end in a smaller Character, with the Works of Arnaldus Bonaventura that carry his name with a Book of Meditations never Printed before. The Calendar of Easter is at the end of the

S. Cypprian

the Volume. At the head of all, there is an Advertisement to the Reader, containing the general design of this Edition; *St. Cypprian's* Life, by *Pontius* his Deacon; some Testimonies of the Ancients concerning *St. Cypprian*; a Table as well of the Books according to the different Editions, as of the Texts of Scripture cited in the Works of *St. Cypprian*, and the matter of them. This is followed with a Book written by *Dr. Pearson*, Bishop of *Chester*, Intituled, *The Annals of St. Cypprian*, because it contains the History of the Life and Works of this Saint from Year to Year. [After all, there are some Differtations of *Mr. Dodwell's* upon difficult places, wherein he not only explains his Author, but makes large digressions to clear some of the most considerable Questions in all Ecclesiastical Antiquity; and to illustrate those matters of Fact, and points of Discipline which are only alluded to in *St. Cypprian*, as things at that time perfectly known.]

I have been lately Informed, That a Doctor of the Faculty in *Paris*, a Man of prodigious Learning, designs to oblige the World with a new Edition of *St. Cypprian*. It were to be wished, that this design were put in Execution, it being a matter of great Importance, that *St. Cypprian* should be Published by a Catholic Divine, who is thoroughly versed in the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, and who, in his Annotations would not depart from the Rule of Faith, nor condemn or disapprove the practice of the Church; that so by this means the Works of the Father might without any danger be put into the hands of all People.

PONTIUS.

S. Jerome

*S*aint *Jerome* reckons *Pontius* amongst the Ecclesiastical Authors, who write the Life of *St. Cypprian*, whose Deacon he had been. Some Learned Persons, and *Rigobertus* in particular, seem to have doubted whether this work was not Supposititious; and indeed, we must own, that it is written with so much affectation of Eloquence, that it might well be suspected to be spurious, if *St. Jerome* had not owned it as genuine. But, after the Testimony of that Learned Father, I don't think we ought to question the truth of it. This Life is not written, as *Rigobertus* has well observed, after an Historical manner, but in the Language of one that desired to be thought an Orator, and has more Rhetorical Ornaments, than Historical Exactness in it. The Narration which ought to be plain and single, is full of Rhetorical Figures; and the Style, which ought to be concise, is swelling. In short, as I have observed already, there is rather an affectation of Eloquence, than any true Eloquence in this Book.

CORNELIUS.

Cornelius

*C*ornelius was ordained Bishop of *Rome*, towards the beginning of the year 251. Soon after, *Novatian* got himself ordained by three Bishops, but his Ordination being Irregular, was Condemned, and *Cornelius* acknowledged to be the true Bishop of *Rome* by all the Bishops in the World.

He was sent into Banishment in the Persecution of the Emperor *Gallus*, and then receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom, towards the end of the Year 253. after he had presided in the Roman Chair two Years and some Months.

There are two Letters of this Pope amongst *St. Cypprian's*, and *a Eusebius* mentions three more.

In the first, he informs *Fabius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, of what had passed in the Synod held at *Rome* against *Novatian*, and sends him the opinion of the Italian and African Bishops.

In the second, he gives a more particular Account of the Decrees of this Synod; and in the third, he describes the Manners and Actions of *Novatian*. *Eusebius* has preserved a long Fragment of this last Letter, wherein *Cornelius* describes the Artifices which *Novatian* had used, to get himself Ordained Bishop, by abusing the simplicity and easiness of three Bishops, one of whom having acknowledged his Crime, did Penance for it. He afterwards observes, that there were at that time in the Church of *Rome*, 44 Priests, 7 Deacons, and as many Sub-Deacons, 42 Acolyths, 52 Porters and Exorcists, without reckoning the Widows and Poor, upwards of 1500, and a very great multitude of People.

He adds, That *Novatian* could never hope to arrive to the Episcopal Order, because he was Baptized in his Bed, and never received Imposition from the hands of the Bishop, that is to say, the Sacrament of Confirmation, and was afterwards ordained Priest only at the request of a Bishop, contrary to the Order of the Church, which Prohibits the Ordaining of those who had been Baptized after that manner: He reproaches him for denying his Sacramental Function in time of Persecution; as also for obliging those of his own Party, when he gave them the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ (instead of answering Amen, as was the custom of the Church) to Swear, that they would never return to *Cornelius's* Party. Lastly, he informs *Fabius*, that the Confessors of *Rome* had left his Party, and that several Bishops, whose names he sends him, were condemned in a Synod. This Letter, as well as the others, sent by *Cornelius* to the East, were in all probability written in Greek. In the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, we find a very short Letter, attributed to *Cornelius*, directed to *Lupinus*, Bishop of *Vienna*; but that Letter does not belong to this Pope, no more than the two others which go under his name in the Decretals. For first of all it is not of the same Style with those we find in *St. Cypprian*. Secondly, the word *Mess*, which was unknown at that time, occurs there. And thirdly, it is unworthy of this Pope, and 'tis plain, it was counterfeited by some ignorant Impostor. The Style of *Cornelius*, as far as we are able to judge of it, by those few Letters of his that are still extant, is not very lofty; though he sets off what ever he says, turning every thing to his own advantage, and does not spare his Enemy in the least.

^a *Eusebius* mentions three more. *St. Jerome* reckons four Letters, but he is mistaken, and *Eusebius* takes notice only of three.

^b And a very great multitude of People. There were at that time several Churches at *Rome*, for they

had but one Priest to one Church: And this is the Reason why *Optatus*, speaking of the Churches that were at *Rome* in the Time of *Diocletian*, says, that there were above forty of them.

Novatian

NOVATIAN.

*N*ovatian, who had been a Philosopher before he was a Christian, was, as we have hinted already, Baptized in his Bed, being dangerously ill. He was afterwards ordained Priest of the Church of *Rome*, at the instance of his Bishop, who obtained this Favour for him from the Clergy and People, who would have opposed it. *Cornelius* accuses him for absconding in a Chamber during the Persecution, and for answering the Deacons, who desired him to go out and Baptize some *Catechumens*, That he would not be a Priest any longer, but that he would follow another sort of Philosophy. Being Master of a great deal of Wit, Knowledge and Eloquence, he might have been very servicable to the Church, if his Ambition to be a Bishop, which was, in a manner, the sole occasion of the Apostacy of the first Heresiarchs, had not carried him to a Separation. After the Death of Pope *Fabius*, he wrote in the Name of the Clergy of *Rome*, a very Elegant Letter to *St. Cypprian*, which is the thirtieth amongst those of that Father, and he still continued in the Communion of the Church during the Vacancy of that See. But as soon as *Cornelius* was chosen in *Fabius's* room, pushed forward by his Envy and Jealousie, he attacked his Ordination, accused him of several Crimes, and published a Libel against him. The principal Plea he made use of, was, That *Cornelius* admitted those who had been guilty of Idolatry to Communion; and to make the best advantage of this Accusation, he maintained, That we never ought to suffer those Persons to participate of the Communion, who had fallen into Idolatry. So he separated from *Cornelius*, and from those who believed, that the Church might receive them again. The greater part of those who had suffered Courageously for the Faith of Jesus Christ, not being able to endure that others, who had not shewn the same Constancy and Resolution, should (if I may use the Expression) stand on the same level with themselves, embraced his Party, together with some Priests. *Novatus*, a Priest of *Africa*, who had raised great Feuds against *St. Cypprian* at *Carthage*, joined himself to *Novatian*, and brought with him those of his own Faction. [A] It was he who gave him that pernicious Advice to get himself Ordained Bishop. *Novatian*, the better to execute this design, sent two of his own Cabal to three simple ignorant Bishops, who lived in a small Province of *Italy*, and prevailed with them to come to *Rome*, under a pretence of accommodating Affairs, and putting a stop to some Divisions. As soon as these three Bishops were come to *Rome*, he shut them up in a Chamber, and caused himself to be ordained Bishop of *Rome* by them, about Ten a Clock at Night, and this, after he had made them drunk, if we may believe *Cornelius*. Immediately after his Ordination he dispatched two Letters to the Bishops of the other Provinces, and sent some Deputies into *Africa* to get his Ordination approved: But the African Bishops rejected his Deputies, and ratified *Cornelius's* Ordination. The rest of the Bishops also adhered to *Cornelius*: And one of the three who had ordained *Novatian*, acknowledged his Fault, and did Penance for it. The Confessors gave him up to *Cornelius*, who having got him condemned in a Synod of Sixty Bishops, wholly turned him out of the Church. He continued however still to teach this Doctrine, That the Church neither could nor ought to admit those to the Communion who had Apostatized: And as this Severity pleased abundance of People, so he became the Head of a Heresy, which disturbed the Peace of the Church for a very long time.

Besides, this Letter which he writ before his Separation in the name of the Clergy of *Rome*, *St. Jerome* tells us, he composed the following Treatises, viz. of the *Pasover*, the *Sabbath*, *Circumcision*, the *High Priest*, *Prayer*, *Jewish Meals*; and of *Firmness of Mind* with relation to *Attalus*, and many more, together with a great Volume about the *Trinity*, which is, as it were, an abridgment of *Tertullian's* Work, that has been by several persons attributed to *St. Cypprian*; not that *Tertullian* made a Book expressly about the *Trinity*, but because he had borrowed whatever he says out of the Books of *Tertullian* upon the *Trinity*. We have none of these Works under the Name of *Novatian*, but 'tis extremely probable, that the Treatise of the *Trinity*, and that of the *Jewish Meals*, that are to be found in *Tertullian*, are the same which *St. Jerome* attributed to *Novatian*.

And indeed, as for the Book of the *Trinity*, *Rufinus* observes, that it was not composed by *St. Cypprian*, under whose Name it went, but by *Tertullian*. *St. Jerome*, who saw farther into this matter than *Rufinus*, takes notice in the Apology which he has composed against him, that it was not written by *Tertullian*, but by *Novatian*. There are several Reasons which make it evidently appear, that the Book we now have, is the very same with that mentioned by *St. Jerome* and *Rufinus*. For in the first place, it carries the same Title. Secondly, it imitates *Tertullian*, and uses his Arguments. Thirdly, the Style of it is polite enough, and the Terms very pure. Fourthly, we find some Passages there against the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, a Fault which *Rufinus* and *St. Jerome* observe to have been in the Book of the *Trinity*, which they cited, and which might have been inferred afterwards by the *Macedonians*: For this Author establishes very Orthodox Principles concerning the Mystery of the *Trinity*, which prove the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, as well as that of the Son.

It is very probable likewise, that the Treatise about *Jewish Meals*, attributed to *Tertullian*, belongs to *Novatian*, as well by reason of the conformity of the Style, as because the Author observes in the

[A] It was he who gave him that pernicious Advice. *St. Cypprian* in his 41st Epistle tells us, That *Novatus* had ordained a Bishop of *Rome*, as one *Felicissimus* a Priest had done one at *Carthage*; not

that he made them so himself, for he was no Bishop, but because he had made him so by his Counsels and Faction.

St. Mar-
ialis.

beginning, that he wrote two Letters, wherein he demonstrated, that the Jews knew not what is the true Circumcision, or what is the true Sabbath. [All which agrees with *Novatian*, who, according to *St. Jerome*, wrote two Treatises upon the same Subjects.]

The Design of this Treatise is to shew, That the Animals forbidden to be eaten by the Mosaic Law, were not absolutely, and intemperately impure. To demonstrate the Truth of this Assertion, he tells us, that the Fruits of Trees were the first Nourishment of Mankind; that afterwards they eat the Flesh of Animals; that the Law came in afterwards, which made a distinction between those Creatures that might be eaten, and those that were prohibited; that under this Difference they were called Unclean; not because they were really so in their own Nature, since they were the Creatures of God, but first, to instruct Men to avoid the Vices that were signified; and [k] represented by these Animals; and in the second place, to serve as a Remedy against intemperance, that Jesus Christ, who is the end and accomplishment of the Law, has given liberty to Men to eat of all sorts of Meats, provided they don't violate the bounds of Christian Sobriety; and from thence he takes occasion to reprove the Irregularities and Disorders of some Christians; who lived intemperately. He observes, that this is by no means fitting for those Persons who are to pray Night and Day. At last, out of the number of Meats that are permitted to be eaten, he excepts those that have been offered to Idols, from which the Primitive Christians obtained very Religiously; and he concludes all with these Words, that are an Abridgement of his whole Discourse. "Having therefore shewn what is the nature of Meats; (for he had before discovered the Genius of the Mosaic Law; and explained the nature of the Evangelical Liberty)." Let us live up to the Rules of Temperance, and abstain from things Offered to Idols, giving thanks to our Lord Jesus Christ his Son, to whom be Praise, Honour and Glory forever and ever. Amen.

Some think that *Novatian* writ this Letter during the Persecution of *Decius*, before he had separated from the Church; but his way of speaking, at the beginning, makes me rather believe, that it was composed after he became Chief of the Party, in the Persecution of *Gallus* and *Valerian*. This Author has abundance of Wit, Knowledge and Eloquence; his Style is pure, clean and polite; his Expressions choice, his Thoughts natural, and his way of Reasoning just: He is full of Citations of Texts of Scripture that are always to the purpose; and besides, there is a great deal of Order and Method in those Treatises of his we now have, and he never speaks but with a world of Candor and Moderation.

[b] Represented by these Animals.] As for Example, Carnal Life: That when we are forbidden to eat swine, he says, that the Prohibition of eating Swine-flesh is, to intimate to us, that we are not to lead a

Wearish, the meaning is, we are forbidden to Squal; that by Crows Pleasures are signified, &c.

Saint MARTIALIS.

Saint *Martialis* came into France with *St. Dionysius* [a] under the Emperor *Decius* towards the year of our Lord 250. Two Letters attributed to him, one written to the People of *Burdeaux*, the other to those of *Toulouse*, which were said to be found in the Vetry of [b] *St. Peter of Limoges* in the Eleventh Century, and have been since [c] frequently Printed, and inserted into the last *Bibliotheca Patrum*, though no man questions that these Letters are Supposititious. For in the first place the Author tells us, that he lived with Jesus Christ, which can by no means agree with him who was Bishop of *Limoges* in 252. Secondly, in the Eighth Chapter of the Second Letter, he saith, that he Baptized King *Stephen*, and another Tyrant with his Noblemen. Now in the time of *Martialis* there was neither King nor Tyrant in France. Thirdly, he tells us, that in his time the Temples of the Gods were demolished, and that Churches were built by the Kings Authority, which does not agree with the time of *St. Martialis*. Fourthly, the Texts of Scripture quoted in these Letters follow the vulgar Translation, which was compiled long after. Fifthly, the Author tells us, that he had eaten with Jesus Christ at the last Supper, though it is certain that none but the Apostles were there.

The Life of *St. Martialis*, Printed at the end of *Abdias*, which carries the Name of *Aurelian* Bishop of *Limoges*, is a spurious Piece, no less than the Epistles of that Bishop, and full as Fabulous as the History of *Abdias*, to which it is joyned. The Author by a very gross Error supposes, that *Vespasian* succeeded *Nero* immediately. He tells us that *St. Martialis* received from Jesus Christ after his Resurrection, the same Power which the Apostles had; that he never suffered either Hunger, Thirst, or Pain, and recounts several other Fables concerning him, which are no less ridiculous than those that are to be found upon the same Subject in the two Councils of *Limoges*, held in the Years 1029, and 1031.

[a] Under the Emperor *Decius*.] *St. Gregory* of *Tours* is the Man that fixes this Epocha of the coming of *St. Denis*, *Martialis*, and their Colleagues into France. There is no Author extant, who is either more ancient or more worthy to be believed than *St. Gregory*, that has given us any Account of their arrival there any sooner.

[b] Peter of *Limoges*.] This Story is related by a Monk called *Gaufridus*, in a Chronicle which is to

be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, p. 288, 289, first printed in the year 1521, with *Abdias*, and afterwards in 1571, and 1614.

[c] Frequently Printed.] They were first printed by *Badus* in the Year 1521, afterwards by *B. de* in the Year 1573, with the Notes of *Benedictus* at *Helmstadt* in 1614, at *Basil* in 1655, at *Colen* in 1560.

SIXTUS.

SIXTUS or XYSTUS.

IT is a long time ago, since under the name of Pope *Sixtus*, who presided in the Roman Chair in the Year 257. *Ruffinus* published a Book of a certain Pythagorean Philosopher named *Sixtus*, translated out of Greek into Latin. [a] *St. Jerome* often reproaches him with this Impiety; *St. Austin* suffered himself at first to be deceived by it, and has cited it in his Book of Nature and Grace, as if it had been compiled by Pope *Sixtus*, but afterwards [b] he retracts his Error. *Gelasius* placed it amongst the Heretical Books, supposing it to have been written by some Christian. [c] It is still extant, being a medley of Philosophical Sentences, useful indeed in themselves, and servicable to the Truth, but having little of the Spirit of Christianity in them. There is no mention made in it either of Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Prophets, or the Apostles; and it is full of the Errors of the *Pythagoreans* and the *Stoics*. It renders Man equal to God, and affirms that he is made of a Divine Substance, and would have him be without Passion, according to the Principle of the *Stoics*, and without Sin pursuant to the Doctrine of the *Pelagians*. There are several other *Pelagian* Errors to be found in it.

[a] Saint Jerome often reproaches him with this Impiety.] *Ep. ad Ctesiphont. contra Pelag. in Cap. 22. Jerom. in Cap. 18. Ezechielis.*

[b] He retracts this Error.] *Aug. lib. 2. retract. c. 41.*

[c] It is still extant.] In the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, but I cannot tell whether it was ever Printed by it self.

Saint GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

Saint *Gregory*, whose Name at first was *Theodorus*, and afterwards surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, that is to say, the Worker of Miracles, by reason of the great number of Miracles he is supposed to have wrought both in his Life-time, and after his Death, was born in the City of *Neo-Cæsarea* in *Pontus*, descended of a Family that was very considerable as well for its Nobility, as for its great Possessions. He was educated in the Idolatrous Worship, having a Father who was extremely bigoted to Paganism. After he had lost him at the Age of Fourteen years, his Mother would have him study Rhetoric to qualify himself for the Bar. His Sister being married to a Lawyer, who was afterwards Governor of *Palestine*, and being obliged to follow her Husband, *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* her Brothers went along with her, intending to go as far as *Beytus*, and there apply themselves to the Study of the Laws in a Celebrated School of that City. But being arrived at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, they there met *Origen*, who having exhorted them to study Philosophy, by little and little inspired into them the Principles of the Christian Faith, and soon after made them his Disciples. After they had been with him for the space of five years, *Gregory* being willing to testify the great Obligations he had to *Origen*, and besides, to give him some publick Marks of his Acknowledgment, as he took his leave of him, composed a very eloquent Discourse, which he recited before a numerous Assembly invited to that Solemnity. After his return to *Neo-Cæsarea*, he retired for some time, and lived a solitary Life, and was at last, contrary to his Inclinations, ordained Bishop of *Neo-Cæsarea* by *Phladimus* Bishop of *Amasea*, towards the year of our Lord 240. At that time there were but few Christians in that City, but the number of them was soon augmented by his vigilance and care, and by his Miracles, so that this Church became in a little time one of the most flourishing Churches in the World. His assiduity at the first Council of *Antioch* held against *Paulus Samosatenus*, as *Eusebius* tells us in the Sixth Book of his History, ch. 23. and Died a little after in the Year 265. This is an Abridgment of this Bishop's Life, drawn out of his Discourse to *Origen*, out of *Eusebius*, *St. Basil*, *St. Jerome* and *St. Gregory Nyssen* in the relation that he gives of the Life of this great Saint.

The Works of this Father (part whereof of *Quintus* Version were Printed at *Venice* in Latin in 1574, and at *Rome* in 1594.) were collected and Printed in Greek by *Gerrard Vossius*, at *Metz* in *Quarto* 1604, and afterwards in Folio at *Paris* 1621, with some other smaller Fathers.

The first, as well as the most Eloquent Work he has composed, is the Harangue he made to thank *Origen*, which was separately Published by *Hofschelius* at the end of his Edition of *Origen* against *Celsus* in 1605. He begins his Exordium with the difficulty of commending *Origen* as he deserved. Afterwards he tells him in what a strange manner the Providence of God conducted him to *Cæsarea*, the Conversations this great Man held with him and his Brother to exhort them to the Study of Philosophy, and to possess them with a Veneration for the Holy Scriptures and the Christian Religion; and afterwards he testifies the Regret he had to be obliged to quit a Master whom he so tenderly loved. This Harangue is very Eloquent, and we may say it is one of the most consummate pieces of Rhetoric that are any where extant amongst the Ancients. It was printed under the name of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* in Greek, and in Latin at *Antwerp* in 1613, in *Octavo*.

The Second Book mentioned by *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* as well as the first, is his Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes*. It was Translated by *Jacobus Billius*, who attributed it to *St. Gregory Nazianzen* upon the Credit of a Manuscript in the King's Library. But certain it is, that it belongs to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*.

St. Gregory Nazianzen, not only because we read in *Eusebius*, and in *St. Jerome*, that he composed a Book bearing that Name, which we are now void of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, but also because we find there word for word a long Passage cited by *St. Jerome*, upon the fourth Chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, as taken out of the Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes*, done by *Gregory Bishop of Pontus*. I have no more to say of this Book, but only that it is a Paraphrase, which largely explains the Moral Reflections in *Ecclesiastes*.

St. Gregory Nysien in his Life of his Father, takes notice of a Creed which, as he pretends, this Saint received from *St. John* in a Vision which he saw in the Night, and which was still preserved, being as he says, written by the hand of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*. This Profession of Faith is as follows: There is only One God the Father, who is the Father of the Living Word, his essential Wildom, his Power, and his eternal Image; it is he who being Sovereignly perfect, has begotten a Son Sovereignly perfect as himself. He is the Father of the only Son. There is only one Lord, the only Son of the only Father, God begotten of God, the Character and Image of the Divinity, the efficacious Word by which all Creatures were formed, the true Son of the true Father, the invisible Son of the invisible Father, the incorruptible of the Incorruptible, the Immortal of the Immortal, the eternal Son of him who is from all Eternity; and there is only one Holy Ghost, who proceeds from God, and was given to Men by the Son, he is the Image of the Son, and a perfect Image of him that is perfect. He is Life, and the Principle of Life to those that Live; He is the Holy Spirit, Holiness itself, and the Author of Sanctification. By him God the Father is made manifest, who is above all things and in all things, and God the Son, who is equal in all things. This is the perfect Trinity, which is not divided, but is One in Glory, in Sovereignty and Eternity.

The following Words, which some Persons do still attribute to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, belong to *St. Gregory Nysien*, who draws this Conclusion from the above-mentioned Profession. There is therefore no created Person or dependent Being in the Trinity, it admits into it nothing that is Foreign, nothing that has been out of it during a time, or that afterwards began to be there; the Father was never without the Son, nor the Son without the Holy Ghost, but the Trinity has ever been immovable and invariable.

There is likewise attributed to *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus* another Exposition of Faith, much longer, and translated by *Terrmann*, which some People might believe to be that which is cited by *St. Basil* in his Sixty Fourth Epistle, directed to one whose Name was *Alian*. But it is manifest, that this is different from that mentioned by *St. Basil*, and that it could not be composed by *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*: For, in the first place, it is different from that *St. Basil* speaks of, which was addressed to *Alian*, and made in form of a Dispute, wherein he says, That the Father and Son were one in *Hypostasis*, and only distinguished by abstraction of the Mind, the words which the *Sabellians* abused; whereas in this which is neither addressed to *Alian*, nor composed after the manner of a Dispute, the Error of *Sabellius* is clearly rejected; and it is formally said, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are Three Persons, and Three *Hypostases*. In the second place, it cannot be of the time of *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*; for the Author expressly refutes the *Arians*, saying, That those who affirm, that the Son is created of nothing, are Enemies to the Faith of the Church, and that those who reject the Word *Consubstantial*, are out of the Church. Besides, when he explains the Mystery of the Incarnation, he speaks after a manner which makes it credible, that he had the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* in view. *Cansius* attributes this Profession of Faith to *Apollinaris*, but it too plainly refutes the Error of that Heretic to be ever his. However it be, it was composed after the time of *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*. We ought to pass the same Judgment upon the twelve *Anathemas*, which follow this Exposition, and are likewise composed out of the Errors of the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*.

No body doubts of the Canonical Epistle of this Saint, which is cited in the sixth Council, and is set down by *Balhamon*. It has all the Characters of Antiquity, which any one can desire in such Monuments. It was written after the *Goths* had ravag'd *Asia*, under *Galatius*, and it is directed to a Bishop, whose Name we know not, to instruct him how he was to prescribe Penance to those who had fallen into any scandalous Crimes, during the Inundations of the *Barbarians*. In the first Canon he says, that those who having been taken Prisoners by the *Barbarians*, had eaten the Food which was given them, ought not upon that account to suffer Penance, as well because the *Barbarians* did not sacrifice any Victims to Idols, as also because that which defiles the Man is not the Meat which enters into the Man, but that which goes out of the Man. That for the same reason those Captive Women who had been forcibly carried away by the *Barbarians*, were not to be blamed; but nevertheless, that those who had lived dissolute Lives before their Captivity, were not easily to be admitted to Communion.

In the second Canon, and the three following, which to speak properly are only one Canon, he detests the Avarice and Injustice of those Persons, who took the advantage of the Captivity of these miserable Creatures to plunder them of their Goods. He shews, that they are obliged to make Restitution, and that they cannot keep in their Possession the Goods of other Men. In the sixth, he endeavours to shew with what Horror the World ought to look upon the Cruelty of those Persons, who detained as Captives those who had freed themselves out of the hands of the *Barbarians*. In the seventh he ordains, that such Offenders should not be received so much as into the number of Hearers, (this was the first Degree of Penance) who joining themselves with the *Barbarians*, had fallen upon the Christians, either by Murdering them, or shewing the Infidels where they were fled for shelter. In the eighth, he decrees the same Punishment against those who should be convicted to have broken open any ones House during the Ravage of the *Barbarians*; but then he moderates this Rigour in favour of those

who

who should make a voluntary Confession, and these he places in the third degree of Penitents. 'Tis also under this Class, that in the ninth Canon he ranges those who kept back the things which belonged to others, which they found in the midst of the Field, or in their Houses, as soon as they were convicted of it: But if they confessed the Fact, he believed them not to be unworthy to communicate at Prayers, which was the last degree of Penance. In the tenth, he exhorts those that were willing to restore their Neighbours Goods, to do it without making any fard Gain, by exacting any thing for what they had discovered, kept or found, or for any other reason whatever it might be. The last Canon is an Explication of the different degrees of Penance. Weeping and Groaning, says he, consist in standing without the Church Porch, where the Sinner ought to beg earnestly of those who go in to pray to God for him, and this is the first degree. The second degree is that of Hearers, and is performed in the Church Porch, where the Sinner is to tarry with the *Catechumens*, and go out with them, after having heard the Holy Scripture, as being unworthy of Prayer. In the Substitution, which is the third degree, the Party offending is admitted into the Body of the Church, but must go out with the *Catechumens*. Lastly, the fourth degree is that of standing up when the Person may tarry in the Church with the Faithful, without being obliged to go out of it with the *Catechumens*; and this is followed with the participation of the Sacraments. *Morinus* questions whether this last Canon belongs to *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, and conjectures, that it has been added by one of the Modern Greeks, to explain the Letter of this Saint. This Conjecture seems to be well grounded.

There goes likewise, under the name of this Father, a Discourse about the Soul, addressed to one *Tatian*, which contains the Decision of several Questions concerning the Nature of the Soul, and follows the Principles of the *Peripatetics*, but in truth it has not the least resemblance of *St. Gregory's* Style; and besides, it seems to be the product of the following Age, when *Aristotle's* Philosophy began to be in some Reputation. To be short, it is rather the work of a Philosopher, than of a Bishop.

I am no less satisfied, that the Sermons which carry the name of *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*, do really belong to another Author; for besides, that none of the Ancients have ever mentioned them, they are altogether of a different Style, which is so far from approaching the Elegance and Politeness so familiar to *St. Gregory*, that it is mean and childish. Secondly, The Author of these Sermons speaks of the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, in such terms as shew, that he lived after the rise of the Heresies of the [a] *Arians* and *Nestorians*. He often affects to make use of the word *substance* when he speaks of the Virgin *Mary*, and bestows excessive Praises upon her, which were not customary till after the Council of *Ephesus*. Lastly, it is evident, that these Homilies were composed when the Church enjoy'd Peace, and celebrated its Festivals with great Solemnity.

The three Sermons upon the Annunciation resemble the Style of *Proclus of Constantinople*, as it has been observed by him, who has made some Notes upon the Homilies of that Author. The last of the three has also been attributed to *St. Chrysostome*, but the difference of the Style shews that it is not his.

The fourth Sermon is upon the Baptism of *JESUS CHRIST*, which Festival was anciently celebrated on the day of *Epiphany*; it is more elegant than the three preceding ones, and appears to be composed by another Author, who nevertheless was not *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*, for the very same reason we have offered before; there we find the term *substance*, and that of *Consubstantial*.

[a] The *Arians* and *Nestorians*. For Example, in the first of these Homilies, it is said, that *JESUS CHRIST* is born of the Virgin, that he is God and Man without Confusion, and without Change, perfect in the Divinity, and the Humanity, like his Father in all, and consubstantial to

us. In the second, there are extraordinary Praises of the Virgin, whom he calls *substance*, which was not begun to be commonly practised till after the Synod of *Ephesus*. The Trinity is there called *Consubstantial*.

St. DIONYSIUS of Alexandria.

DYONISIUS, [a] who had formerly been a Disciple of *Origen*, and Catechist of the Church of *Alexandria*, succeeded *Heracles* in the Episcopal See of that Church, in the Third [b] Year of the Empire of *Philipppus*, and 247 of the Nativity of our Saviour. He was one of the most Learned and most illustrious Bishops of his Age; and being consulted from all parts upon matters of Religion, wrote a vast number of Letters to the most famous Bishops of the Church, besides several Works against the Heretics, and some Treatises of Divinity and Discipline. *St. Jerome* has composed a Catalogue of all his Works, and *Eusebius* has enriched his History with several Passages that he has

[a] *Dionysius*. He is Surnamed the Great, by the Ancients. *Euseb. St. Basil. Ep. ad Amphib. Maximus* and *Metaphrastes* give him this Name. He had formerly been a Rhetorician, if we may believe *Maximus*, upon the fifth Chapter of the *Hierarchie Calixta*. He was unquestionably defended of a good Family. See *Eusebius*, Lib. 7. Ch. 11. and

the Notes of *Valesius*.

[b] The third Year. 'Tis to be set down in *Eusebius's* History, Lib. 6. Chap. 33. and in his *Chronicon* 'tis the Fifth. But the Account of his History is the truest; for he supposes in his *Chronicon*, that *Philip* reigned Seven years, whereas he was Emperor but Five.

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borrowed out of him. These Fragments that are yet extant in *Eusebius* and *St. Athanasius*, make us greatly regret the loss of his Works, that would have been of infinite Advantage and Use in the Explication of the Doctrine of the Church. The Catalogue of them, as it is set down by *St. Jerome*, being without any order, we shall therefore endeavour to make another of all the Volumes of this *Diocletian*, whereof we have any knowledge, according to the order of time in which they were written, not forgetting at the same time to take notice of those Fragments that are to be found in *Eusebius* and in *St. Athanasius*.

The first Letter which he wrote, is directed to *Julian* Bishop of *Antioch*, immediately after the Persecution of the Emperor *Decius*; that is to say, at the end of the year 250. *Eusebius* has preserved two Fragments of it in the Sixth Book, Chap. 41. & 44. of his History. In the first, he gives an Account of the horrid Cruelty of the Persecutors, that fell so severely upon the poor Christians of *Antioch*, as well towards the end of the Empire of *Philip*, as also after *Decius* had published his Edict against them; and he gives us a Narrative of the Martyrdom of several Persons. In the second, he relates the History of an Old Man, whose Name was *Serapion*, who having fallen away in the time of Persecution, was enjoyed a course of Penance; till being ready to die, he sent a Young Boy to fetch him the Body of Jesus Christ, that he might die in the Communion of the Church.

He describes the Persecution of *Decius* in his Letter against *Germanus*, though it was not written long after; and he particularly relates what happen'd to himself; how, having been forcibly hurried away out of *Alexandria* by some Soldiers against his Will, he was conducted to a Town called *Taphrus*, where being refused by a Company of Country Fellows that sell upon his Guards, he was obliged to abscond a while, being only accompanied by some Priests.

[c] This is the Persecution, which is mentioned in the Fragment of a Letter to *Dionysius* and *Bishop*, related by *Eusebius* towards the end of the Eleventh Chapter of his History, Lib. 6. It was all about the end of this Persecution, when he was as yet in Exile; that he wrote a Letter concerning Penance to the Brethren in *Africa*; wherein he delivered his own Opinion, as to the manner with which they ought to treat those that had fallen away; and he there distinguishes between the different degrees of Offences. He likewise wrote at the same time a Book upon the same occasion to *Conon* Bishop of *Hermopolis*, a Letter to his Clergy at *Alexandria*, to other true Christians of *Laodicea*, where *Theophilus* was Bishop, and one to the *Armenians*, over whom *Mercurius* was Pastor, which treated of Penance; and a small Treatise of Martyrdom to *Origen*.

After Peace was restored to the Church in the Year 251. *Dionysius*, having received a Letter from *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* against *Novatian*, who had also written to him himself, he answered both one and the other. His Letter to *Novatian*, whom he calls *Novatus*, is taken notice of by *Eusebius* in his 7th Book, Chap. 45. He advises him, if he had a mind to persuade the World, that he was Ordained against his Will, as he publicly affirmed, to return back to his Duty, and use all his Endeavours to re-establish Peace and Concord. His Letter to *Cornelius* is plainly what they called in the Language of those times, a Letter of Communion: He informs him, that he was summoned to a Synod at *Antioch*, by *Helenus* Bishop of *Tarsus*, by *Primitius* of *Cappadocia*, and *Theodotus* of *Palestina*, in which they resolved to confirm the Discipline of *Novatus*; that word was sent him, that *Eusebius* Bishop of *Antioch* was dead, and *Demetrian* elected in his room; that *Alexander* Bishop of *Jerusalem* died in Prison. To these Letters he added one to the Christians at *Rome*, concerning Peace and Penance; and another to the Confessors to dissuade them from the Faction of *Novatian*. Afterwards he wrote another to the *Romans*, which he sent by *Hippolytus*, wherein he discourses of the Duty and Function of Deacons; and two more to the Confessors of *Rome*, after they had entered into the Unity of the Church. These are the Letters which he wrote under the Pontificate of *Cornelius*, and are mentioned by *Eusebius* in the last Chapter of his Sixth Book.

Under the Pontificate of Pope *Stephen*, that succeeded *Cornelius* in the beginning of the Year 255. *Dionysius* wrote a Letter to him, in which he acquaints him, That all the Eastern Churches were at last agreed to condemn the rigorous Novelty of *Novatus*, and speaks to him of the Question concerning the Validity of the Baptism of Heretics, that was in Agitation between him and *St. Cyprian*. After the Death of *Stephen*, which happened in the Year 257. he wrote another upon the same Subject to *Sixtus* his Successor, and begs of him to consider the Consequence of that business, and not to pursue it with the heat of his Predecessor, who had written Letters to *Helenus*, to *Primitius*, and to all the Bishops of *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, wherein he sent them word, that he would not Communicate any more with them, because they re-baptized Heretics; which, he says, was determined in the Councils of the Bishops. In the same Letter, he speaks against the Error of the *Sabellians*, that arose in *Palestina* a City of *Pentapolis*; against which, as he tells him there, he had written a long Letter, or rather a Discourse which he sent him. He wrote likewise to *Dionysius* and *Philemon*, Presbyters of the Church of *Rome*, about the Baptism of Heretics. In his Epistle to *Philemon*, he tells him, That his Predecessor *Heracles* caused the Heretics to abjure their Errors without Baptizing them anew; that this was the Custom of his Church; but nevertheless that he had been informed, that the *Africans* had for

[c] This is that Persecution, which *Eusebius* refers it to the Persecution under *Kalerian*; but the Circumstances agree with what happened to him under the Persecution of *Decius*, and not what he suffered under the Persecution of *Valerian*, in which

he was not carried away by Violence. One needs only consulting the two Fragments of his Letter to *Germanus*, where he gives an Account of what befell him in these two Persecutions, to be persuaded in the matter.

long

long time observed; the contrary, and that it was established in the East in a very numerous Assembly of Bishops held at *Lyons*, and *Synodus*, and in many other places; that matters standing thus, *St. Dionysius* was, that their Customs and Decrees ought not to be reversed, since it is written, That we must not remove the Land-mark which our Fathers have given us. This is the true Opinion of *Dionysius* concerning this matter, and *St. Jerome* wrongfully accuses him to have been of the *Cyprian's* Party, since he tells us in express Terms, That we ought to follow the Judgment of the Church in this Point. He says the same thing in his Letter to *Dionysius*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Rems*, and attacks his Sentiments there very boldly against *Novatian*. Lastly, He wrote a Letter, which is his Fifth to *Sixtus*, concerning the Baptism of Heretics, in which he maintains, That if a Man has been Baptized amongst Heretics, with Ceremonies wholly different from those of the Church, and confesses at last to discontinue, after he has continued in the Church a long time, participating of the Prayers, and Communicating as usual, without having been Baptized, he needs not be Baptized anew, since he has received the Body of Jesus Christ several times, and answered Amen with the rest of the Faithful. *Eusebius* seems to mention a sixth Letter, written upon the same occasion, to the same Pope; whereas the tells us he has examined this Question more copiously, though perhaps it is not different from this last.

After *Sixtus's* Death, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* wrote a Letter concerning *Kalerian*, to *Dionysius* that succeeded Pope *Sixtus*, towards the end of the Year 258. 'Twas in this, or rather in the following Year, that he wrote his Letter against *Germanus*; in which, after he has described the Persecution he suffered in the time of *Decius*, he relates what happened to him under that of *Valerian*; how the Priest *Emilianus* prohibited him to hold any more Assemblies of Christians; how having refused to obey his Orders, he was sent along with his Presbyters, to a Village near *Cephro* in *Lybia*; how these Proceedings did not hinder the Christians from holding their ordinary Assemblies. Lastly, how he preached the Gospel, and converted great Numbers of Pagans to Christianity, whilst he tarried at *Cephro*.

While he continued in this Exile, he wrote some Paschal Letters; that is to say, Letters in form of Homilies upon the Festival of *Easter*; in which, according to the ancient Custom, he afterwards the state of that Fast. He sent one of them to *Flavius*, another to *Dimitius* and *Didymus*, which I imagine to be different from the first that is addressed to the same Persons; wherein he proves, That the Festival of *Easter* ought not to be celebrated till after the vernal Equinox. He composed a Canon or Table of Eight Years. He likewise wrote another to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to many others. Peace was no sooner restored to the Church, but he returned back to *Alexandria*; tho' he was immediately obliged to depart from thence, by reason of a Sedition that arose in that City [d].

'Twas during this Retreat, that he wrote a Letter to *Hierax*, a Passage out of which *Eusebius* has borrowed, that gives an Account of a Riot that happened at that time. He likewise wrote another Letter to his Church, which he sent them on *Easter*-day.

A Pesticence [e] that succeeded this War, obliged *St. Dionysius* to comfort and encourage his Congregation with another Letter, in which he describes that admirable Charity wherewith the Christians relieved and buried those that were seized with the Plague, in a very lively manner.

In short, during the whole time of his Retirement, he never ceased to write to his Brethren, and did them more good by his Letters, than he could have done by his Presence. *Eusebius* mentions another Paschal Letter of his concerning the Sabbath, and one concerning Spiritual Exercises, and a third to *Hermannus*, written in the Seventh Year of *Galerius*, which fell out in the Year 264. Some Fragments of which he has preserved in Lib. 7. c. 10. and 23. And yet *St. Dionysius* was not only content to exhort, or instruct the Faithful by his Letters; but he applied himself vigorously to confute and extinguish the Errors that sprung up in his time.

An Egyptian Bishop named *Nepos*, understanding the Promises of the Gospel in a gross sense, and maintaining the Reign of Jesus Christ upon Earth for a Thousand Years, with an inflexible Obstinance composed a Book which he intitled, *A Confutation of the Allegorists*, where he endeavoured to prove his Opinion out of the *Apocalypse*. He brought over abundance of People to this Opinion in that part of *Africa* that was called *Arsinoe*, which unhappily proved an occasion of Schism and Division in those Churches. *Dionysius* happening to be there, judged it expedient to examine this Doctrine publicly: And because they generally set up *Nepos's* Book as an unanswerable Treatise, he consulted it *Viva voce*, and afterwards wrote two Books against it, intitled, *Of the Divine Promises*. In the first, he delivers his own Opinion upon this Question. In the Second, he answers all the Reasons urged by *Nepos*, and his Testimonies drawn out of the *Revelations*. Saying upon this last Head, That some Persons have rejected the *Apocalypse*, as being the Book of the Heretic *Cerinthus*, who admitted of no other Beatitude, but that which consisted in carnal Pleasures; that as for himself, he durst not entirely reject it, since it was esteemed by a great many Christians, but that he was persuaded it

[d] Arose in that City. 'Tis undoubtedly that Commotion, that was occasioned by *Emilianus*, Governor of *Alexandria*, who caused that City, and likewise all *Africa*, to revolt from the Emperor *Galerius*; as *Pollio* reports it. This *Emilianus* was a different Person from him that took up Arms in *Messa*, and marched against *Gaius* and *Volsianus* some years before. These two *Emilianus* are distinguished in the Epitome of *Aurelius Victor*. [e] A Pesticence. This Pesticence began in the time of *Gallus* and *Valentinian*, but it broke forth under *Gallus*, as it is observed by *Aurelius Victor* and *Pollio*. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* speaks of the latter Pesticence, and *St. Cyprian* of the former. Thus those Persons that imagined they spoke of the same Infection, are mistaken.

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St. Dionysius.

hid a hidden meaning; which could not be easily detected by any body; but he acknowledged that Book to be written by an Author inspired by the Holy Ghost, though he did not believe it to have been written by St. John the Evangelist; but by another of the same Name; as he endeavours to prove by the difference of the Style and Thoughts. *Eusebius* has preserved considerable Fragments of this Book, from whence we have drawn the above-mentioned Passages. See the Third Book of his History, Chap. 28 and 29. *Chrysostom* and *Irenaeus* also quote several of the same.

Another Error, that *Dionysius of Alexandria* opposed and refuted, is that of *Trinitarian* the Expression, in its Cradle, was much more considerable. There were several Bishops in *Antioch* that embraced the Error of *Sabellius*, who confounded the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. This Opinion was deeply rooted and established in those Quarters; that the Son of God was not distinct from the Father, as the Church of *Dionysius*, to whom this Province belonged, by virtue of the Preeminence of the Patriarchal See of *Alexandria*, no pious and watch over all the Churches of *Aegyptus* sent his Legates to that Place, to undeceive the People that were in error; but, being not able to go, thither himself, he was constrained to write to them to undeceive them by Letters. His first Letter was addressed to *Ammonius* Bishop of *Berenice*, and the Second to *Theophrastus* and *Euphranor*; and the Last to *Ammonius* and *Euphranor*. The End which he proposed to himself in writing these Letters, was to persuade these People, who had not been very well instructed, that the Father was not the Son; and that He was not the Father; but the Son that was Incarnate, and died for us. But that happened to *Dionysius* in this Affair, that finally having to do with *Maximus*, that while he opposed and attacked one Error, he spoke very favourably of the contrary. Thus going about to prove that the Son was a distinct Person from the Father, he chanced to say, That he was the Word of the Father; That he was with respect to the Father what a Vine is to the Vine-dresser, a Ship to the Builder. And lastly, That the Son did not exist before he was made. These Expressions, that seemed to establish an opposite Error to that of *Sabellius*, which afterwards was taken up by *Arianus*, gave occasion to some well-affected Catholic Persons, to carry a Complaint to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, against the Bishop of *Alexandria*. But he being advertised of the matter, wrote Four Books which he presented to the Pope; wherein he refutes not only the Error of the *Sabellians*, but also that which was attributed to himself; and having desired the Pope to send him all the Objections that were urged against him, he wrote a Treatise which he called, *A Refutation and an Apology*; because he refutes the Errors of other Men, and likewise justifies himself. St. *Athanasius*, from whom I have borrowed this Account, relates divers other Passages, that were extracted out of this Work; in a Book which he wrote about the Opinion of *Dionysius of Alexandria*; in which, he invincibly proves against the *Arians*, who had the Confidence to make use of his Authority, that his notions of the Trinity were very conformable to those of the Church, though he did not much approve of the term *Consubstantial*.

To conclude, *Dionysius of Alexandria* a little before his Death, defended the Divinity of Jesus Christ against *Paulus Samosatenus* Bishop of *Antioch*: For being invited to the Synod that was held at *Antioch* against that Heretic in the Year 264, and not being able to go thither, by reason of his Old Age and Infirmitie, he wrote several Letters to the Church at *Antioch*, wherein he explains his own Opinion, and refutes the Error of *Paulus Samosatenus*, whom he looked upon as to great a Criminal for advancing this Error, that he would not even condescend to Salute him in his Letter, considering him already as an Heretic, and one that was separated from the Church; as we find it observed by the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch*, and by *Eusebius* after them, in his Seventh Book, Chap. 27. and 29.

Baronius thinks that this Letter of *Dionysius* is the same with that which *Turrianus* published, which is inserted in the first Volume of the last Edition of the Councils, p. 85. But he is mistaken; for that Letter, which the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch* speak of, was written to the Church of *Antioch*; whereas we find this is addressed to *Paulus Samosatenus*, as appears by these first words: *We Answer what you demand of us, that we may oblige you to speak your Thoughts plainly and openly*. From whence it is manifest, That this Letter, if it is not Supposititious, was written soon after the First Synod of *Antioch*, when *Paulus Samosatenus* promised to renounce his Opinion; and in all appearance seem'd to have chang'd it effectually. But it's probable enough, that this Letter, which is cited by none of the Ancients, and which was unknown to the World before *Turrianus*'s time, was never written by *Dionysius of Alexandria*. For in the first place, The Fathers of the Second Council of *Antioch* tell us plainly, That *Dionysius of Alexandria* would by no means salute *Paulus Samosatenus*: What reason is there therefore to imagine, that he wrote to him twice, as this Letter supposes? Secondly, The Style of this Letter is extremely different from that of the other Letters writ by *Dionysius*. In the Third place, the Author of this Letter approves of the Word *Consubstantial*, and expressly tells us, That the Fathers called the Son of God by that Name. Now it is certain, that both *Dionysius of Alexandria*, and the Synod of *Antioch*, disallow'd that term; and in the time of St. *Dionysius*, a Man could not say, that the Fathers commonly made use of it. And if St. *Dionysius of Alexandria* had ever used it, it is to be believed that St. *Athanasius* would have forgotten or omitted to memorable a Passage, when he was writing in his Defence.

It is not to be imagin'd, that we have given a Catalogue of all the Works of *Dionysius of Alexandria*; for he compos'd so great a number, that notwithstanding all the Diligence that *Eusebius* used in drawing a perfect Catalogue, he is forced to say at last, and several other Letters. Now the Letters of this Father were Treatises, and his Treatises were written in the way of Letters; for after this manner he wrote some Books concerning *Nature*, to a young Gentleman named *Timotheus*; a Book of *Temptations* to *Euphranor*, and several Letters to *Basilides*; in one of which, he tells him that he had compos'd

Theognostus.

compos'd a Commentary upon the beginning of *Ecclesiastes*. We have only now one of his Letters to *Basilides*, Printed in the first Tome of the Councils, where he treats of some matters relating to Discipline. 'Tis divided into Four Canons; in the First of which, he discourses about the Fast, which the Ancient Christians observed before *Easter*; and tells us, That some Christians fasted Six days before *Easter*; others Two, others Three, after an extraordinary manner; That we ought not to break our Fast before Midnight; and that those that were able to hold on till *Easter*-morning, were more generous; That there were some Persons, who, though they did not fast at all, nay, had spent the Four first days of the last Week in sumptuous and delicate Entertainments, yet imagin'd they did Wonderful things in fasting only two days: But that they were not to be compared with those that fasted several. In the second Canon he says, That Women ought not to enter into the Church, or receive the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ while they have their Courses, but to offer their Prayers to God at Home; since none by right ought to enter the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, that is not pure in Body and Spirit. In the Third, he particularly Councils those that are superannuated, to abstain from the use of Marriage, that they may the better attend their Devotions. In the Fourth, he leaves those Persons that have had an Illusion in the Night-time, at liberty to receive or forbear the Eucharist; following the Dictates and Motions of their own Conscience.

Anastasis of *Nice*, in his 23d Question upon *Genesis*, cites a Passage drawn out of a Book of *Dionysius of Alexandria* against *Origen*; but there is no ground to believe that it was written by our *Dionysius*, who was so far from being his Adversary, that he was both his Disciple and Defender. He died in the Year 264, after he had held the See of *Alexandria* Seventeen years, and had one *Maximus* for his Successor. The Style of this Author is Pompous and lofty; he is excellent in his Descriptions and Exhortations; in his Polemical Discourses he falls upon his Adversaries with all the Vigour imaginable; he perfectly well understood the Opinion, the Discipline and Precepts of the Church; he had found piercing Judgment; he was very moderate, very discreet, and ready to take Advice. In short, the Loss of his Works is one of the most considerable Losses we could have sustain'd in this kind.

THEOGNOSTUS

THEOGNOSTUS of *Alexandria*, is an Author, (unknown to *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome*), whom St. *Athanasius* cites with Commendation, and whose Books were extant in *Photius*'s time, who read them over. We don't precisely know the time when he liv'd, though we cannot doubt but he was some time after *Origen*, and long before the Council of *Nice*. *Photius* informs us, That he compos'd Seven Books, Entitled, *Hypotyposes*; that is to say, *Institutions* &c. he gives us this Account of that Work; In the first Book he treats of the Father, and endeavours to shew, That he is the Creator of all things, against the Opinion of those that suppose Matter to be Eternal. In the second Book he advances some Arguments, whereby he pretends to prove that the Father had a Son; but speaking of this Son, he says, That he is a Creature above all Creatures that have Reason: He likewise attributes to the Son of God several other Qualities of the like Nature, as *Origen* has done: Whether he was of the same Opinion, or whether he speaks after that manner, rather by way of Disputation, than a Design to propole his own true Doctrine; or in short, whether he was somewhat mistaken in the Truth, and that to accommodate himself to the weakness of his Auditors, who having no Knowledge of the true Religion, were not capable of comprehending a perfect Instruction, he supposed it most expedient to give them an imperfect Knowledge of the Son of God, than not to speak of him at all. But though a Man may follow this Method in a Dispute, or in a Discourse, when he is constrained to say the same things often, that are not altogether conformable to his own Opinion of the matter; yet 'tis a Weakness to make use of this Pretence, to excuse those Errors that are published in any Book, where we are obliged to speak the Truth to all the World. In the Third Book, speaking of the Holy Ghost, he brings some Arguments to prove, that there is an Holy Ghost; but in the rest he falls into the same Extravagancies with those of *Origen* in his Book of *Principles*. In the Fourth Book he talks erroneously about Angels and Demons, and assigns snail Bodies to them. In the Fifth and Sixth, he treats of the Incarnation, and uses all his Endeavours to demonstrate after this manner, That it was possible for God to make himself Man. This Book likewise is full of several groundless Fancies: As for Example, when he has a mind to prove that the Son of God is circumscribed in Place by our Imagination; though in Truth he cannot be known there. In the Seventh Book, which he wrote concerning the Creation of God, he discourses of matters of Religion after a manner conformable to the Doctrine of the Church, and especially of the Son of God, of whom he treats in the Last Part. His Style is elevated, and very *Antiquarian*: His Discourses have the Beauty of Old *Athens*, but without Affectation, so that in his Compositions he does not go very far from the ordinary manner of Conversation; and yet he avoids saying mean things.

Thus I have shown you what *Photius* has inform'd us of this Author. St. *Athanasius* calls him an Admirable Man, Studious and Eloquent; and is so far from accusing him for having any Unorthodox Sentiments about the Divinity of the Word, that he cites him as a Witness of Consubstantiality. Learn, says he, O *Arians*, ye Rebels to Jesus Christ, that the Eloquence of *Theognostus* has made use of the Word Substance; for behold after what manner he discourses in his Second Book of In-

Theognostus

Instructions: The Substance of the Son is not a strange Substance, he was not produced of nothing, but was begotten of the Substance of the Father, as the Raye is of the Light, or a Vapour of Water; for the Vapour is not Water, nor is the Ray Light; but neither one nor the other is a Stranger to that which produces it: Thus the Son is as it were the gentle running of the Substance of the Father; yet so as that the Father suffers no Division: For as the Sun is not diminished, though it produces Rayes continually; so likewise the Father is not diminished in begetting the Son, who is his Image. This Passage, and the Authority of *St. Athanasius*, ought to convince us, that *Photsius* has wrongfully accused *Theognostus* to have erred concerning the Divinity of the Son, upon the score of a few Expressions that did not agree with those of his own Age; without taking notice, that though the Ancients have spoken differently as to this Point, yet the Foundation of the Doctrine was always the same; and that it is an horrid Injustice to require them to speak as nicely, and with as much precaution, as those that lived after the Birth and Condemnation of Heresies. But 'tis an ordinary Fault with *Photsius*, who lived in an Age when these Mysteries were illustrated, and in which People talk'd with a great deal of exactness, to condemn the Ancients almost all along with too much Severity.

The same *St. Athanasius* in another Work concerning the Explication of these words in the Gospel; *He that blasphemeth against the Holy Ghost shall receive forgiveness of his Sin, neither in this World, nor in that to come*; tells us, that *Origen* and *Theognostus* have written, that the Sin against the Holy Ghost was falling away after Baptism, and after he has delivered the Passage out of *Origen*: He likewise adds that out of *Theognostus*, who says, 'That he who has passed into the First or Second Bounds is less culpable; but he that passes the Third, has no hopes of Pardon.' That the First and Second Bound is the Knowledge of the Father, and that the Third is Baptism, which makes us Partakers of the Holy Ghost; which is confirmed by these Words of the Gospel, *I have still many things to tell you*, &c. after which, continues he, 'Our Saviour levels, if I may so say, his Discourse in favour of those who cannot comprehend the most perfect things; whereas the Holy Ghost dwells in those that are perfect. But we must not therefore conclude, That the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost surpasseth that of Jesus Christ, but that our Saviour abaseth himself in favour of those that are not altogether perfect; whereas the Holy Ghost is the Seal of Perfection, which we receive in Baptism: Thus it is not that the Holy Ghost is more excellent than the Son, because the Sin which is committed against him, is without hopes of Remission; but it is, that these imperfect Men, that is to say, those that are not baptized, may obtain Forgiveness of their Sin; whereas those that have once tasted the Celestial Gifts, and once are touched, have no more excuse, nor means to avoid Punishment. *St. Athanasius* afterwards confutes this Explication, which appears to be very agreeable to the Opinion of *Novatian*, and gives another Interpretation, which is far more Natural.

A THENOGENES.

Theognostus we may join the Martyr *Athenogenes*, who composed a Hymn, before he was cast into the Fire, wherein he speaks of the Trinity; as *St. Basil* assures us in the 29th Chapter of his Book of the Holy Ghost.

DIONYSIUS Bishop of Rome.

DIONYSIUS Bishop of Rome, who presided in that See, from the Year 258. to the Year 270. writ a Letter against the Sabellians, a Fragment whereof remains still preserved by *St. Athanasius* in his Book concerning the Decision of the Council of Nice; in which, discoursing against the Sabellians, he falls upon the contrary Doctrine, that was afterwards maintained by the *Arians*. He proves that the Word was not Created, but Begotten of the Father from all Eternity, and distinctly explains the Mystery of the Trinity. This Fragment is plainly taken out of a Letter written by *Dionysius*, in the Name of the Roman Synod, at the time when *Dionysius* of Alexandria was accused of falling into the opposite Error to that of the Sabellians.

MALCHION.

MALCHION, a very Eloquent Man, was, after he had taught the prophane Sciences with a great deal of Reputation in the City of Antioch, ordained Presbyter of that Church, for the Purity of his Faith and his Doctrine. He had a famous Dispute against *Paulus Samosatenus* in the Second Council of Antioch, held in the Year 270. in which, after he had clearly discovered the Errors which that Heretic endeavoured to conceal, he prevailed with the Council to condemn him. This Conference was taken in Writing by some Notaries, and was extant not only in the time of *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome*, who mention it, but also in the time of *Leontius*; that is to say, towards the end

Archibius

of the Sixth Century: He speaks of it in his First Book against the Nestorians, and recites some Fragments of it in the Third Book. However it is not certain that they are genuine, any more than the Fragments of another Letter of the Council of Antioch, mentioned by *Eusebius*. *St. Jerome* tells us, that he was likewise Author of a Letter written in the Name of that Council, against *Paulus Samosatenus*, and spoken of by *Eusebius* in the Seventh Book of his History, Chap. 30.

ARCHELAUS.

ARCHELAUS Bishop of Mesopotamia, published a Dispute in the Syriack Language, which he had with a Heretic of the Manichean Party, that came out of Persia; and *St. Jerome* assures us, that in his time it was Translated into Greek. This Author flourished in the time of the Emperor Probus. There is a Fragment of this Writing in the Sixth Catechetick Lecture of *St. Cyril* of Jerusalem. [This Dispute it self, translated into Latin by an Ancient Hand, was published by *Valesius* at the end of his Edition of *Socrates* and *Sozomenus* Paris, 1668. It is imperfect. *Bigotius* found it in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and communicated it to *Leffius*.]

A N A T O L I U S.

ABOUT the same time, under the same Emperor, and under *Carus* his Successor, *Anatolius* also flourished, born at Alexandria, and Bishop of Laodicea in Syria; a Man of profound Learning, very well skilled in *Aristherick*, *Geometry*, *Physick*, *Astronomy*, *Grammar*, and *Rhetorick*. *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* assure us, that the greatness of his Spirit, the force of his Eloquence, and the depth of his Knowledge, abundantly appear in a Book of his concerning *Easter*; and that he shew'd the Dexterity of his Address and Politicks in the Siege of Alexandria, which by his Prudent Counsels he saved from an entire Destruction that threatened it. *Eusebius* in the last Chapter of his Seventh Book, has preserved a Fragment of this Treatise about *Easter*, concerning the time wherein that Festival is to be celebrated. This same Author likewise composed Ten Books of *Aristherick*, and left behind him several Monuments of his Learning and Exactness; particularly in those things that concerned the Holy Scriptures.

Aegidius Bucerius hath given us an entire Version of the Treatise about *Easter* by *Anatolius*, which he Copied out of an ancient Manuscript. He pretends that it was done by *Ruffinus*, and that it answers the Treatise of *Anatolius*. And indeed, the Fragment cited by *Eusebius*, is to be found intirely in Latin, and the Passages cited by *Bede* are there word for word. But it would be no strange thing, for an Impostor to insert a Passage mentioned by *Eusebius*, that was so easy to find, and for this Work to be forged since *Bede's* time. Though I am of Opinion, That this Canon is ancient, though full of Errors, and perhaps a little corrupted by him that Translated it.

VICTORINUS.

VICTORINUS Bishop of Passaw [a], a City of the ancient Pannonia, situate upon the Drave in Syria, and not of Poitiers in France, prebich for a very indifferent Author. [b] *St. Jerome* says of him, That he did not understand Latin so well as Greek; that the Style of his Works

[a] Bishop of Passaw, a City of the ancient Pannonia, and not of Poitiers in France. [Monseigneur Launoy has written a Dissertation on purpose, to prove that he was not Bishop of Poitiers in France, but of a City in Pannonia called Petabien or Petavium, now called Passaw. He quotes in this Dissertation Five several places of *St. Jerome*, where mention is made of this Victorinus, twice in his Catalogue, once against *Vigilantius*, once against *Helvidius*, and once upon the Thirty sixth Chapter of *Ezekiel*; we find in the ancient Editions *Petabienensis*, or *Petavienensis*, or *Pistabienensis*, and that he is also called by this Name in the Martyrologies of *Victorinus* and *Ado*, and in some other Ancient Writers, as well as in the first Edition of the Councils by *Merlinus*; and in the Edition of the Commentary upon the Apocalypse attributed to this Author. And he concludes from all these Authorities, and from several other Reasons that he produceth, that this Victorinus was not Bishop of Poitiers, but of a certain City in Pannonia called Petabien or Petavium, and now Passaw. He likewise observes in another small Dissertation, that there were five Authors of this Name. The First is the Defender of the Opinion of *Praxeas*, whereof *Tertullian* makes mention. The Second is our Author. The Third is a Rhetorician of Rome, of whom *St. Aspin* speaks in the Eighth Book of his Confessions, Chap. 2. The Fourth is mentioned by *Gennadius*, who was of *Marseilles*. And the Last is an Orator, Surnamed *Lampadius*, mentioned by *Photsius*, Cod. 101. See this Dissertation.

[b] *St. Jerome* saith of him, that he did not understand Latin so well as Greek. These Passages of *St. Jerome*

Pierius.

St. Jerome are in this Catalogue: *Nim aque Latine ut Grace novar; inde opera ejus grandia sensibus, viliora sine compositione verborum.* And in his Commentary upon *Isaiah*, Lib. 1. *Imperius fer-*

mona, non tamen scientia. Epist. ad Magnum; *Victorino Martyri in suis libris licet desit eruditio, non desit tamen eruditionis voluntas.*

is simple and mean, though the Sense is very high; that he had no Notion of Style, though he understood the Holy Scriptures very well; that he had no Learning, but that he had great Inclinations that way. His Works, whereof St. Jerome has compiled a Catalogue, are, besides a Treatise against all Heresies, some Commentaries upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Isaiah*; and as far as the Vision of the Four-footed Beasts in *Ezechiel*; *Ecclesiastes*, the *Canticles*, and the [c] *Revelations*.

We have in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, a Commentary upon the *Apocalypse* by *Victorinus*, with a Preface attributed to St. Jerome. It is said in this Preface, That *Victorinus* was of the same Opinion with *Papias* and *Nepos*, touching the Reign of the Thousand Years; and the very same thing is likewise observed by St. Jerome in his Catalogue: Nevertheless we find the contrary in this Commentary, and that Opinion seems to be plainly rejected there, as belonging to the Heretick *Cerinthus*. There is also mentioned in this Book an Epitome of *Theodorus*, who reckoned Twenty Four Books of the Old Testament. Now this *Theodorus* having lived under *Justinian*, we must of necessity conclude, that the Author of this Commentary lived since that time; however, 'tis far more probable that this Citation of *Theodorus* has been added since, because the Author of this Commentary lived before *Justinian's* Age. For he believed with the Ancients, that the Souls of Men should not be happy till after the Day of Judgment; and that *Nero* was Antichrist; which Opinions were no where maintained in *Justinian's* time. 'Tis likewise very probable, that they have altered somewhat of what he says in his Commentary concerning the Reign of the Thousand Years; besides that, he formally rejects only the Error of *Cerinthus*, who believed no other Beatitude but that of a Temporal Reign. 'I don't believe,' says he, that the Reign of the Thousand Years will be at the end of the Judgment; or if there is one, 'we ought to believe that it ends after the Thousand Years are completed.' Thus we cannot be certainly assured, that this Commentary does not belong to *Victorinus*; on the contrary, 'tis somewhat probable that it is his.

[c] And upon the *Revelations*.] He likewise wrote some other Works, and made a Commentary upon St. Matthew, as St. Jerome tells us, *Prefat. in*

Matth. And in his Catalogue he says, That he composed several other Works.

PIERIUS.

PIERIUS, a Priest and Catechist of *Alexandria*, instructed the People of that Church under the Empire of *Carus* and *Dioctetian*, at the same time when *Theonas* was Bishop of that place. He composed several sorts of Treatises, that were extant in St. Jerome's time, with so much Eloquence, that he was called the young *Origen*. It is certain, he lived a very austere Life, and embraced a voluntary Poverty. He was excellently well skilled in *Logic* and *Rhetoric*. The Persecution being ended, he came to *Rome*, where he continued a considerable time. He wrote a great Homily upon *Hosea*, which he recited on *Easter-Eve*, wherein he takes notice, that in his time on *Easter-Eve* the People carried in the Church till after Midnight. *Ptoleus* tells us, That in this Homily he discoursed about the Cherubims that *Moses* placed over the Ark. The same Author read another Work composed by *Pierius*, but he does not acquaint us with the Title of it, that contained a dozen Volumes; in which, according to the Testimony of *Ptoleus*, he has some particular Opinions different from those of the Church. His Doctrine upon the Trinity is Orthodox concerning the Persons of the Father and the Son, though he uses the Word *Substance* and *Nature* to signify a Person. But his manner of speaking about the Holy Ghost is dangerous, and scarce Orthodox; because he says, That the Glory of the latter is less than the Glory of the Father and the Son. *Ptoleus* moreover adds, That he wrote a Book upon St. Luke's Gospel; in which he proves, That the Disrespect shown to Images, falls back upon that which they represent. As for his Style, he tells us, It is clear, smooth and easy; that it is by no means elaborate, but flows equally and gently, as in Discourses composed *Extempore*; and that it is full of Enthyemens.

METHODIUS.

METHODIUS, Bishop of *Olympus* or [a] *Patara* in *Lycia*, and afterwards of *Tyre* in *Palestine*, (who suffered Martyrdom at *Chalcis*, a City of *Greece*, towards the end of *Dioctetian's* Persecution in the Year 302. or 303.) composed in a clear elaborate Style, a large Work against *Porphyrius* the Philosopher; an excellent Treatise about the Resurrection against *Origen*; another about the *Pythionissa* against the same; a Book Entitled, *The Banquet of Virgins*; one about *Free-*

Methodius.

[a] Or *Patara*.] St. Jerome tells us, he was Bishop of *Olympus*; *Suidas* adds, or of *Patara*. Though we are not therefore to think that there were two *Methodius's*. But it is probable that *Patara*, which was a City of *Lycia*, was likewise called *Olympus*; because it was built upon a Mountain so called. *Methodius* likewise calls himself *Eubulus*, and that is the Name he uses in his *Banquet*

of *Virgins*. *Eusebius* does not speak of this Author, because he wrote against *Origen*. St. Jerome reports, That some Persons said, he suffered Martyrdom in the time of *Decius* and *Valerian*; which Account is followed by *Suidas*. But St. Jerome, and the Martyrologies after him, relate, that he suffered Martyrdom at *Chalcis* towards the End of the last Persecution.

Will; Commentaries upon *Genesis* and the *Canticles*, and several other Pieces that were extant in St. Jerome's time. At present, besides *The Banquet of Virgins* that was published entire not long ago by *Possinus* a Jesuit, we have several considerable Fragments of this Author cited by St. *Eusebius* and *Ptoleus*, and others, found in Manuscripts, and collected together by Father *Combes*, who has Printed them, together with the Works of *Amphilochius* and *Andreas Cretenfis*. But afterwards *Possinus* found *The Banquet of Virgins* entire in a Manuscript belonging to the Vatican Library, and Translated it into Latin, and sent it into France, where it was Printed in the Year 1657. Revised and Corrected by another Manuscript. We cannot doubt, that this is the true genuine Work of *Methodius*; as well because it carries all the Marks of Antiquity in it, that a Book can possibly have; as also because it contains Word for Word all the Passages that *Ptoleus* has cited out of this Work of *Methodius*, and another place cited by St. *Gregory Nyssen*. 'Tis written by way of Dialogue, in which he introduces a Woman named *Gregorium*, who tells her Friend *Eubulus* all the Conversation that passed in a Meeting of Ten Virgins, which the learnt of *Theopatra*. It was composed by *Methodius*, in imitation of a certain Book, very much resembling it, written by *Plato*, and Entitled, *The Banquet of Socrates*. After that *Gregorium* and *Eubulus* have exchanged the usual Complements, and *Gregorium* has given a short Description of the Place, where these Ten Virgins were assembled; he feigns that *Aretas*, in whose Garden they were met, requests each of them to make a Discourse upon *Virginity*; which he repeats one after the other.

The First is that of *Marcella*, who enlarges very much upon the Greatness and Excellence of *Virginity*. She makes it appear how choice a thing *Virginity* is; and that it is a difficult thing to preserve it amidst so many Thousand Temptations we meet with: That it is necessary to meditate incessantly upon the Holy Scripture, in order to keep it unpolluted and undefiled: That *Virginity* was scarce so much as known under the ancient Law, when Men were permitted to Marry even their own Sisters, and to take several Wives: But that God by little and little has taught Men in the first place to preserve their Chastity, and afterwards to embrace *Virginity*: That Jesus Christ came into the World to instruct them in this Virtue by the Influence of his own Example; that he is the Prince of *Virgins*, as well as the Prince of Pastors; that the Company of *Virgins* has the first place in his Kingdom, though they are the least in number: And this he justifies by a Passage out of the *Revelations*, Chap. the 14th.

Since this Conversation of *Marcella* might seem to throw some Disreputation upon the Sanctity of Marriage, *Theophrastus* proves in the second place, that Jesus Christ in making the great Excellencies of *Virginity* known to the World, did not design thereby to banish Marriage, and entirely abolish so Sacred an Institution. She says, That the Ecclesiastical *Adam* denotes and signifies the Passion of Marriage; that God is the Author of Generation, and that he forms the Infants that come into the World: Here *Marcella* interrupts the Series of her Discourse, and enquires of her, How it comes to pass, if Infants are conceived and born by the Will of God, that he permits the Children of Adulterers to come into the World; that these Children thrive, and are often more perfect in their Body and Mind; and also become better Christians than others: That nevertheless, Experience daily acquaints us with the truth of this Assertion; so that we ought to understand this Saying in the Scripture, *The Children of Adulterers shall be consumed by Fire*, only of those that are guilty of this Sin. *Theophrastus* returns this Answer to the Objection, That God is not the Author of Adulterers, though he forms the Infants that are born of such Copulations; and this he illustrates by the Example of a Man that makes Earthen Vessels in a place enclosed with four Walls full of Holes, through which he is furnished with Clay, of which he makes his Work: Now if those that serve him are mistaken in taking one hole for another; and if so happen that his Work is not such as it ought to be, the fault would lie neither in the Workman himself, nor in the Clay, but in those that had made a wrong Application of the matter; That after the same manner, we ought not to cast the Sin of Adulterers either upon God that makes Men; or upon the Matter of which they are made, or upon the Power that is given to Men to beget Children, but upon the wicked Inclinations of those Persons that use these things in a dishonest manner; that everything in the World is really Good in it self, but becomes Ill through the ill use and management of it. She continues afterwards to prove, by the admirable Beauty and Harmony that so visibly appears in the Contexture of our Bodies, that God is the Author of them. She observes that all Infants, even those that are begotten in Adultery, have their tutelar Angels to guard them immediately after their Conception; that the Soul is in its Nature immortal; that it is not generated by our Parents, but proceeds from God who inspirith it. In short, after she has thus answered this Objection, she concludes, That it is permitted for Men to Marry, though *Virginity* is a more perfect State than Marriage.

The Third Discourse goes under the Name of *Thalia*, who applies the words of *Adam* to his Wife in *Genesis*, to our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, and his Church; and following the Opinion of the Apostle, she adds, That the Word was the Wisdom of God; who existing before all Ages, communicated himself after a very particular manner to the first Man; but that Man having violated and transgressed

the Commissioners of God, became Mortal and Corruptible; and that it was necessary for the Word to make himself Man, to deliver him from the Curse and Tyranny he had rendered himself obnoxious to, and save him from Corruption by his own Death and Resurrection. That it is upon this account, that the Son of God came into the World, to unite himself to the Church, as to his Spouse; which through this means became his Flesh and his Bones; that he died for her; that he purified her by Baptism, and by his Holy Spirit; that these words, *Increase and Multiply*, are accomplished and fulfilled every day in the Church, which increases in Graces and Beauty by the Communication of the Word, and by the Union it maintains with him; that *Catechumens* are as it were Infants; that are as yet in their Mother's Belly; that being perfectly instructed, they are born through Baptism, and at last become perfect full-grown Men; that we ought nevertheless to abate these Words, and employ them, to oppose Virgins, to which St. Paul exhorts the Faithful, not allowing Marriage, it self, and second Marriage in particular, but as a Remedy for Incontinence; like one that should desire a Person that is Sick and Indisposed to eat on a Fast-day, and fast it him; it were to be wished that you were able to Egle, a lot of him one day, for you know eating is forbidden; but since you are sick, it is expedient for you to eat; that you may not die.

In the Fourth Discourse, that goes under the Name of *Theophrastus*, it is maintained, That nothing is more efficacious than Virginitie, to make a Man enter again into Paradise, and enjoy a blessed Immortality.

In the Fifth *Theophrastus* endeavours to demonstrate, That the most excellent Gift we can present to God, and the most worthy of him, is to embrace Virginitie; and the gives several Cautions and Advancements to Virgins how to preserve their Virginitie without Spot or Blemish.

Agathe, that manages the Conference after *Theophrastus*, undertakes to prove in the Sixth Discourse, that Virginitie ought to be accompanied with Vertue and good Works; and to this purpose she explains the Parable of the Ten Virgins.

Procula afterwards begins the Seventh Discourse, wherein she shews the Excellency of Virginitie; because of all Vertues, this is that which has the Honour to be the Spouse of Jesus Christ. She explains a certain place out of the Sixth Chapter of the *Canticles*, vers. 7. and 8. There are threecore Queens, and fourcore Concubines, and Virgins without number. My dove, my undefiled is but one.

Thecla, assuming the Discourse after this, observes, That the Greek word that signifies Virginitie, only by adding one Letter to it, denotes an Union with God, and a frequentation of Heavenly Things. She takes occasion from thence to shew, That Virginitie elevates us up to Heaven, and makes us despise the Vanities of things below; and having cited a place in the *Revelations*, Chap. 12. concerning a Woman that is there described, she explains it of the Church. In short, after she has drawn some Allegories from Numbers, she exhorts all Virgins to persevere in their Virginitie, and to resist the Attacks of the Serpent; she is to say, the Temptations of the Devil. From thence she launches out into other matter, and shows that Men are free Agents, and that they are not necessitated to do good or ill by the Influences and Configurations of the Stars, deriding the Effects that the Astrologers attribute to the Constellations because of their Names; For, says she, if there was any such thing as fatal Necessity from the beginning of the World, it was no purpose for God to place the Stars of Men, and the Stars of Beasts in order; and that if there was, was not a necessity at that time, wherefore should God establish it, since the World was then in its full perfection, and in a time which they called the *Golden Age*? She afterwards demonstrates; That if we were necessitated by the Fatality of our Nativitie under such and such a Constellation, it would follow, that God who is the Author of the Stars, and of their Motion and Disposition, would likewise be the Author of Sin and Iniquity. She adds, That Laws being contrary to things that are done by a fatal Necessity, it is impossible that these Laws should be made by mere Fatality. For, says she, it is not to be supposed that this Fatality would destroy it self. Now, if those that had a share in making these Laws, were not subject to this fatal Necessity, why should we not pass the very same Judgment upon others? Besides, if such a Fatality really took place, it would be Injustice either to recompence the Good, or punish the Bad; or rather, there would be neither Good nor Evil in the World, since every one would be constrained to Good or Evil. Afterwards to explain the Cause of Evil, she says, There are two contrary Motions in us; one of which is called the *Concupiscence of the Flesh*; the other, the *Concupiscence of the Spirit*; that This is the Original of all Good, and the Other the Cause of all Evil.

Athenistis, Tylina taking up the Discourse, explains in the Ninth Discourse a place of *Leviticus* V. 36. Chap. 29. where mention is made of the Feast of the Seventh Month; that is to say, the Fifteenth of September; which is the *Synepesia*, or Feast of Tabernacles. She reprehends the Jews for stopping at the bare Letter of Scripture, without penetrating into the hidden mysterious Sense; and for taking the Figures of things to come, as Marks of things that were already past. She instances in the *Paschal Lamb*; which they did not comprehend to be a Type of Jesus Christ, who at the Day of Judgment shall save Souls marked with his own Blood; That the Law was the Figure of the Gospel; That these Shadows and Representations are no more, but that we shall have a perfect Knowledge of all things when we shall be raised up from the Dead; That Man was created Immortal, but that his Sin causing him to incline towards the Earth, God made him Mortal, lest he should continue a Sinner everlastingly; That for this reason he separated the Soul from the Body; that so the Sin, which is in the Body, being dead and destroyed, he might raise it up again immortal, and delivered from the tyranny of Sin; That we ought to adorn this Body, which may be called a Tabernacle, with Faith, with Charity, Vertue, and particularly with Chastity; That those that live chastely in the state of Marriage, adorn it

in part, but not so perfectly as those that have made a Profession of Virginitie; That those Persons who have thus adorned and set out the Tabernacle of their Bodies in this Life, shall enjoy after the Resurrection a Thousand Years of Repose and Felicity upon the Earth with Jesus Christ, that afterwards they shall follow him to Heaven; and that this is the promised Beatitude, in which there shall be no more Tabernacles; that is to say, in which our Bodies shall be changed, and become incorruptible, and Men shall be made like Angels.

Lastly, *Domina*, to shew the Excellency of Virginitie, falls into a very obscure Allegory upon a place of Scripture taken out of the Book of *Judges*. After her Harangue is ended, *Arrete*, assuming the Discourse, tells them, That to be truly a Virgin, it is not sufficient barely to preserve and keep Concupiscence of Body, but that it is likewise necessary to purify ones self from all Sensual Desires; That we actually dishonour and sully Virginitie, when we abandon our selves to Pride, or permit a Spirit of Vanity to possess us, because we have preserved our Bodies chaste; That this is to do like the Pharisees, who made every thing appear clean without, while they were full of Impurities within; That we ought to be Virgins both in Body and Spirit, and that we must watch and labour incessantly, lest Idleness and Negligence give an open entrance to other Sins. After this Discourse, all of them sing their Prayers, and several times repeat, 'I preserve my self chaste for thee, O my Divine Spouse, and desire to walk before thee with a burning Lamp. At last *Gregorius* and *Methodius*, Surnamed *Eubulus*, who entertained themselves with the Discourses of these Virgins, discuss this Question, viz. Who were the most perfect Virgins, either those that feel no Motions of Desire, or those that feel them, and though they are assaulted and tormented by them, yet heroically resist and extinguish them? *Gregorius* gave the preference to the first; But *Methodius* shews her by the Example of Mariners, Physicians, and Wrestlers, that those Virgins who preserve themselves chaste in the midst of those violent Agitations and Tempests that are excited by their Passions, who have the Art to cure the various Diseases of Concupiscence, and cannot only resist, but also defeat the disorderly Motions of the Flesh, deserve a great deal more than those that have no Appetites and Inclinations to struggle with.

This Dialogue is full of Allegories, and Citations out of Scripture explained in a mystical Sense; and the Doctrine contained in it is exceeding Orthodox. He does not condemn, or speak dishonourably of Marriage, even when he is setting out Virginitie to the greatest Advantages; a Moderation seldom to be found in the Ancients. *Proclus* tells us, That this Book has been corrupted by the Heretics; and that there are some Expressions in it, which the *Arians* use. And indeed he tells us in the Seventh Discourse, That the Son who is above all Creatures, made use of the Testimony of the Father, who alone is greater than he. But if by reason of this single Expression, we must immediately cry out, that this Dialogue has been abused by the *Arians*, we must likewise say the same thing of the Gospel of St. John; and there is no greater difficulty in giving a good Sense to this Expression in *Methodius*, than in the Gospel; and so much the rather, since in the same place, and indeed as often as the speaks of the WORD in this Dialogue, he says, That he was before all Ages: And towards the end of the following Discourse, which is the Eighth, explaining these Words of the Psalmist, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. We ought to observe, cries he, that he says, *Thou art my Son*; being willing to have it known that he had from all time the quality of the Son, that he will never cease to have it, and that he who was begotten, was, and ever will be the same. As for what concerns the following Passage, *this day have I begotten thee*; it is to show, that he who was before all Ages in Heaven, was born in time for the good of the World. A little after he takes occasion to speak of the Heretics, who have erred concerning the Trinity. Some of them, says he, as *Sabellius*, have erred concerning the Person of the Father, who maintained that it was the Almighty that suffered: Others concerning the Son, as *Artemus* and some others, that affirm, he was only a Man in outward appearance: Others concerning the Holy Ghost, as the *Ebionites*, who pretend that the Prophets spoke of themselves; For I will not speak of *Marion*, *Valentinus*, and *Helicesaites*. These Words demonstrate, that we may very well defend *Methodius* from the Imputation of any Error concerning the Trinity. I cannot press any more time to observe, that he taught the Opinion of the Millenaries in this Treatise, or to give an exact relation of his Doctrine, which may be learnt out of the Abridgment we have made of his *Banquet of the Virgins*. The Treatise of the *Resurrection* was written against *Origen's* Opinion, who believed that Men were not to be raised up again from the Dead in the Flesh. This Book also was composed in form of a Dialogue between *Aglaophon*, who maintained *Origen's* Assertion, and *Proclus*, and *Methodius* or *Eubulus*, who dispute against him. St. *Epiphanius* has cited a large Fragment of it in his Account of the Heresie of *Origen*; and Father *Cambesius* has added some other Fragments to it, taken out of a Manuscript of *Sermonides*. He first of all proves under the Person of *Proclus*, That Man was created Immortal, that Death was occasioned by his Sin, of which it is the Punishment; That Sin was caused by the Envy of the Devil; and that the Devil himself, who was created in Righteousness like to the other Angels, fell through the Sin of Envy, and an inordinate Passion he had for Women. That our first Parents had a real Body and real Flesh before their Transgression; That the Fig-leaves wherewith they covered themselves, denote that after the Death of Man, Sin shall be entirely rooted out of the Heart: For, though Mens Sins are blotted out by Baptism, yet nevertheless there remains a Root still, that shoots up young Branches in this Life: So that all we can do to hinder these Branches from spreading, is to root them up, and prune them often with the Pruning-knife of the Word of God. He tells us, that Man is like a cast Statue, which having been disfigured by some Accident, the Workman that made it, calls it a new before he erects it again; That after the same manner, God Almighty who made Man, was willing that his Work which was disfigured by Sin, should

should be destroy'd by Death, that to be might be establish'd by the Resurrection; That it is a folly to imagine a Resurrection of the Soul, since the Soul does not die. That Air, Earth, Heaven, and the World shall not be destroy'd at the Day of Judgment, but that they shall only be purged and renewed by the Fire of Heaven; That Men shall not change their Nature at the Resurrection, and that they shall not be transformed into Angels; but that they will have Body and Flesh, though immortal and incorruptible. All this is extracted from the words of *Proclus*, *St. Epiphanius* afterwards cites those of *Methodius*, who continues to refute *Origen's* Errors about the Resurrection, and who likewise endeavours to prove in the same place against the same Author, That the Body cannot pass the Chains and Prison of the Soul; That the Paradise where *Adam* lived was upon Earth; That Man does not consist of the Soul alone, as *Plato* believed, but that the Body and Soul are the two parts of him; That 'tis Fabulous to say, that Souls were thrown headlong down from Heaven in their Bodies, or that they passed through Vortices of Elementary Fire, and through the Waters of the Firmament before they came to the Earth. And at last he makes several curious observations upon the Scriptural Notion of Flesh, and of the Sin that dwells in our Bodies, explaining at the same time several places of the Apostles. *Phoebus* has cited these Explications all along, and added besides, what the same Author has delivered about those Persons that were raised up to Life before *Jesus Christ*, about the Apparitions of the Dead, and the Parable of *Dives and Lazarus*, in which he concludes, that Souls keep the Form of their Bodies in another World, and are there punished and rewarded before the Day of Judgment. There still remains a certain Passage of it, which is supposed to belong to the same Work quoted by *St. John Damascene*, in his Third Oration concerning Images; wherein he says, That Christians make Golden Images representing Angels for the Glory of God. But I very much question whether this Passage belongs to *Methodius*; or if it does, it must be taken in another sense than that in which *Saint John Damascene* understood it; and that by Angels, *Principalities and Powers*, he means the Kings of the Earth, as the Words that immediately precede seem to intimate.

The Treatise of *Free Will* was composed in Form of a Dialogue or Dispute between a *Valentinian* and a *Catholic*. The former affirms, That Matter which is Eternal, was the cause of Evil, or of Sin. On the other hand, the Orthodox Christian makes it appear, that there could not be two Eternal Principles; that if Matter were Eternal, yet Evil would not be Eternal, because the qualities of Matter could not be Eternal; that Matter is not the cause of Evil; and that God is not the cause of Evil, because Evil consists not in a real thing, but in the ill use that we make of our Liberty; that Man having been created with a Liberty either to obey, or not to obey the Commandments of God he sins, when using this Liberty the wrong way, he does things contrary to the Law of God.

These are the Works of *Methodius*, which *St. Jerome* mentions. *Phoebus* has made an Extract of a Treatise about created things, written by *Methodius*. In the First, he says, That these words of *Jesus Christ*, *Cast not Pearl before Swine*, ought not to be understood of Doctrine, but of Vertues; and that the meaning is not, that we must conceal Mysteries from the Infidels, but that we must not prophanize the Christian Vertues; such as Chastity, Temperance and Justice, with the Pleasures of the World that are signified by the Swine. In the Second, he confutes those that thought the World had no beginning; an Opinion which he attributes to *Origen*. In the Third, he says, That the Church is so called, because it calls Men to fight against Pleasures. [In the Greek Ecclesia, which signifies a Church, or any Assembly of Men, comes from *ekkalein*, to call; because the Publick Assemblies were convened by publick Cryers, who called the People together.] In the Fourth, he says, That there were two Vertues or Powers that concurred to the Creation of the World; the Father that created it of nothing, and the Son that polished and completed the Work of the Father. The Son, says he, who is the Almighty hand of the Father. In the Fifth he asserts, That *Moses* was the Author of the Book of *Jobs*, and he explains the first Words of the Book of *Genesis*, *In principio, in the beginning, of the Wisdom of God*. He observes, that God the Father begot the Word, or the Wisdom which was in Him before the Creation of the World; that this Wisdom being a Principle without Beginning, became the Principle of all things; which is a Catholic way of speaking, and far remote from the *Arian* Opinion; though it does not seem to be altogether conformable to the Expressions of our Age. To conclude, In the last Fragment he cites a Passage of *Origen*, who would endeavour to prove by Allegories, That the World existed long before the Six Days, that preceded the formation of *Adam*. *Methodius* looks upon this as a trifling Opinion.

Theodore, in his first Dialogue, cites a Passage taken out of a Sermon of *Methodius* concerning the Martyrs; where he says, that Martyrdom is loathsome, and so much to be desired, that *Jesus Christ* the Son of God would honour it himself; and that he who was equal to his Father, was willing to Crown Humane Nature, to which he himself was united with that excellent Gift.

The Sermon composed upon the Nativity of *Jesus*, and upon his being presented in the Temple, entitled, *Simeon and Ann*, published by *Pantenus* in the Year 1598, and afterwards Printed by *Father Combefis* amongst the rest of the Works of *Methodius*, is neither cited by any of the Ancients, nor mentioned by *Phoebus*, though it is written in *Methodius's* Style. The Author of it endeavours to confute the Errors of *Origen*, and calls himself the Author of the *Banquet of Virgins*, in the beginning of his Discourse, which shews that it belongs to *Methodius*. Though we must own that he speaks so clearly of the Mysteries of the Trinity, of the Incarnation, of the Divinity of the Word, whom he calls in several places *Consubstantial to the Father*, of the Hymn called the *Trisagion*, of the Virginity of *Mary* even after her Delivery, and of Original Sin, that it gives us some reason to doubt, whether something has not been since added to this Sermon. Besides, the Style of it is more swelling, and fuller of Epithets than that of *Methodius*.

Besides,

Besides all this, *Father Combefis* upon the Authority of a Manuscript in the King's Library, has restored to *Methodius* another Sermon upon *Palm-Sundays*; that was formerly Printed under the Name of *St. Chrysostom*, by *Sir Henry Savil*, upon the Authority of another Manuscript. It is certain, that it approaches nearer to the Style of *Methodius* than of *St. Chrysostom*; but he explains the Mystery of the Trinity, so clearly in one place, and opposes the Heretics so very plainly, that there is some reason to believe, that either this place has been since added, or that this Homily was not written by *Methodius*. *Father Combefis* has likewise collected some other Fragments attributed to *Methodius*, cited by *St. John Damascene*, and by *Nicetas*, drawn out of his Books against *Porphyrie*. But besides, that we cannot intirely depend upon the Authority of these two Authors, who are not very exact, these Fragments have nothing considerable, and we think it not worth the while, to say any thing more concerning them. We shall not take any notice of some Latin Prophecies about Antichrist, attributed to *Methodius*, that are Printed in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, since it is agreed on all hands that they are not his.

The Style of *Methodius* is Asiatick, that is to say, diffuse, swelling, and full of Epithets. His Expressions are Figurative, the turn of his Sentences affected, he is full of Comparisons, and far-fetched Allegories, his Thoughts are mysterious, and he says a few things in abundance of Words. Setting these things aside, his Doctrine is sound, and free from some Errors that were common to the Ancients; particularly concerning the Virginity of *Mary*, concerning Original Sin, concerning Guardian Angels, and several other Points; as may be observed in the Abridgment that we have made of his Works.

PAMPHILUS.

PAMPHILUS, a Presbyter of *Cæsarea* in *Palestina*, and [a] Friend of *Eusebius*, suffered Martyrdom, during *Maximian's* Persecution. He wrote almost nothing himself, unless it be a few Letters to his Friends; but he took extraordinary pains to gather the [b] Books of ancient Writers, and particularly those of *Origen*, for whom he had a particular Esteem. He transcribed several Volumes with his own hand, and amongst the rest, his Twenty Five Books of Commentaries upon the Prophets, and that very Transcript was to be seen in *St. Jerome's* time. *Pamphilus* when he was in Prison composed [c] Five Books with *Eusebius* in defence of *Origen*, and *Eusebius* added a Sixth after his Death.

[a] Friend of *Eusebius*.] *Eusebius* wrote the Life of *Pamphilus*, and was from him Surnamed *Pamphilus*.

[b] The Books of Ancient Writers.] He laboured along with *Eusebius* to copy out exactly, and to correct the Velion of the *Septuagint*, that was in the *Tetrapla*, and *Hexapla* of *Origen*, intending to publish it by it self.

[c] Five Books with *Eusebius*.] *St. Jerome* in his Catalogue of the Ecclesiastical Writers, makes him the Author of the Apology for *Origen*; but he afterwards retracted what he had said in his Apology against *Rufinus*. The truth is, The Five first Books were composed by *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* together; and the last, which *Rufinus* quoted, was *Eusebius's* alone. See *Platinius*, Cod. 168.

LUCIAN.

LUCIAN, a Presbyter of *Antioch*, applied himself vigorously to the Study of Scripture, and published a new Edition of the Version [a] of the *Septuagint*, which was afterwards called *Lucian's* Edition. He was a Man of great Eloquence, and wrote several small Treatises concerning Faith, *Antioch*; the end of which Letter is preserved in the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, and is as follows: 'All the Martyrs that are with me, Salute you. I send you word that *Bishop Anthimus* died a Martyr. *Lucian* is accused to have been the first Author of the *Arian* Opinion; And indeed, all the Heads of that Party were his Disciples. He suffered Martyrdom at *Nicomedia*, under the Persecution [b] of the Emperor *Maximinus*, and was Buried at *Helenopolis*, a City of *Bythynia*.

[a] Of the *Septuagint*.] The Version which he Corrected, was the common Version of the *Septuagint*. Upon this account, *St. Jerome* (*Præfat. in Paralipomena*) distinguishes between three different Editions of the Version of the *Septuagint*. The first, was that of *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus*, which he calls *Palestine*, that was taken out of the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, who corrected it by an ancient Version, and added several things borrowed from the Versions of *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*. The Second was that of *Alexandria*, whereof *Hesychius*

was Author, who likewise corrected the common Version of the *Septuagint*. The Last, that of *Lucian*. This gave occasion to *St. Jerome* to say, That *Torus Orbis hac inter se trifaria variate compugnat*.

[b] Of the Emperor *Maximinus*.] *Eusebius*, l. 9. c. 6. *Hierom.* in *Catalog.* And therefore *Baronius* is mistaken, when following the Acts of his Martyrdom, he says, That he suffered under *Maximian*; for 'tis a common mistake amongst the Greeks to take *Maximian* for *Maximinus*.

PHILEAS.

PHILEAS, descended of a Rich and Powerful Family in the City of *Thmis* in *Agypt*, after having passed through several Offices and Honours, and acquired to himself the Reputation of an extraordinary Philosopher, was elected Bishop of the City where he lived, and had his Head cut off for the Faith of Jesus Christ, under the Emperor *Maximinus*. Before he suffered Martyrdom, he wrote a famous Letter to the Inhabitants of the City of *Thmis*; in which he describes the Punishments which the Christians were forced to endure in the City of *Alexandria*. He describes the Constancy with which they supported themselves, and exhorts his Flock to keep up the Religion of Jesus Christ after his Death, which he foretold would shortly happen. *Eusebius* in the Eighth Book of his History, Chapter the Tenth, has preserved a Fragment of this Eloquent Letter, which St. Jerome scruples not to call a Book. He likewise tells us, that they had the Answers which he made to the Judge, who would have obliged him to offer Sacrifice: We have the Acts of his Martyrdom, that were Printed at *Amsterp*: But they are corrupt, as most of the rest are; and some things are inferred which are taken out of *Eusebius* and *Jussianus*.

ZENO Bishop of Verona.

IT is commonly believed, that there was one *Zeno*, Bishop of *Verona*, that suffered Martyrdom under the Empire of *Galerius*, and some Sermons are attributed to him, that were published by *Guarimus*, Printed at *Paris* and *Verona* in the Years 1568. and 1586. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. But this Author being wholly unknown to all Antiquity, his Works have been absolutely rejected; nay, some have doubted, whether it be true, that there ever was a Bishop of *Verona* of that Name, that suffered Martyrdom under the Emperor *Galerius*. St. Gregory the Great is the first that speaks of *Zeno*, as a Martyr; but before him St. Ambrose, in a Letter written to *Syagrius* Bishop of *Verona*, makes mention of one *Zeno*, the Predecessor of this *Syagrius*, who seems to have govern'd the Church of *Verona* in the time of *Constantius*, or *Julian* the Apostate. The Testimony of St. Ambrose has obliged those that positively maintain that there was one *Zeno* Bishop of *Verona*, a Martyr under the Empire of *Galerius*; it has obliged them, I say, to distinguish between two *Zenos*, a Bishop of *Verona*; one put to Death under *Galerius*, and another that lived in the time of *Julian* the Apostate. But it is better to own frankly, that 'tis a mistake to believe, that there was one *Zeno* Bishop of *Verona* in the time of *Galerius*. St. Gregory does indeed give the Name of Martyr to *Zeno* of *Verona*, but he does not tell us under what Emperor he suffered Martyrdom: And perhaps he might bestow that Title upon him, because he suffered some Persecution under *Constantius*, or *Julian* the Apostate. Be that as it will, *Molanus* observes, That, heretofore in the Roman Martyrology, they placed him amongst the considerable Bishops that were Confessors: And *Onuphrius Panvinus* adds, That the Church of *Verona* anciently honoured him under that quality, and that *Lippomanus* Bishop of *Verona*, was the first that procured him the honour of a Martyr.

'Tis very certain, that the Sermons which we have under the Name of *Zeno*, cannot belong to him whom they suppose to have suffered Martyrdom under *Galerius*; for this Author in his Fifth Sermon speaks of the Divinity of Jesus Christ against the Heretics that affirmed the Word to be God, but did not believe him to be Eternal as the Father, and supposed there was a time when He was not; which visibly demonstrates, That the Heresy of the *Arians* was then on foot. Neither can these Sermons belong to that *Zeno* of *Verona*, who lived under *Constantius* and *Julian*; because they are borrowed out of other Authors. There are Four Sermons of them that are [a] intirely St. Basil's. All the Homilies upon the *Psalms* are taken word for word out of the Commentaries [b] of St. Hilary; which shews, That these Sermons attributed to *Zeno* of *Verona*, are a Collection of Sermons [c] stoln out of several Authors, and heaped together without any Choice. Some are short, others are long; some are well written, and in an elevated Style; others ill, and in a mean pitiful one; some are clear, others obscure. In short, nothing can be imagined to be more unequal. In the Sermon of *Conscience*, he reckons more than 400 Years since St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and yet in other Homilies, he speaks of Temples, Martyrs and Catechumens. All these things set it past Dispute, that these Sermons attributed to *Zeno* of *Verona*, and unknown to all Antiquity, are a Collection of Sermons taken out of several Authors of different Times and different Countries, put together indifferently by some ignorant Copier.

The same Censure ought in all probability to be passed upon the 18 Sermons cited by *Torrianus* under the name of *Eusebius* of *Alexandria*. This Author is unknown to the Ancients; neither was there a Bishop of *Alexandria* [d] of this Name, for the Three first Ages of the Church: Therefore these Sermons belong to a more modern Author.

[b] Of St. Hilary.] These Sermons upon the 126, 127, 128, 129, and 130 *Psalms*, belong to St. Hilary. Those upon the 49, 79, and 100 *Psalms*, might be his also; because we have lost the Commentaries of this Father upon the *Psalms*.

[c] Stoln out of several Authors.] Some of the long ones are taken out of Greek Authors, and the short ones out of the Latin Writers, and Frag-

ments of Homilies.

[d] A Bishop of this Name.] *Eusebius* indeed, Lib. 7. Chap. 11. of his History, gives a good Character of one *Eusebius* a Deacon, that lived with *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Laodicea*; but this Man ought rather to call himself *Eusebius* of *Laodicea*, than *Eusebius* of *Alexandria*.

Arnobius.

ARNOBIUS.

Though *Arnobius* and *Lactantius* lived the better part of their time in the Fourth Century of the Church, yet we shall nevertheless join them to the Authors of the Third, because they wrote with the same Spirit, and after the same manner; that is to say, they did not employ themselves in writing against the Heretics that rose in the Fourth Age, but only in confuting the Pagans in Imitation of the Ancients.

Arnobius was Professor of Rhetorick at *Sicca*, a City of *Numidia* in *Africk* [a] under the Emperor *Dioclesian*. He was first a Pagan; but as St. Jerome tells us in *Euseb. Chron.* being desirous to be converted, that he might more easily prevail with the Bishops to admit him amongst the Faithful, he composed, when he was but a Catechumen, Seven Eloquent Books against the Religion he had then left, and these Books were as Pledges or Hostages that procured for him the Favour of that Baptism he so earnestly solicited. Now though it must be confessed, that he did not perfectly understand the Christian Religion when he wrote these Books, in which some Errors are to be found, yet he confuted the Absurdities of Paganism with singular Dexterity, and vigorously defended the principal Articles of our Religion.

He begins his First Book with confuting that Popular Calumny, which the Pagans so industriously advanced against the Christians, viz. That they were the Authors of all the Calamities and Miseries that afflicted the World. He shews, that this is a groundless and unreasonable Fancy, that there were Plagues, and Famines, and Wars before our Saviours appearance, and that nothing had been changed since his coming: That he was so far from being the Author of their Miseries, that on the contrary, he brought abundance of Good unto the World; That Miseries proceed from Natural Causes, and that it often happens, that those things which in the common acceptance of Mankind pass for Misfortunes, don't prove so in effect; That if the Christians were the Cause of these Calamities, the World would have had no Interval without them ever since the appearance of Jesus Christ; That if the Pagans Deny that the Christians worship the true God, and apprehend no dangers from false ones; That they adore Jesus Christ, but don't consider him as a Man that suffered Death for his own Transgressions, but as a real true God, who took the Humane Nature upon him to manifest himself to the World, to teach Mankind the ways of Truth, and to accomplish all those things for which he appeared upon Earth; That he died, and afterwards was raised up from the Grave, to satisfy all Men that the Hopes of their Salvation were certain. He proves the Divinity of Jesus Christ by the Exemplary Holiness of his Life, by the Innocence of his Manners, by the great number of Miracles and Prophecies that were wrought by him, and by others that had Communion from him, by the Signs that appear'd upon the Earth at his Death; and then he shews, that we cannot reasonably question the Truth of these things, because the Evangelists, who have delivered them in writing, were Persons of great Integrity and Simplicity; That there is no reason to imagine they were so Vain, or indeed so Mad, as to pretend they saw those things that they never did see; especially since they were so far from reaping any Advantages from such Inventions, that they thereby exposed themselves to the Hatred of all the World.

In his Second Book, he demonstrates that Jesus Christ was wrongfully Persecuted, since he had done nothing to deserve the hatred of any one, since he was no Tyrant, and destroy'd no body, since he acquired no Riches for himself, and did no manner of Injustice to the meanest Person. He likewise shews, that the Pagans had no certain Principles whereby to judge which was the true or false Religion; that they were very much in the wrong, for laughing at the Credulity of the Christians; since in the generality of things that have a relation to Humane Life, Men usually manage themselves by the belief which they repose in particular Persons; That Jesus Christ merited a great deal more than all the Philosophers in the World, because of the Miracles which he wrought; That the Pagan Philosophers believed the same things that are received by the Christians; as for Instance, The Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Body, and Hell Fire. He takes occasion from thence to discourse of the Nature of Souls, he pretends that they are of a middle quality between a Spirit and a Body; that they are by Nature Mortal; but that God of his Goodness immortalizes the Souls of those who repose their Confidence in him. He confutes *Plato's* Notions concerning the Soul's Immortality, and its Excellency, Dignity, Exile or Imprisonment in the Body. He supposes that it is Corporeal and ex. traneous; That Man is but very little different from the Beasts; That his Soul is mortal by Nature, but that it becomes immortal by the Grace of God; Opinions unworthy of a Man that had been perfectly instructed in the true Religion. What he at the same time observes, that in the Matters of Religion we ought not

[a] Intirely St. Basil's.] The Sermons of S. Basil upon these Words, *Attende tibi, & de Livore & Invidia*, are entirely stoln; and the two other

Homilies about Fasting and Temptation, are part of the two longest of St. Basil.

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not to indulge a fond Curiosity, nor desirous to penetrate into the Reasons of God. Almighty's Conduct, nor judge of it by our own Light, is infinitely more worthy of a Christian. "Jesús Christ, says he, was God, and I ought to tell you so, though you are not willing to understand it; yet he is God and speaks notorius from God." He has convinced us not to perplex our selves with unprofitable Questions; let us therefore leave the Knowledge of these things to God, and not amuse our selves in a vain pursuit after them. And yet he does not forget to answer those Questions that were ordinarily proposed by the Pagans concerning Jesús Christ. "Now they often demanded the reason, why our Blessed Saviour, (since his Coming was so absolutely necessary for the Saving of Souls from Death) would suffer so long an Interval of time to pass before he came to deliver them. Arnobius replies, 'Is it possible for Man to know after what manner God dealt with the Ancients? Who has told you that he never relieved them any other way? Do you know how long it is since Men have been upon the Earth, or in what place the Souls of the Ancients are retained? Who has informed you that Jesús Christ did not deliver them by his coming? Forbear then to torment your selves about these things, and meddle not with those Questions which is impossible for humane Reason to solve.' Be persuaded that God has shown Mercy to them; Jesús Christ, perhaps had taught you how, and when, and after what manner it was done, if it would not have appeared matter to your Pride. But wherefore continued the Pagans, did not Jesús Christ deliver all Mankind? He, invites, he calls upon all the World, says Arnobius; he rejects no body, he readily receives those that come, to him; he only requires that Men would define and wish for him; but he constrains and forces no Man, for otherwise it would be Violence and not Grace. But are none but Christians delivered from Death? No, surely; for Jesús Christ alone has Power to effect it. But, say the Pagans, this is a new upstart Religion; and why should we quit that of our Ancestors for it? Why not, reply'd Arnobius, provided it is better? Did we never change our Ancient Customs? Did we never alter our old Laws? Is there any thing in the World which had not a beginning at first? Ought we to esteem a Religion for the Antiquity of it, or rather for the sake of the Divinity, which we honour? Within less than Two Thousand Years, none of the Gods that are now worshipped by the Pagans, were in being, whereas God and his true Religion has been from all Ages. Jesús Christ had his Reasons why he appeared when he did, though they are unknown to us. But why does he suffer those that worship him to be Persecuted? And why, replies Arnobius, do your Gods suffer you to be afflicted with Wars, with Pestilence and Famine, &c. As for us, [his not to be admired that we suffer in this Life, for nothing is promised to us in this World; On the contrary, all the Evils and Calamities which we suffer here, make way only for our Deliverance.

In the Three following Books, Arnobius falls upon the Pagan Religion, and shows, that the Christians had very great reason to reject a way of Worship so very foolish, Extravagant and Impious.

In his Sixth and Seventh Books, he demonstrates, that the Christians did very wisely not to Build Temples, or trouble themselves with the Paganery of Statues, Images and Sacrifices, and that it is a ridiculous piece of Folly to imagine, that God dwells in Temples, that the Images are Gods, or that the Divinities are contained in them. Or lastly, That we honour the true God, when we Sacrifice Beasts, burn Incense, or pour out Wine in Adoration of him.

Thus we have considered the Subject of the Seven Books of Arnobius, that are written in a manner worthy of a Professor of Rhetorick. The turn of his Thoughts very much resembles that of an Orator, but his Style is a little African, that is to say, his Words harsh, ill-placed, unpolish, and sometimes scarce Latin; and 'tis likewise evident that he was not perfectly acquainted with the Mysteries of our Religion. He attacks Paganism with a greater share of Skill and Vigour, than he defends Christianity, and discovers the Folly of That better than he proves the Truth of This. But we ought not to be surprized at it, for 'tis the ordinary Fate of all new Converts, who being as yet full of their former Religion, know the weakness and blind-side of it better than they understand the Proofs and Excellencies of that Perfection which they have newly embraced. I will say nothing concerning the Latin Commentary upon the *Psalms*, that carries the Name of Arnobius, because it is a certain truth, in which all the Learned World agrees, that this Arnobius is a different Person from him of whom we have been speaking; that he is, of a later Date, and lived after the Council of Chalcedon, since he mentions the *Pelagians* and *Predestinarians*.

The Books of the Senior Arnobius were first published by *Faustus Sabaeus*, and Printed at Rome by *Theodorus Priscianensis* in the Year 1542. out of a Manuscript belonging to the Vatican Library, but with abundance of Faults that were to be found in that Manuscript. *Galenus*, who afterwards let out another Edition of them at Basil, in 1545. and 1560. by *Frobenius*, took the liberty to Correct them upon his own bare Conjecture, and to insert his own Emendations into the Text. *Thomasius* printed them at Paris 1570. *Cantarus* Corrected the Edition of *Galenus*, and was the first Man that wrote Annotations upon Arnobius: His Edition was Printed by *Plantin* at Antwerp 1582. in *Octavo*. *Elmenhorstius* published a larger Comment upon him, and reviewed his Seven Books out of an ancient Manuscript. They are likewise Printed with *Heraldus's* Notes, in the Year 1593. and 1603. at Paris 1605. and at Hamburg 1610. *Seneca* a Learned Man took pains also with the same Author, and Printed him at Douay 1634. in *Octavo*. *Tyffius* afterward revised his Edition, and caused it to be Printed at London by *le Maire*, with the Notes of several others, 1652. and 1657. in *Quarto*. Lastly, *Priorius* Printed the Books of Arnobius against the *Gentiles*, at the end of St. Cyprian's Works, at Paris by *Dupuis* in 1666.

[a] Under the Emperor Dioclesian. He wrote his Books toward the end of the Third, or the Beginning of the Fourth Century; for in his First Book he expressly tells us, That it was Three Hundred Years, more or less, since the Christians began to appear in the World.

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Lucius Caelius Firmianus, Surnamed *Lactantius*, was converted in his Youth to the Christian Religion: He Studied Rhetorick in Africa in the School of *Arnobius*, but far surpassed his Master in Eloquence. Whilst he was there, he writ a Book, Intituled, *Convivium*, or *The Banquet*; which acquired him to great a Reputation in the World, that he was sent for to *Nicomedia* to teach Rhetorick there. But meeting with few Scholars there, because it was a Grecian City, where they had no very great value for the Roman Eloquence; he gave himself altogether to the writing of Books. *St. Jerome* informs us, That he wrote a Poem in *Hexameter Verse*, wherein he gave a Description of his Voyage; and another Piece which he called, *The Grammarian*; but imagining, that he was obliged to employ his Learning and Time upon a better and higher Subject, he entered the Lists in behalf of Religion. The First Treatise, which he composed after this manner, was that about the *Work of God*; He afterwards undertook his Seven Books of *Institutions*, about the Year of our Lord 320. in which he strenuously defends the Christian Religion, and likewise Answers all those that had written against it. After he had finished them, he abridged them, and added the Book concerning the *Anger of God* to the rest.

He likewise wrote Two Books to *Asclepiades*, and Eight Books of Epistles; Four to *Probus*, Two to *Severus*, and Two to *Demetrius*, but all these Books, that were extant in *St. Jerome's* time, are lost at present. We have only recovered one Small Treatise concerning Persecution mentioned by *St. Jerome*, which *Balazius* has lately Published under the Title of *De Mortibus Persecutorum*. He Promises several other Works of the same Author, as his *Disputes against the Philosophers*, against the *Jews*, and against the *Hereticks*; but there is no reason to believe that *Lactantius* ever composed these Pieces, since *St. Jerome* doth not mention them; at least, that they were contained in his Epistles.

Constantine afterwards took him to be Tutor to his Son *Crispus*, to instruct him in all manner of Learning. In the midst of all these Honours he was so very Poor that he often wanted Necessaries, being very far from making any pursuits after Pleasure. This is all that we know of the History of this great and excellent Person, but even this very Circumstance alone, as we find it related in *Eusebius's Chronicle*, may pass for an extraordinary and magnificent Commendation of him, and ought to inspire us with no mean Idea of his Piety. For he must certainly have been a very Virtuous Man, that could live poorly in a Court, that could neglect the Care even of Necessary things in the midst of Plenty and Abundance, and had not the least taste of Pleasures, when he resided amongst Persons that were overwhelmed in them.

We are now to consider the Subject of the Seven Books of *Lactantius*, which besides the general Title of *Divine Institutions*, have each of them a particular Inscription, that acquaints us with the Matter whereof it Treats. The First is Intituled, *De falsa Religione*, of false Religion; The Second, *De Origine Erroris*, of the Original of Error. The design of *Lactantius* in these Two Books is to demonstrate the falsity of the Pagan Religion. In the first, after he has informed his Reader of the Reasons that moved him to undertake such a Work, and has made his Addresses to the Emperor *Constantine*, he shows that there is a Providence in the World, and that it is God who Rules and Governs it. He particularly enlarges upon this Second Proposition, and makes it evident by Testimonies of the Poets, of the Philosophers, of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, of the *Sybilis*, and the Oracle of *Apollon*, and there is only one God that Governs the World: And lastly, towards the latter Part of this Book, he demonstrates the Falsity of the Pagan Religion, by showing that the Gods to whom they paid their Adoration, were Mortal Men; and not only so but for the most part wicked and prodigate Wretches. In the Second Book he goes on to confute the Pagan Religion, and directs his Discourse chiefly against the Idols and Representations of their Deities; and plainly proves, that it is the highest Degree of Madnes and Stupidity to pay Adorations to them as Divine Beings. After this, coming to assign Reasons for the Prodigious and Oracles, which the Pagans attributed to their Idols, he rises as high as the Creation of the World, to furnish himself with a fit occasion of discoursing about the Nature of Demons, to whom he ascribes all those wonderful miraculous Effects. Lastly, he shews, That the principal Cause of the Errors and Malice of Men is owing to the perpetual Temptations and Snares of the Devil; as also to the abandoning of *Cham* and his Posterity.

[*Lucius Caelius*.] This is his proper Name. There are some Manuscripts where he is called *Cecilius*. 'Tis supposed that he was Surnamed *Firmianus* from his Country, and *Lactantius* from the sweetness of his Eloquence; but this is not certain.

[*Converted in his Youth*.] See the Seventh Book of his *Institutions*, Chapter the last, the Third Chapter of his Epitome, l. 2. c. 10. where he seems to reckon himself in the Number of those, who after they had acknowledged their Error, were converted to the Truth. *St. Jerome* tells us, That he was the Disciple of *Arnobius*.

[*About the Year of our Lord 320.*] *Lactantius* was at *Nicomedia* at the time of *Dioclesian's* Persecution in the Year 302. as he himself tells us, *Lib. 5. of his Instit. Chap. 2.* He tarried there till the Persecution was over; afterwards he went to *France*, where he wrote his Book of *Institutions*: for he speaks of the Persecutors in the Beginning of his First Book, as if he were then in another Country; he therefore wrote it in the time of the Persecution carried on by the Emperor *Licinius*, which began in the Year 320. So that the Name of *Arrians*, that is to be found in some Manuscripts of his Books, might perhaps have been added since.

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The Third Book is intitled, *De falsa sapientia, or false wisdom*; because it is chiefly levelled at the Pagan Philosophers, the Vanity of whose Philosophy he endeavours to expose and discover: From hence he draws this Conclusion, That the only Wisdom of Man is to know and worship God.

The Fourth is concerning *true wisdom*; and 'tis in this Book chiefly that he lays open the Doctrine of the Christians. In the beginning of the Book he shows, That the Philosophers were not able to find out the true Wisdom, because they never searched after it amongst the Jews, and because it is inseparable from the Worship and Knowledge of the true God. He afterwards explains the Doctrine of the Christians with relation to Jesus Christ; and evidently proves, That the Pagans themselves acknowledged that he was the Word and Wisdom of God existing before the World; That this Word was begotten of God after an incomprehensible manner; That he descended from Heaven, and was born of a Virgin, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, that the Gentiles might know the true God. He then gives an Account of the Life, the Miracles, and Death of Jesus Christ; and shows, That it was necessary for him to undergo the infamous Punishment of the Cross.

He afterwards demonstrates, That though the Christians do acknowledge that the Son is God, as well as the Father, yet they worship but one God; That the Father and Son are one Spirit, and one Substance, and one God; which he illustrates and explains by the Comparisons of a Fountain and its Stream, of the Sun and its Rays, &c.

Towards the End, he declaims in general against Heresies; and tells us, That the Catholick Church only has retained the true worship of God; That it is the Source of Truth, the Habitation of Faith, the Temple of God; That those Men who never enter into it, or who depart from it, are out of hopes of obtaining Everlasting Salvation; That no Man ought to flatter himself, whilst he continues steadfast in his Obstinacy, since his Eternal welfare is concerned in the Matter, which he will be in danger of losing, unless he takes particular Care; That though all the Sects of Heretics pretend and boast to be the Church, yet there is but one properly so called, which heals the Wounds of Man by the wholesome Remedies of Confession and Repentance.

In the Fifth Book, which means of *Justice*, He shows that the Pagans have no such thing as true Justice; That 'tis impossible to find it any where but in the Christian Religion; That it is a great Injustice to persecute the Christians, because of their Persuasion; and that though they were in an Error, yet their Adversaries ought to recover them out of it, by the force of Reason and not of Punishments; That we cannot, and that we ought not to constrain Men to be of any Religion; which is a thing not to be defended by Killing of others, but by Dying for it our selves; not by Cruelty but Patience; That that the Sacrifices which are extorted from Men by Violence, neither signify any thing to those that offer them, nor to those that cause them to be offered, nor to the Gods themselves; That 'tis a surprising thing that the Pagans could suffer the Superstitions of the Egyptians, and the Acheims of the Philosophers, and yet should bear such an incurable hatred to the Religion of Jesus Christ: In short, That though God sometimes permits Truth and Justice to be persecuted; yet he never fails at last to punish Persecutors with the utmost Severity.

The Sixth Book means of *the true worship of God*. He distinguisheth between Two sorts of Worship, True, and False; and Two sorts of Ways, One that leads to Hell, and the Other that leads to Heaven. He tells us, That this last is a difficult Way, that we must pass through Poverty, Ignorance, and a long Series of Sufferings before we can arrive at Virtue; That the Philosophers search'd after it to no purpose, since they neither knew what was Good, or what was Evil; having no Knowledge of God, who was the Author of Good, nor of the Devil who is the Author of Evil; That the Law of God is made clear and manifest to us; That this Law contains two Principal Heads; The First of Piety, The Second of Humanity. That Piety consists in worshipping God, and that Humanity which is also called Mercy and Charity, consists in our mutually assisting one another to our utmost Endeavours, since we are descended from the same Father; That if we would acquit our selves of this Duty, we ought to bestow Alms, to relieve the Sick and Necessitous, to protect Orphans and Widows, to redeem Captives, and bury the Dead; and that the Apprehension of becoming poor, ought not to hinder us from giving considerable Alms, because they blot out and efface our Sins.

He afterwards discourses about the Passions, and demonstrates, contrary to the Sentiments of the Philosophers, That Mercy or Compassion is not a Vice, but a Virtue; and that Fear and Love, which are Vices when they carry a Man to Earthly things, are Vertues when they move him towards Heaven. From hence, he proceeds to the Precepts of Justice that are less general, such as are the following ones; Not to Lye, not to be guilty of Usury, not to exact Gifts from the Poor, not to revenge our selves of our Enemies, to speak well of those that revile us, to moderate our Passions, and to refrain from the pursuit of Sensual Pleasures. After he has thus show the way of Justice, he says, That if it should happen that a Man should forsake this way by falling into some Sin; yet he ought not to despair, but turn away from his Evil Practices, and forsake God, who knows our secret Thoughts. In one word, That the Sacrifice, which we are to present, ought to be Spiritual, and that we ought to offer him the Purity of our Hearts, and the Praises due to his Divinity.

The Last Book of his Institutions treats about *Happiness, and a happy Life*. He shows, that this supposes the Immortality of the Soul, which he demonstrates by several Arguments; and likewise that this Mortal Life can never be Happy, unless we take care to preserve Justice. He afterwards discourseth of the End of the World, which he imagines must happen Six Thousand Years after

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its Creation, and of the Signs that shall precede it, amongst which he reckons the Destruction of the Roman Empire, and of the last Judgment; wherein he tells us, God shall, as it were, weigh both Good and Evil; and that those who have committed more Evil than Good, shall be condemned to Everlasting Punishment; That on the contrary, those who are altogether Just, shall not in the least manner feel the Divine Fire; but that those who are in a middle condition, shall be examined by it, and to purified from their Sins; That after this Solemn Trial is over, Jesus Christ shall Reign a Thousand Years upon Earth with the Just, and when that Course of Time is finished, the World shall be renewed, all Mankind shall be raised again, and God shall make the Just like to Angels, that they may be in his Presence, and serve him during a happy Eternity; but that he will throw the Wicked head-long into Everlasting Fire. He concludes all, with exhorting Mankind to be Converted and Repent while they have an Opportunity of so doing; that for they may put themselves in a Condition of fearing nothing at that Great and Terrible Day. "We cannot carry any thing along with us, says he, but the Innocence of our Lives. Those only shall appear rich before God, that bring along with them, if I may use the Expression, the Vertues of Mercy, of Patience, of Charity, and of Faith. This is the Inheritance which cannot be ravished from us, and which we cannot transmit to any one besides: And who are they that desire to acquire these Blessings? Let them that are Hungry come to the Celestial Bread of the Word of God, that they may be everlastingly satisfied. Let them that are Thirsty come to quench their Thirst with the Water of this Heavenly Fountain; Let no Man ground his hopes upon his Riches, or his Power; for these things are not able to make us happy for ever; but let us bind our selves to the observation of Justice, which will accompany us even to God's Tribunal, where we shall certainly receive the recompence, which he has promised us.

The Epitome or entire Abridgment of these Seven Books composed by Lactantius himself, is lost; what is extant, begins at the End of the Fifth Book, the rest was lost in St. Jerome's time. This Abridgment contained the very same things with the Books themselves, only more succinctly treated, and thrown into a narrower compass.

In the Book of *God's Anger*, Lactantius endeavours to prove, that God is capable of Anger, as well as of Mercy and Compassion.

In the Book of *the Work of God*, he establisheth Providence by demonstrating the Excellence of his Principal Work, which is Man; for which Reason, he makes an Elegant Description of all the Parts of his Body, and the Properties or Faculties of his Soul.

The Book of *Persecution*, or rather of *the Deaths of the Persecutors*, lately published by Baluzius, and quoted by St. Jerome, was written immediately after the end of that Persecution, which was begun in the Year 303, under Dioclesian, and ended 313, by the Death of Maximian, when Licinius and Constantine were Masters of the Empire. 'Tis written to a Confessor, whose Name was Donatus, who suffered several times courageously for the Christian Religion during that Persecution. The Subject which Lactantius propoies to himself in this Treatise, is to show, That the Emperours who persecuted the Christians, died all miserably. He there describes and relates the several Persecutions which the Church suffered; and likewise the exemplary Punishments which God deservedly inflicted upon these persecuting Tyrants. After he has in a few Words briefly run over the Sufferings of the Church under the Emperours Nero, Domitian, Decius, Valerian, and Aurelian, and given an account of the Tragical Deaths of these bloody Princes; he enlarges more copiously upon the following Persecution. He gives a particular Account of the History of Dioclesian, Maximian, Galerius, Severus, Maximian, and Maximinus, and tells us how they came to be Emperours, and what was the occasion of the Divisions, and Wars that were raised between them. He represents in lively colours the horrid Cruelties which they exercised upon the poor Christians, and how by the visible Chastisement of God Almighty, they came to a lamentable End. This small Treatise is writ with a great deal of Flame and Elegance, and is exactly agreeable in the Historical Part to the Revolution of the Roman State under these Emperours. We find several Matters of Fact related there, which were unknown to us before, and many other Passages are illustrated, and set in a better light. He there discovers the Policy and Designs of all these Emperours; And lastly, makes it visibly appear, that the Hand of God was upon them to punish them for their Cruelty and ill Usage of the Christian Professors. There are few things in this Book that relate to the Doctrine of the Christians, but he seems to take notice, that St. Peter came not to Rome till the Beginning of Nero's Reign: And he likewise tells us, That as the Emperour Maximinus was offering sacrifice, one of his Officers made the Sign of the Cross, and thereupon to their great trouble, the Demons disappeared.

Besides these Works, whereof we have already discoursed, there are Three Poems attributed to Lactantius, which are not mentioned by St. Jerome, nor are to be found in the ancient Manuscripts; and therefore in all probability they are none of his.

The First, is a Poem concerning the History of the Phoenix, but the Author of this Piece was certainly no Christian but a Pagan; for he not only describes the Deluge like a Heathen, and contrary to Moses's Account, but he also speaks of Phobus; as if he owned and acknowledged him for a God. The Second Poem concerning Eusebius, is addressed to one Felix a Bishop, and was composed by a Christian Author, who lived after Lactantius; 'tis attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, upon the Testimony and Authority of some Manuscripts in the Vatican Library. The Third is about the Passion of Jesus Christ, but is not to be found in any ancient Manuscript of Lactantius; besides, it does not in the

^a Six Thousand Years after its Creation.] So that he | 200 Years to reckon from his own time to the Day of seems to have thought that there were no more than; Judgment.

Lactantius. least come up to the Purity and Eloquence of his Style, and besides he mentions the Adoration of the Cross. There are likewise some Arguments upon Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, and Notes upon the *Thebais* of Statius, that some Persons have attributed to *Lactantius*, but they really belong to *Lactantius Placidius*, a Grammarian. They are quoted by *Boetius* and *Sedulius*.

Lactantius is the most Eloquent of all the Ecclesiastical Authors that wrote in Latin; His Style is Pure, Equal and Natural; in a word, it is extremely like *Cicero's*, and he justly deserves the Name of the *Christian Cicero*, not only for the cleanness and purity of his Language; but also for the turn of his Phrase, and his Way of Writing, which is so conformable to that of *Tully*, that the most accurate Critics have been troubled to find out any difference between them: Nay, there have been some Persons in the World, as we are informed by *Picus Mirandula*, who made no difficulty at all of preferring his Style to *Cicero's*.

Be that as it will, we are very certain that *Lactantius* abundantly surpasseth *Cicero* in his Thoughts, because the Matter of that Religion, which he so handsomely defends, does infinitely excel the Maxims and Doctrine of the Philosophers. He confutes Paganism with all the Ardour and Spirit imaginable, and he likewise solidly establishes the Christian Religion. He discourses of God after a very sublime exalted manner; He explains the Divinity of the Word, and the Mystery of the Incarnation in an Orthodox Way; He describes the Creation of the World, and the Day of Judgment, by as lively and solemn a representation as any Body have ever yet used; but at the same time it must be acknowledged, that he has sometimes inserted false, uncertain and fabulous things into his Discourses. He is full of admirable Precepts of Morality; he lays down Descriptions of all the Virtues clearly and perspicuously, and with an invincible Eloquence exhorts Mankind to the Practice of them; he shows them the way of Justice, and deters them from pursuing the Paths of Iniquity; he teaches them to honour God with a true sincere Adoration, and to be thoroughly Penitent for their Sins. We ought however to own that he has handled Theology after a very Philosophical manner; but that he did not examine all our Mysteries to the bottom, and that he has committed several Mistakes.

Pope *Damasus* writing to *St. Jerome*, is pleas'd to say, That he took no great pleasure in reading *Lactantius's* Books; because he frequently turned over several Pages, where he discoursed of things that have no manner of Relation to our Religion.

St. Jerome passes this Judgment of him, That he was better able to destroy and confute the Errors of the Gentiles, than to maintain the Doctrine of the Christians; He is accused of doubting whether the Holy Ghost was the Third Person, and to have sometimes confounded him with the Son, and sometimes with the Father; but it may be alledged in his defence, That he meant nothing else, but that the Name of the Spirit in Scripture, is common to the Father and Son. But whatever the Matter is, we find no Footsteps of this Error in any of his Works that are now remaining, though in some places he takes occasion to speak of the Holy Ghost: "He seems to have been of Opinion, That the Word was generated in time; but it is an easie matter to give a Catholic fence to that Expression, as we have seen it done to others, and we may be with Justice allow'd to do so, since he plainly establishes the Divinity of the Word in that very place. His Opinion concerning Angels, that being sent to guard and protect Men, they were afterward seduced by the Temptation of the Devil, and that falling in Love with Women, they begot Terrestrial Demons upon them; as it is properly peculiar to him, so it is an erroneous Imagination without any Grounds to support it. What he says about the End of the World, The Reign of a Thousand Years, The Fire of Judgment which will prove Men that have been Sinners, is common to him with divers other Authors; as also what he delivers about the state of Souls after Death, being kept in a Common Prison in expectation of the Day of Judgment, pretending that God created them all before the Creation of the World. I take no notice of several other Errors of less Consequence, and some harsh Expressions, which may be interpreted in a favourable sense.

The Works of this Author have been Printed often. The First Edition, that appeared, was at Rome 1468. in *Polis*, by *Constantinus Leuwyheim*. The Second at Rome 1470. was Reviv'd by an Ita-

* *Picus Mirandula*. *Picus* lib. de Hist. Divina Philosophia, c. 7. *Quis apud nos non videat esse Cicero-nem, sed Christianum, hoc est, aliquem, qui cum ad lineam vi-vimus expressit? Quis enim non advertit Lactantium Firmianum aguisse Ihesum, & forte praeceperisse in Elo-quentia?*

Idem, lib. 3. Epist. 10. *Lactantius Cicero-nis Ihesum effugiat, vel ut quidam placet, supergressus est; mihi videtur verum & sententia crebris, nec numeris in-junctum, nec sibi aequitate & candore posterum. Haec quippe virtutes maxime & amulans, & alienans est; hinc nec aequum postea moneretur, nemo clumens & frustum, Africanum & redundantem nemo cavatus est.*

Interpret'd in a favourable sense. In the First Book, Chapter the 7th, he says, That God made Himself, His meaning is, That he is of Himself, and was not Created. He tells us, Lib. 4. Cap. 14. That *Jesus Christ* is never called God, left it should be thought that there were two Gods. In the Fourth Book, Chap. 13th, he says, That the Son of God was made Man, that he might be

Amazus, as well as he was *Amazus*, which is a vain Conceit. He says, Lib. 2. Cap. 6. That Darkness is from the Devil, who imitates God; and in the Second Book, Chapter the 12th, That Man was composed of two Natures that strive together; words that carry a Tincture of the Manichean Doctrine, unless they be favourably interpreted. In the Sixth Book, Chap. 13. He says, That Angels blot out the Sins of the Flesh; And he seems in the same place to maintain, That they who sin without Passion and without Surprise, shall never obtain Forgiveness for their Sins. In the Seventh Book, Chap. 5. & 14. He speaks of Immortality after such a manner, as might make us believe, that he was persuaded that the first Man was created Mortal. He falls into horrible gross Mistakes in his Chronology; as for instance, when he tells us, Lib. 4. Cap. 5, that *Moses* was 900 Years, and *Solomon* an Hundred and Fifty before the taking of Troy. In the Third Book, Chap. 23. He denies that there are any such things as *Antipodes*.

San Bishop. The Third was at Venice 1472, and it was afterwards Printed in the same City in the Year 1483. 1490. 1493. By *Bennadius* in 1509. 1511. 1515. By *Mauritius* in 1521. and 1535. At Paris by *Petitus* in 1509.

At Rome in 1574. in 1583. and 1650. At Florence in 1513. At Basil in 1521. 1523. 1546. and 1583. Twice in 1556. At Lyons in 1532. 1540. At Antwerp by *Plantin* in 1539. 1582. and in 1590. 1587. and in 1553. 1556. At Geneva in 1613. At Leyden in 1662. At Amsterdam in 1624.

Erasmus, Thomasius, Isaur, Barbinius, Thissius, Thaddensis, Galens, have wrote Notes upon this Author, that are joined together in this last Edition.

The last Edition is that which was Printed at Amsterdam, with the Commentaries of several Authors. I have been assured by a very Learned Man, That it is not only far from being the best, but that it is one of the worst Editions that ever came out of this Author.

[Since the Edition of Amsterdam, Dr. *Spark* set out an Edition of *Lactantius* at Oxon, to which he annexed his Book *De moribus Persecutorum*, with Notes of his own, and a Differtation of Mr. *Dodd-wells* *De Ripa Strigae*; to explain a difficult Passage in that little Book. Before this Edition came out, it was Printed by it self at Oxon in 12°. in the Year 1680. Corrected in many places by the Bishops of Oxford and St. Asaph, and by Dr. *Isaac Vossius*, who endeavoured to supply the *Lacunae*, which were in *Baldus's* Manuscript Copy, from whence these Editions were taken. The Cambridge Edition 1685, in *Octavo*, of this little Book was taken from thence. Since it was Published again by it self at Abo, with some Notes of *Cuperus* at the End, by *Tuinardus*.]

COMMODIANUS.

HERE are Two Authors of the Fourth Century, whose Works have the same Character and Genius with those that were composed by the Writers of the Three first Centuries.

The first is called *Commodianus*: He is no where mentioned by the Ancients; but in reading his Poetry, 'tis an easie matter to see that it is not Superstitious. *Gelasius* places his Books amongst those which he calls *Apocryphal*, because the Millenary Opinion is here maintain'd, and *Gennadius* speaks of this Author in the following Words: "*Commodianus* giving up himself to the Study of Humane Learning, read also the Books of the Christians. This gave him a favourable Opportunity of embracing the Faith. Being now become a Christian, and desirous to offer to *Jesus Christ* the Author of his Salvation a Present befitting a Man of Learning, he wrote a Treatise against the Pagans in Verse, which is compos'd in a middle Style, neither Verse, nor Prose: And because he had than to establish that of the Christians. Hence it is that he speaks of the Divine Recompences after a gross manner, following in this the Opinion of *Tertullian*, *Lactantius* and *Papias*. But his *Gennadius* concerning this Author, who lived in the Beginning of the Fourth Age, in the time of Pope *Sylvester*. He calls himself *Commodianus*, and by way of Allusion *Gazus*, and gives himself the Title of the Beggar of *Jesus Christ*. He tells us, That he was once engaged in the Errors of the Heathens; but that he was converted by reading the Law of the Christians. His Work is entitled, *Instruction*; and is compos'd after the Fashion of Verse: I say after the Fashion of Verse, because he neither observes Measure, nor Cadence in it; but only takes care that every Line shall comprise a finished sense, and shall begin with an Acrostick, in such manner, that all the Letters of the Title of every *Strophe* are to be found one after another at the beginning of each Verse; and thus by taking all the first Letters of the Verse, we find the entire Title.

His Style is harsh, his Words barbarous, and his Thoughts are seldom elevated. The Author appears to have been a Good Man, very simple, very humble, very charitable, thoroughly affected with the love of *Jesus Christ*, zealous for his Religion, austere in his Morals, an enemy to Vice, far removed from the Pleasures of the World, and a singular good Monk, as *Rigaltius* has observed of him. Though after all, we must own, that he was not very Ignorant; for there is a tolerable store of Prophane Learning in his Work, and we meet there with several Remarks upon the Pagan Deities that are exceeding Curious and Rare, as well as Entertaining. He seems to have had a great deal of good Sense, of Quickness, and Christian Morality: This Treatise was for a long time buried in Obscurity, and was lately found in our days. *Sirmondus* had it Copied from an old Manuscript, and *Rigaltius* made use of this Copy, and Printed it separately in the Year 1650. We may divide it into Three Parts. The First, which contains Thirty six *Strophes*, is addressed to the Gentiles; whom he exhorts to embrace the Religion of *Jesus Christ*, after has expos'd the Falshood of the Divinities which they Adored. The Second is directed to the Jews; whom he likewise persuades to embrace the Christian Religion, showing them, that the Law was merely Figurative. He there speaks concerning Anti-

* In the time of Pope *Sylvester*. Chap. 33. He ex-horts the Pagans to join themselves to the Congregation of *Sylvester*; which plainly shows, that he lived at that time, and wrote in Rome or in Italy, though his Style is African.

* *Commodianus*.] At the end of his Work he tells us,

That his Name may be found out by searching after it in his Verses; now if we take the first Letters of every Verse in the last *Strophe*, and put them together, we shall find *Commodianus Mendicus Christi*.

Gazus.] In all Probability he is so called a *Gazus*, as he is named *Commodianus*: a *Commodi*.

Compendium

Christ, the last Judgment, and the Resurrection. The Last is addressed to the Christian Catechumens, to the Faithful, and to the Penitents, to whom he gives admirable Instructions in Morality. It begins at the Forty fifth *Strophe*.
We find in this Author, most of the *History of the Ancients*. He is of Opinion that the Demons were Angels, that were detached with the love of Women; and that the Giants came from this Inhuman Commerce; That the World will, and after Six Thousand Years; That *Nero* was Antichrist; That there will be Two Resurrections, That of the Just before the Reign of the Thousand Years, and the General One at the Day of Judgment; That the Just after the First Resurrection, shall live a Thousand Years upon the Earth; That after that time, all Men shall be Judged; the Wicked thrown head long into Fire, and the whole face of Nature changed: His Moral Instructions are very Excellent. He recommends to the Consideration of the Catechumens to lead a Life free from Sin. He advises the Penitents to pray Night and Day, to live after an austere manner, that they may obtain Remission of their Sins. He exhorts the Faithful to avoid all Evil, and to banish from their Hearts the very Motions of Hatred, assuring them, That Mankind will stand them in little Need, if they have an Aversion towards their Brethren. He represents to Apostates the greatness of their Sin, and admonishes all Christians to be Brothers. He represents to Apostates that they ought continually to wage War with their Passions. He prohibits them to appear as the Prophane Shows. He advises Christian Women to be Modest, to avoid Luxury and Magnificence of Apparel. He gives incomparable Instructions to Ministers and Priests, that they may acquit themselves worthily in their Ministry, and persuade them to lead a Life unblameable, and exempt from Avarice; but above all, to relieve the Necessities of the Poor. He counsels the Rich not to value themselves the more highly upon the store of their Riches, but to communicate part to the Indigent; to assist and visit those that are in Sickness, and to Comfort those that labour under Affliction. He says, That we ought not to lament the Death of our Children or Relations. He condemns all Funeral Pumps, and proud Interments. He powerfully reprehends those Persons that don't observe Silence in the Church. "The Priest of the Lord, says he, has said: Lift up your Hearts to God; you answer, That you have; and yet immediately forget the Word. He prays to the Lord in behalf of the People, and in the mean time you are entertaining one another with Stories; you Laugh, you speak Evil of your Neighbours, you talk inconsiderately, as if God were absent, even he that has made all, that sees all, and understands all. He advises those that Pray to God, to purify their Hearts, before they address themselves to Him by way of Prayer. In a word, The last Part of his Instructions contains excellent Exhortations, to incline Christians to the Love and Practice of Virtue, to turn them away from Vice, and his Remonstrances concerning the corrupt Manners of the Christians, and the Irregularities of his own time, carry a very near resemblance to those of our Age.

Julius Firmicus Maternus.

JULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS.

THIS Author, of whom none of the Ancients have made mention, has written a Treatise, Intituled, *Of the Errors of Prophane Religions*, which he has addressed to the Emperours *Constantinus* and *Constantius*, the Sons of *Constantine*. The Style and Matter of this Book abundantly convince us, that it is no spurious Piece, and the Title it carries, gives us an occasion to Conjecture, that it was writ after the Death of *Constantine*, the Eldest Son of *Constantine* the Great, which happened in the Year 340, and before that of *Constantius*, who was slain by *Magnentius* in the Year 350, for it being addressed to *Constantinus* and *Constantius*, there is reason to believe that *Constantine* their Eldest Brother was already dead, and 'tis very evident that *Constantius* was then alive. We don't know what the Author was, of what Country, or of what Profession. *Baronius* believes that he was Bishop of *Milan*; but without any solid Foundation. There are Eight Books of Astronomy that bear the same Name. Now some Persons are of Opinion that they were composed by another Author. *Labbe* maintains, that they belong to the same Man; but we cannot positively assert either one or the other. This Treatise *De Error Profana Religione* was Printed at *Venice* in the Year 1499. At *Basil* by *Hervagius* in 1533. At *Strasbourg* in 1562. And afterwards with *Wouvernus*'s Notes by *Probenius* in 1603. Afterwards it was joined with *Minutius Felix*, and Printed at *Amsterdam* in 1645. And in 1652. At *Leiden* in 1662, in *Quarto*. 'Tis likewise to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. And lastly, it was put at the end of the last Edition of *St. Cyprian*, which was Printed at *Paris* 1666. The

^a Baronius believes, that he was Bishop of Milan. Baronius imagines that he was Bishop of Milan in the time of Julius, and that he assisted at a Council held at Rome under that Pope. There is indeed mention made of one Maternus a Bishop of Milan, who suffered in Diocletian's time in the Martyrologies of the 18th. of July. But he was the Author of this Treatise, never took upon him the Quality of a Bishop; and we don't find it related in any Authors of Credit and Reputation in the World, that there ever was a Bishop of Milan of that Name. On the contrary, it appears by *St. Athanasius*,

That in the time of Julius there was no Bishop of that Name at Milan: And the Roman Council, of which Baronius is to be understood, is a Chimerical Council invented by *Isidorus*.

^b Labbe maintains, that they belong to the same Man. *Possevinus* and *Sinlerus* distinguish them, and call the last the Younger of the two. Labbe pretends, that he lived in the Years 334 and 337, and according to this Computation, he might perhaps be the Author of the Treatise, *De errore Profana Religione*.

Author

Author of it discovers the Original of all the several Religions amongst the Pagans; and shows the absurdity of them. In the first place, he shows how prodigiously Men have debased themselves in making Gods of the Four Elements. Secondly, he lays open the Extract and Rise of the fabulous Deities, giving an Historical Account of those things which the Poets have so diffused in Fiction. In the Third place, he demonstrates the Absurdity and Impiety of the Pagan Theology, where several Persons have had the good luck to drop into an Almightyship, only for being more exquiritely villainous than the rest of their Fellow-Creatures. In the fourth place, he takes occasion to retrench their Memories with several particulars relating to their Gods, as how they have been slain, wounded and ill-used by Men. Fifthly, he pretends that the Religion of the Egyptians derived its Original from *Joseph*, and that their God *Serapis* is the same with the above-mentioned Patriarch, who is so called, because he was the Son of *Sarah*. (This Reason in my Opinion appears to be weak, and ill-grounded.) Sixthly, he observes, that Men have Deified abundance of things which they either love, or have frequent occasion for; and thus they call Eating and Drinking their *Dii Penates*, or their Household Gods: Thus *Vesta* is the Domestic Fire we daily use, and the same Judgment may be passed of several others; and for this Reason it has happened, that the Names of their Gods denote the Properties of Natural Things. In a word, he Describes and Enumerates the Prophane Signs, or Mysterious Words that are used by the Pagans in their Way of Worship, and he applies them to Jesus Christ with a great deal of Wit. To say the truth, This Treatise is exceeding Elegant, and is abundantly stored with a great deal of Profound Learning; the Author of it shows a considerable Stock of Knowledge, Wit and Eloquence; he frequently Exhorts the Emperours to destroy the Pagan Temples, to suppress their Religion, and to make use of strong and violent Remedies to cure Men of their Maladies, and retrieve them from their Extravagancies and Errors. At the same time he Exhorts all Men to feed and nourish themselves with the Bread of Jesus Christ, which is his Word and his Doctrine, (for he does not speak of the Eucharist in this place, as some Persons have vainly imagined) to embrace the Light, and come to the Marriage of the Celestial Bridegroom. He tells us there, that God made himself Man to give us, and restore us to that Immortality, which we lost and forfeited by the Fall of *Adam*; that if he had not assumed a Body in the Womb of the Virgin, and suffered an Ignominious Death for the sake of Mankind, all the Jews, even those of the Old Testament, had never been in a Capacity of obtaining Salvation. He teaches us, that the Soul is Immortal and Spiritual, and that the Demons were frequently disturbed, and ejected out of the Bodies of those Persons, whom they had possessed, by the powerful Prayers and Intercessions of the Christians. He acquaints us with several Figures or Types of the Cross, drawn out of the Old Testament. Lastly, to speak a Word or Two concerning his Morals; he severely declaims and inveighs against those that disguise themselves in Female Habits. These are the Principal and most considerable Heads that are discoursed of in this Treatise. As for his Astronomical, and Mathematical Books, they are divided into Eight Parts. That Work was first Printed by *Aldus Manutius* at *Venice*, in the Year 1499. Reweived by one who calls himself *Possevinus*, and afterwards by *Bucherius* in the Year 1551. Lastly, It was Published at *Basil* by *Hervagius*, and Corrected

Julius Firmicus Maternus.

Of the COUNCILS that were Held in the First Ages of the Church.

THE Canons and Acts of the Councils, ought to be reckoned amongst the Works of the Ecclesiastical Authors, since they are the Works of several Persons assembled in the same place to deliberate upon the Affairs of the Church, that concern either the Faith, or the Discipline, or the Manners of Christians. These Kinds of Assemblies were used in the First Ages of the Church, and the Apostles were the first Authors of them. For the Christians of the Primitive Church, having had some Disputes, Whether they were Obligated to Circumcise and Follow the Law of *Moses*; The Apostles and Priests convened at *Jerusalem*, to Examine and Resolve upon this Matter, and at last concluded, That it was not necessary to impose these Burdens upon Christians; but only enjoined them to abstain from Meats offered to Idols, from Blood, and from things Strangled, and from Fornication. This was the First, and Only Council, to speak properly, that was held by the Apostles themselves.

Councils.

^a And only Council of the Apostles. They usually reckon Four. The first concerning the Election of *St. Matthias*, Acts. 1. The Second concerning the Election of Deacons, Acts 6. The Third, that whercof we now speak, Acts 15. The Fourth, Acts 21. Where the Priests of *Jerusalem* declare, That the Converted Jews might observe the Law, and Exhort *St. Paul* to make a Vow. But in strictness of Speech, only the Third of these Assemblies deserves the Name of a Council. The two First were not held upon the account of any Controversy; nothing was there de-

cided; the Christians found themselves Assembled together, but were not expressly Summoned. In short, they were Assemblies of all the Christians, and not of the Apostles only. The fourth was rather a familiar Conversation, than a Synodical Deliberation; and they only give some Counsel and an Advertisment to *St. Paul*, without deciding any Matter. And thus 'tis the Third Assembly alone, that deserves to be called a Council. The Council of *Antioch* is spurious, as we have elsewhere shewn.

After

Councils.

Councils.

After these things, when any Difference arose in the Church, or when it was necessary to make any Regulations, the Bishops and Clergy themselves met together; to decide the controversial Questions, and appoint Laws for the better Government and Discipline of the Church. This was indeed, that in the Three first Ages of the Church, their Assemblies were more rare, and less remarkable, than they were in the following Centuries; as well because the continual Persecutions of the Emperours hindered the Bishops from meeting freely and in Publick; as also because the Tradition of the Apostles being as yet fresh in Mens Memories, it was not supposed necessary to Summon a Council for the Establishing of every Truth, and Condemnation of every Error. Hence it is, that we don't find in any credible Authors, that any Councils were held to Condemn the first Hereticks, such as were the *Simonians*, the *Caracarianians*, the *Basilians*, the *Gnosticks*, &c. The Errors of these Hereticks were looked upon with horror by all the Christians, who considered the Apostles of them; and likewise those that maintained them, as Persons already Excommunicated, and separated from the Church, without the Solemnity and Trouble of Convening a Synod to Excommunicate them by Name. In short, every Bishop instructed his own People in the True Faith of the Church, and confuted all sorts of Errors by the Authority of Scripture, and Tradition.

The first Councils, that are mentioned in Antiquity, are those that were held under the Pontificate of Pope *Victor*, to adjust the celebrated Controversie about keeping *Easter*; and some others that were Assembled almost at the same time to suppress the growing Faction of the *Montanists*. *Eusebius* mentions the last in the Fifth Book of his History, Chap. 15. and *Tertullian* allures us, That in his time the *Montanists* also met together for themselves. As for what relates to the Synods that were convened upon the Dispute concerning the Celebration of *Easter*, though the Number of them is usually reckoned to be great; yet *Eusebius* mentions but Three; one of which was held in *Palestine*, another in *Aisa*, and a Third at *Rome*. And then, as for what concerns the Churches of *France*, of *Pontus*, of *Corinth*, and of the *East*, he barely tells us, That the respective Bishops there, wrote to Pope *Victor* about this Matter, without speaking of any Council Assembled in these places.

Agrippinus, towards the Beginning of the Third Century, held a Council in *Africa*; where it was Ordained that Hereticks should be Re-baptized.

There were likewise Two Councils held in *Arabia*, under the Emperour *Gordianus*; one against *Berillus* Bishop of *Bofra*, who maintain'd, That Jesus Christ was not a different Person from the Father, before he made himself Man; and the other against the *Arabians*, who affirmed, That the Souls of Men were Mortal.

We don't know at what time the Councils of *Iconium* and *Synada* were Assembled, that Decreed, It was Necessary to re-baptize Hereticks.

I shall say nothing more of the Councils held in *Africa*, and at *Rome* in St. *Cyprian's* time; because I discoufured largely about them, when I had occasion to consider the Writings and Life of that Father.

Dionysius Bishop of *Rome* Summoned a Council, in which he Established the Divinity of the Word, and the Mytery of the Trinity against the Errors of the *Sabellians*, and that which was afterwards the Error of the *Arians*. He wrote a Letter upon this Occasion to *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*. St. *Athanasius* mentions this Synod.

In the time of Pope *Stephen*, a Council was held at *Antioch*; where the Bishops Condemned the Practice of the *Novatians*. St. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* sent word to *Sixtus*, that he was invited thither: *Eusebius* Lib. 7. Hist. c. 8. St. *Epiphanius* in his Account of the Heresie of the *Noetians*, mentions Two Synods that were Assembled in *Aisa* against *Noetus*, and gives us an Account of some Words of that Heretic, and of the last Synod.

But of all the Councils that were Summoned in the Three first Centuries, the most Celebrated and Famous, are the Two Councils of *Antioch* Assembled against *Paulus Samosatenus*, Bishop of that City, who maintained, That the Word was not truly United to the Humanity in the Person of Jesus Christ; and who likewise, according to the Testimony of some Authors, denied, that the Word was a distinct Person from the Father. The first Council Assembled against him, was held at *Antioch* about the Year 264. *Eusebius* tells us, That the principal Bishops who assisted there were, *Firmilian* Bishop of *Caesarea* in *Cappadocia*, *Gregory* and *Athenodorus* Bishops of *Pontus*, *Helenus* Bishop of *Tarfus*, *Niconas* Bishop of *Iconium*, *Himeneus* of *Jerusalem*, *Theotecnus* of *Caesarea*; without mentioning an Infinite Number of others as well Bishops as Priests. He says, That St. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, being invited to this Synod, could not come thither, but that he acquainted them with his Judgment concerning this Matter by way of Letter, where he didtinda to flature the Author of that Heresie. In all appearance *Firmilian* presided in this Synod; for the Bishops of the Second Council say in their Letter, That Paul having Promised to renounce his Opinion, *Firmilian* gave Credits to his Protestation, and hoping that this affair might terminate calmly, without any prejudice or dishonour done to the Church, judged it convenient to defer passing Judgment. And this plainly

In any Credible Authors.] The Author published by *Sirmondus* under the Name of *Prædestinatus*, mentions some Councils that were held against the Ancient Hereticks; but he is a Modern Author, and does not deserve Credit upon his own Authority.

For themselves.] *Tertullian* in lib. De *Jejan*, Agm-

two præcepta per *Garcias* illas certis in locis Concilia, per quæ et aliora quæque tractantur. Some Persons understand this Passage of the Councils of the *Cathedricks*; but he speaks of those held by the *Montanists*, as the following words plainly shew.

proves,

proves, that *Firmilian* held the chief place in the Synod, and that they followed his Advice. Now they did not pass Sentence against *Paulus Samosatenus* in this Synod, because he had promised to quit his Erroneous Doctrine; but it seems he kept not his Word, but relapsed a little time after into his old Error; So a Second Council was held against him in the City of *Antioch*, in the Year 270, where we find Seventy two Bishops. *Paulus Samosatenus* was here convinced of his Error by a Priest, whose Name was *Malcion*, and afterwards he was depozed by the Council, and *Domnus* Elected into his Place. The Bishops of this Council soon after wrote a Synodical Letter to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and to all the other Bishops in the World, to give an Account of their Condemning *Paulus*, and Electing *Domnus* in his Room. This Letter is to be seen in *Eusebius*, Lib. 7. Hist. Cap. 30. They there give an ample Relation of what pass'd in the first Synod; in which *Paulus Samosatenus* having solemnly Promised to change his Opinion, *Firmilian* thought it convenient to defer passing Judgment upon him; That the aforesaid Bishop was upon his Journey, with a Design to come to the Synod, but died by the way. After this, they proceed to lay open the Manners of *Paulus*, and accuse him of enriching himself by Publick Extortion, Rapine and Sacrilege; they reproach him for his insupportable Arrogance, and Cruel Temper; they complained of him for taking upon him the State of a great Lord, as appeared by his numerous Retinue, by his sitting in an high Tribunal, by his ill Treatment of those Persons that did not make their Court to him, and would not commend him, when they sang Praises to God; by his commanding Hymns to be sung in his own Praise, and ordering himself to be publicly commended in the Sermons, by his living too familiarly with Women, and using his Clergy and People after a tyrannical insolent manner. In short; After they have accused him of all those Vices that are ordinary and common to Bishops of great Sees, they say they condemned him principally because he revived the Error of *Arietas*; teaching, That Jesus Christ was a mere Man, and that he did not exist before he was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and that having depozed him, they chose *Domnus* in his room. All which they take notice of, that for the time to come, all Communicatory Letters might be addressed to him only.

There is also another Letter attributed to this Council, addressed to *Paulus Samosatenus*, which contains a Profession of Faith. *Baronius* ascribes it to the first Council; but it being writ a little before *Paulus's* Deposition; as manifestly appears by the Title, and by its carrying the Name of *Himeneus* in the Front, who presided in the Second Council, and not *Firmilian*, who presided in the first; we ought to conclude, that it belongs to the Second Council. But we have a great deal of reason to believe that the Letter published by *Turrianus* is Supposititious, as well as that of St. *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* to *Paulus Samosatenus*; as we have already shewn in another place.

Baronius attributes besides to this Council, a Profession of Faith, set down in the Council of *Ephesus* in the Third Part, and assigned in that place to the Council of *Nice*. I don't know what reasons *Baronius* had to incline him to this Opinion; but it seems past dispute to me, that it does not belong to this Council at *Antioch*: for certain it is, that the word *Consubstantial* was there rejected, whereas it is to be found in this Profession, as it is set down in the Council of *Ephesus*, under the Name of the *Nicene* Council; although it no more belongs to that, than it does to the former. But the truth is, 'Tis a Profession of Faith drawn up by some Bishops, to reconcile the Decisions of those two Councils, and to explain in what sense the word *Consubstantial* was rejected by the first, and approved by the Second.

Thus I have given a Catalogue of the Councils held in the Three first Ages of the Church, that are mentioned by Authors that deserve Credit. I don't in the least question, but that there were abundance of other Assemblies convened in this time; but then there is no reason to admit those, that are only spoken of by Modern Authors, such as the *Prædestinatus* published by *Sirmondus*, the Author of the Synodical Book, *Bedæ*; and some others of the same Character.

Of false Decretals Attributed to the first Popes.

THE Falsity of the Decretals that are attributed to the first Popes before *Siricius*, is so well known at present, that it would not be necessary to speak any thing concerning them in this place: If the Subject of my Book did not oblige me in a few words to run over the Principal Reasons, which prove them to be supposititious. I begin with them that are general and common to all the Decretals, and I shall afterwards descend to those that are more particular.

All these Decretals were unknown to all the Ancient Fathers, to all the Popes, and all the Ecclesiastical Authors, that wrote before the Ninth Century. Now what rational Man can believe, that so vast a Number of Letters composed by so many holy Popes, that contained so many important Points in Relation to the Discipline of the Church, could be unknown to *Eusebius*, to St. *Jerome*, to St. *Augustin*, to St. *Basil*, and in short, to all those Authors that have spoken of the Writings of the Popes, or have written concerning the Discipline of the Church? Could it possibly happen, that the Popes, to whom these Letters are so very favourable, would never have cited and alleged

All these Decretals were unknown to the Ancient Fathers.] Except that of St. *Clement* to St. *James* Translated by *Reffinus*, all the rest were absolutely unknown;

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of False Decretals, &c.

them, to raise their Reputation; Who would ever imagine that the Decisions of these Decretals should be never to reach an equal in any Council, or in any Canon. He that will seriously consider with himself, that since these Decretals have been imposed upon the World, they have been copied in an infinite number of places by Popes, by Councils, and often copied by the Cardinals, will be easily persuaded, that they would have gained a mighty Reputation, and been quoted very often by Anacoreti, if they had been Genuine and True.

The first Man that published them, if we may believe *Hincmar*, was one *Riculfus* Bishop of *Meus*, who died about the Beginning of the Ninth Century. 'Tis commonly believed, that he brought them from Spain, since the Collection carries the Name of *Isidore*; but 'tis certain, 't could never be composed by *Isidore*, the Great, Archbishop of *Sevil*; and there is great Reason to believe, 't that it was no Spaniard, but rather some German or Frenchman, that began this Imposture. It likewise seems probable, that some of the Decretals have been forged in since *Riculfus*'s time, and it is no less credible, that *Benedict* a Deacon of the Church of *Meus*, who made a Collection of Canons by the Order of *Ausgarus* a Bishop of *Meus*, and Successor of *Riculfus*, put the last hand to this Collection of false Decretals attributed to one *Isidore*. Surnamed the Merchant or Singer, who is a different Person from the famous Bishop of *Sevil*. We read in History, that about this time, a certain Man named *Isidore*, the Brother of *Enligius*, came from Spain along with some Merchants, and withdrew himself to *Meus*. Now 'tis very probable, that this Man's Name was set to the Collection of Decretals, and likewise occasion'd the Belief, that they were brought from Spain.

Secondly, The Imposture of these Letters is invariably proved from hence, because they are made up of a Contexure of Passages of Fathers, of Councils, of Letters of Popes, of Canons, and Ordinances of Emperors, which have appeared from the Third Age of the Church down to the midst of the Ninth: 't is visible, that all these Passages drawn out of several places have been woven together by some Impostor, that had not a Genius large enough to compile the Letters himself.

Thirdly, The Scripture cited in all these Letters follows the vulgar Translation of St. Jerome, which demonstrates that they are since his time, and consequently don't belong to the Popes whose Names they carry: that lived long before.

Fourthly, This Matter of these Letters is not at all agreeable to the Age, when the Popes to whom they are attributed, lived: There is no mention made in any of them, either of Persecutions, or Martyrs, or of the Doctrine of the Church in opposition to the first Heretics, or of the Duty of Bishops, or of the Care that ought to be taken of the Flock of Jesus Christ: But they speak of the Questions of Doctrine against the *Arians*, and the *Eutychians*, and of several Matters of Discipline, which suppose that the Church had been long Established.

Fifthly, These Letters are full of Anachronisms; the Consulships and Names of Consuls are ill placed, and out of order; nay, more, the true Years of the Popes don't agree oftentimes with the Account that is to be found in these Letters.

Sixthly, The Style of these Letters is extremely barbarous, they are full of Solecisms, and we frequently meet with some Words in them, that were only used in the lower Ages. It is worth a

The first that Published them, if we may believe *Hincmar*, was one *Riculfus*. 'Tis in the Twenty fourth Chapter of his Book against *Hincmar* of *Laon*, where it is said, that *Riculfus* brought the Book of Epistles, as it was collected by *Isidore*, out of Spain, and dispersed them in that Country. *Benedict* the Deacon tells us in the Preface before the Letters, that he drew these Decretals out of the Archives of the Church of *Meus*, from whence *Riculfus* had formerly taken them, and where they were found by *Ausgarus* his Successor.

Not by *Isidore* Archbishop of *Sevil*. He died in 565, and the Author of these Decretals has taken some Passages out of the Council of *Toledo*, held in the Year 575, as also out of the 6th Council celebrated A. D. 681, and out of *Gregory* the Second, and *Gregory* the Third, Confessor of *Meus*, and several others who lived after *Isidore* of *Sevil*.

There is reason to believe, that it was no Spaniard, but rather some German or Frenchman. 'Tis easily the Style of the French or German, about the Ninth Age. The greatest part of these spurious Letters are directed to *German* or *French* Princes. The Author of them cites a Letter of an Abbot of *France*, to *Pasquas* of *Meus*; and another of the same Bishop. Besides, this Collection was first seen in France, being discovered at *Meus*.

Some of these Decretals have been forged since *Riculfus*. He died in 814, and there are some Letters among them, where we find some Fragments out of the Council of *Paris* held in 825. *Benedict* was the first that exposed these Letters to the World; and he tells us, they had been found by *Ausgarus* in the Ar-

chives of the Church of *Meus*, where *Riculfus* placed them, having before brought them out of Spain. All this perhaps is only his own Invention.

Surnamed the Merchant or Singer. Both these Titles are to be found in the Preface. *Isidore* Pectorator, five Mercator, servus Jesu Christi.

We read in History, that one named *Isidore*. 'Tis *Enligius* himself, some of whose Letters are preserved in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; in which he testifies that he had two Brothers, and one of them was named *Isidore*, who retired to *Meus*, and came thither along with some Merchants. Upon this Account possibly they might call that *Isidore* Mercator; perhaps also this is the Pectorator, a Title, which they frequently gave themselves in that Age, and which *Enligius* took often himself.

'Tis visible that all these Passages drawn out of different places have been patched together by some Impostor. 'Tis visible that the Authors themselves never borrowed these Passages out of these Letters. For, 1. Who will believe that an infinite Number of Writers would take long tedious pieces out of these Letters, and never cite them? 2. These Passages being very long and tedious, it does not appear probable, that they copied them out of these Letters. 3. They are the exact Style of these Authors: Now who can imagine that the ancient Popes wrote so many different Styles? 4. They are likewise out of their place in these Letters: Any Man may readily discover, that they are added and patched to the rest of the Discourse; whereas in the Books of the Fathers, from whence they are taken, they are in their proper Natural place.

Man's while to observe, that all these Letters are of the same Style; now I desire to know, how it could possibly happen, that so many different Popes living in different Ages, should all write the same Style: This sets it beyond dispute, that all these Letters were composed almost in the same time, and by the same Person; or at least by one that pursued the same Train of Thoughts.

Now since these Letters first appeared in an unlearned dark Age, what wonder is it if they were received with little Contestation? And yet *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Rheims* with the French Bishops, even at that time made great difficulty of acknowledging them. But a short time after they acquired some Authority, being supported by the Court of *Rome*, whose pretensions they mightily favoured.

After having thus represented the Reasons that prove in general, that all the Decretal Epistles of the Popes before *Syriscus* are Spurious; I shall now descend to particulars, and endeavour to show in few Words, that every Epistle carries undeniable Signs of its being an Imposture, along with it.

The First, and that which seems to bear the greatest Authority, is the Epistle of St. Clement to St. James, the Brother of our Lord; the First Part whereof was formerly Translated by *Ruffinus*. *Isidore* has added a Second to it, and they are both of them equally Supposititious. The first, because it supposes that St. Clement wrote that Letter after the Death of St. Peter; whereas it is a Truth that has been constantly received, that St. James, to whom it is written, died before St. Peter. Secondly, 'Tis there said, That St. Clement immediately succeeded St. Peter, which is contrary to the Ancients, that place St. Linus and *Cletus*, or *Anacletus* between them two. Thirdly, the West is there ridiculously called the darkest part of the World. Fourthly, It is composed to justify the *Itinerary*, or Book of the Voyages of St. Peter, which is Apocryphal. The Second Part, that was composed by *Isidore*, is yet a more evident Cheat. For, 1. It was unknown in the time of *Ruffinus*, and therefore has been invented since. 2. It is full of Texts of Scripture that follow the Translation of St. Jerome: And we likewise meet several Passages there Copied out of St. Cyril of *Alexandria* against *Theodore* of *Mopsuestia*, out of the rule of St. Benedict, out of the Exposition of the Creed by *Venantius Fortunatus*, out of St. Gregory, and *Isidore* of *Sevil*. In short, it speaks of Arch-Priests and Primates, and we find abundance of Words and Expressions in it, that are unworthy of the time of St. Clement.

The Second Epistle of St. Clement directed to St. James, has likewise all the same Marks of Forgery. In the first place it makes mention of Sacraments, of the Habits in which the Priests celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, of the Pall, of Sacred Vessels, of Chalice; things that seem not to have been in use in the time of St. Clement. Secondly, It speaks of the *Ostiarii*, or Door-keepers, Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical Officers, that were not then introduced into the Church. Thirdly, The Letter is written in a barbarous Style. Fourthly, The Author alleges the Authority of his Ancestors. Fifthly, It ordains several Practices of little or no Consequence to be observed under pain of Excommunication for Six Years. Sixthly, It supposes that St. Clement instructed St. James in the Actions of our Blessed Saviour, and the Discipline of the Church. Seventhly, It alleges St. James his own words, Work out your Salvation with fear and trembling, under the Name of St. Peter's. This Letter is full of divers Passages taken out of the Author of the Recognitions, out of St. Cyril of *Alexandria*, St. Prosper, *Laurentius*, *Iustinianus*, and St. Gregory the Great. Lastly, The Scriptures there cited, follow St. Jerome's Translation. The Inscription of the Third Letter of St. Clement alone, is enough to discover the falsity of it. It is directed, To all Suffragan Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and others of the Clergy: To all Princes great and small, and to all the Faithful. Now in St. Clement's time there were no great or small Princes that were of the Church. Secondly, This Letter mentions Sub-Deacons, an Order not then established in the Church. Thirdly, It is for the most part wholly composed of Passages drawn out of the Books of Recognitions: We ought to reject the Fourth for the same Reasons.

The Fifth is directed to St. James, in the Name of St. Clement Bishop of *Rome*, and Successor of St. Peter: Now St. James died before St. Peter, from whence it necessarily follows, that this Epistle cannot have been written by St. Clement. 2. The Author of this Letter seems to approve the Doctrine of the *Nicelians*; who taught, that Women ought to be kept in common, and the place where he maintains this Error, is borrowed out of the Book of Recognitions, in which a Platonic is introduced, disputing upon this occasion. In short, the Author of this Letter tells us, he was present at the Death of *Ananias*, and St. Clement was not as yet Converted, when St. Peter inflicted that terrible Punishment upon *Ananias*. We must add to all the foregoing Arguments, this weighty Consideration, that all these Letters are of a different Style from that of the Epistle to the *Corinthians*, which is undoubtedly St. Clement's. There were indeed some other Letters formerly assigned to this Saint, but they were different from those which we have examined here; for St. Epiphanius, who mentions them, assures us, that he there commends Virginitie, and speak very advantageously of the Prophets. Now there is nothing that looks like this in the above-mentioned

The French Bishops made great Difficulty of acknowledging them. *Hincmar* rejected them, as having no Authority. *Nicholas* the Fifth, in *Epist. 42*, to the People may discover the Cheat at first sight. They rejected them; but since that time, they have been received and inserted into a Collection of Canons, though Learned Men, always questioned the Truth of them.

Epistles which are chiefly taken out of the *Library of St. Peter*; an Apocryphal Work, forged by the Heretics in the third Century. The first Epistle ascribed to Pope *Anacletus*, is visibly Spurious. For, 1. He calls himself in this Letter, the Defender of *St. Clement*; now according to *St. Præsius*, *Enphibius*, *St. Jerome*, and some other ancient *Anacletus* succeeded *St. Peter* and not *St. Clement*. 2. The Author of this Letter is pleased to say, That he received several things from his Ancestors by way of Tradition; and could this Expression possibly drop from a Man that lived in the time of the Apostles? 3. He says, That Appeals from Secular Judges ought to be determined before Bishops, but this was not Customary in the time of the Apostles. 4. He tells us, That the Privileges and Laws of the Church ought to be confirmed, none of which were written in *Anacletus*'s time. 5. He talks of Appeals from Ecclesiastical Judgments to the Holy See, and mentions the different sorts of Ecclesiastical Causes. But these Questions were never debated under *Anacletus*, and when they came to be afterwards discussed, the Authority of this Letter was never alleged. 6. He speaks not only of Primates and Metropolitans, but also of the *Apostolici*, a Name unknown in the Roman Church till the Sixth Century. 7. The Style of this Letter is barbarous, and full of Solecisms. 8. This Letter is composed of many Passages patched together, that are taken out of the Third Council of Carthage, the Letters of *St. Damasus*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustin*, *Ruffinus*, *Ennodius*, *Boniface of Metz*: And there is one Passage borrow'd from *St. Cyprian*'s Book concerning Unity.

Nor are there less Proofs to discover the Imposture of the Second Letter attributed to Pope *Anacletus*: For, 1. The Author of this Letter would neither have Bishops to be Accused, nor Judged. 2. He says, That the Apostles chose the 70 Disciples; whereas it appears by the Gospel, that our Saviour himself made the choice. 3. He speaks of Primates, of Patriarchs, and of Christian Kings. 4. He mentions the Division of the Ecclesiastical Provinces, which was made long after the Death of *Anacletus*. Lastly, He inserts into his Discourse some Passages of the *Nicene Council*, of *Damasus*, of *St. Jerome*, of *St. Augustin*, of *St. Gregory*, of *Isidore of Sevil*, of the 5th Council of *Orleans*, and the *Vulgar Latin*. We ought to pass the same Judgment upon the Third Letter attributed to the same Pope for the same Reasons.

The first Letter attributed to Pope *Evaristus* contains, 1. Some things that have a relation to clandestine Marriage, and several Ceremonies belonging to that Sacrament, all which can by no means agree with the time of *Evaristus*. 2. 'Tis patched up of some passages out of the *vulgar Latin*, the Letters of *Isidore*, and the Dispute of *Ithacius* against *Varimadus*. 3. 'Tis dated under Confuls, that were not in the time of *Evaristus*'s Pontificate.

The Author of the Second Letter attributed to the same Pope, after he has commended several Churches and Bishops, inserts many Texts of Scripture following the *vulgar Latin*, and imitates divers Phrases of *St. Cyprian* and the *African* Fathers. He speaks of Primates, and borrows abundance of things out of *Ruffinus*, *St. Gregory*, and *Isidore of Sevil*.

In the first Letter attributed to Pope *Alexander*, we find many things that discover its Novelty. 1. He mentions some Customs that were not used till after this Pope's time; as amongst others, the Benediction of Water mingled with Salt. 2. He speaks clearly and distinctly of the Trinity, and the Errors of the *Arians* and *Sabellians* are so openly rejected, that any Man in the World may see it was written since the Birth of those Heresies. 3. We there find some Passages taken out of *Ithacius*, *Clarus*, *Siricius*, *Proculus*, *Ennodius*, and *Adrian* the Fifth.

In the Second attributed to the same Pope, there is a Quotation out of the Council of *Laodicea*, that was held under Pope *Martin* the First, and the Scriptures there cited, follow the common Version. The Third is composed of Passages borrow'd out of *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*, *St. Gregory* and *Isidore of Sevil*. Besides the date of it is false.

In the First Epistle attributed to *St. Sixtus*, he is called an Archbishop, a word not used in his time. 2. The Author confutes those that maintain, that the Son was inferior to the Father. 3. The Author uses some words and expressions of *Ithacius*, of the Fifth Council of *Rome*, of *Flavian* Archbishop of *Constantinople*, of *Martin* the First, of *Adrian* the First, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*. In fine, this Letter is dated under the Consulate of *Adrian*, now there was no Consul of that Name, whilst *St. Sixtus* was Pope.

The Second attributed to the same Pope, mentions Consecrated Vessels, Appeals to *Rome*, the Grandeur of that Church. 'Tis there pretended, that all Bishops wait for the Pope's Decision, and are instructed by his Letters: Modes of Speaking never used by the first Bishops of *Rome*. 2. The Author borrows the better part of what he says concerning Pope *Sixtus* and *Zelimus*, out of the Fifth Council of *Rome*, held under *Symmachus* and *Martin* the First. In a word, the date of the Confuls is the very same with that of the former, and consequently discovers the falsity of it.

The Epistle attributed to *Telephorus*, calls him an Archbishop; a Name unknown in the First Ages. 2. There is a Decree in it, to enjoin Three Masses on our Saviour's Nativity, a Custom which is not so Ancient. 3. The Author supposes, that the Laity and Clergy could not accuse one another in Judgment. 4. He has borrowed several places out of *Damasus*, *St. Jerome*, *Proculus*, *St. Leo*, *Flavian*, and *Ennodius*, Authors of a much later date than *Telephorus*. 5. He makes use of the *vulgar Translation* of the Bible. In short, the date of the Confuls is false and erroneous.

The Two Letters ascribed to *Higinus*, are manifestly Spurious. The First is made up of several places taken out of *Ithacius*, *St. Leo*, *Martin* the First, and *Adrian* the First. The Second is stuffed with Texts of Scripture, according to the old Translation; the date of the Confuls is equally false in both of them.

The Imposture of the First Letter attributed to Pope *Pius*, appears, 1. Because the Style of it is rough and barbarous. 2. Because it speaks of a pretended Revelation that appeared to *Hermas*, who it is supposed to be the Brother of *Pius*. 3. Because there are some Passages manifestly Copied out of the Books of *Isidore of Sevil*, *St. Leo*, the Fifth Council of *Rome*, *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*, *Adrian* the First, and the *Vulgar Latin*. Lastly, Because the Date of the Confuls is false, as well as in the Second Letter, which is as evidently forged and spurious as the First. The *Theodosian Code* is cited there, and likewise a Decree is published in it, which Ordains, That those Clergymen who are found disobedient to their Bishop, should be delivered over to the Secular Power; which Passage does not agree with the time of Pope *Pius* the First.

The Two other Letters attributed to the same Pope, are addressed to *Justus* Bishop of *Vienna*, and are taken out of the Archives of the Church of *Vienna*. *Baronius* pretends they are Genuine, because the Style of them is Simple, and because they are agreeable to the History of the time of that Pope; but there are far greater Reasons to incline us to believe, that they are spurious, 1. The barbarous Style. 2. The Name of Mals unknown to the Ancients. 3. The affected Terms; such as, *Superbete*, *Senatoria*, *Cubilibus æternis*, *Perfeverabilem*, *Primarchus*, *Senatus pauper Christi*. 4. It mentions Habits peculiar to Bishops. Lastly, These Letters were unknown to all Antiquity.

We find several Passages in the Letter attributed to *Anicetus*, which don't agree with the time of that Pope; as for instance, what is there laid down concerning the Ordinations of Bishops, *Sacerdotal Tonsure*, *Archbishops*, *Primates*, and *Patriarchs*, which were not instituted till long after; besides many other things of the same Nature. 2. The Author of that Letter uses the *Vulgar Latin*; and Copies abundance of things out of *St. Leo*, *Adrian* the First, and the Councils of *Nice* and *Antioch*. Lastly, He is mistaken in the Date of his Confuls.

The First Letter attributed to *Soter*, is full of Passages borrowed from *Ithacius*, *St. Leo*, and the *Vulgar Latin*; and the Confuls there mentioned, held the Consulship some Years before *Soter* was Bishop of *Rome*.

The Second Letter attributed to the same, is a Miscellany taken out of the Council of *Laodicea*, and out of *Gelasius*, *Martin* the First, and *St. Leo*. It speaks of Monks, of Palls, &c. Besides the Date of the Confuls does not agree with the Years of this Pope's Pontificate.

The Epistle of *Eleutherius* treats of Ecclesiastical Judgments in favour of the Court of *Rome*. The Author of it pretends, That all Causes relating to the Church, ought to be determined there, and that they cannot be tried in the Province; a Practice contrary to all Antiquity. He follows the *Vulgar Latin* in his Quotations of Scripture, and cites a Text out of *St. John*, which he attributes to *St. Paul*. He copies several Passages out of the Popes *St. Leo*, *Felix* the Third, *Anastasius*, *Adrian* the First, *Victor* of Carthage, *Hilary* the Deacon, the Fourth Council of Carthage, the Sixth Council of *Toledo*, and the *Theodosian Code*. Lastly, The Date of the Confuls is false.

The Inscription of the First Epistle attributed to *Victor*, plainly discovers the falsity of it. 1. It bestows upon him the Quality of Archbishop of the Universal Church; a Title which the Ancient Popes never gave themselves. 2. It is directed to *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, who lived almost 200 Years after *Victor*. 3. The Author of this Letter speaks of the Judgments of Bishops, and Appeals to *Rome*, according to the Pretensions of the Bishops of *Rome* in the latter Ages. Lastly, He uses the Testimonies of *St. Leo* and *Isidore*. The Second Letter attributed to the same Pope, is full of Passages borrowed from *St. Leo*, and the *Vulgar Latin*. The Third and Fourth published by *Johannes de Bosco*, and taken out of the Library of the Abby of *Fleury*, are written in a Style, that manifestly discovers their Novelty. The Scriptures there cited, follow the *Vulgar Latin*. The First is directed to *Desiderius* Bishop of *Vienna*; now we don't read that there was ever any Bishop of that Name in *Vienna*, before the time of Pope *Gregory* the Great.

The First Letter of *Zephyrinus* is composed of several Passages taken out of *St. Leo*, *St. Prosper*, *Vigilius*, *St. Gregory*, *Martin* the First, *Adrian* the First, the *Theodosian Code*, *Anianus*, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*. 2. We find in it the Names of Patriarch and Primate. 3. It treats about the Decisions of Bishops, and Appeals to the Holy See. 4. The Conful *Gallicanus* is named there; now there was none of that Name in the time of *Zephyrinus*. Lastly, The Author of it supposes, that the 70 Disciples were chosen by the Apostles.

The Second Letter attributed to the same Pope, is yet more visibly spurious. 1. The Author of it very impertinently cites the Imperial Laws in favour of the Bishops. 2. He speaks of the *Apostolici*. 3. He heaps together the very Thoughts and Words of *St. Prosper*, *Adrian*, and *Paul* of *Constantinople*. 4. He cites the Canons of Pope *Adrian* as Ancient Statutes. And at last, he says, that there were false Brethren in *Africa* that plundered and spoiled the Bishops: Which cannot possibly be true, for there was no Persecution in *Africa* in the time of Pope *Zephyrinus*.

The Fifth Epistle attributed to *Calistus*, is filled with Passages taken out of the *Nicene Council*, the Fifth Council of *Rome*, *St. Prosper*, *Gelasius*, *Symmachus*, *Isidore*, *Anianus*, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*. He speaks of Ember-Weeks, that were instituted long after the time of this Pope. The Second is likewise full of Passages drawn out of the Council of *Antioch*, the Fourth Synod of *Carthage*, *Simplicius*, *St. Ausin*, *St. Gregory*, *Adrian*, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*. We find several new Constitutions there.

The Author of the Epistle attributed to *Urban*, gives large Commendations of a Life, where all things are held in common; He speaks of Vows, and the Revenue of the Church; he uses the Thoughts and Words of *St. Prosper*, *Ensebins*, the Council of *Paris*, *Gregory* the Fourth, the *Theodosian Code*, and the *Vulgar Latin*.

An Abridgment of Doctrine, &c.

The Two Letters attributed to Pope *Pelagius*, are made up of Passages taken out of the Vulgar Latin, *St. Gregory*, *St. Jerome*, *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*. The rest is written in a barbarous Style.

The Author of the Epistle attributed to *Novatus* speaks of a Bishop of *Ephesus* named *Felix*, but unknown to the Ancients, and places one *Eusebius* amongst the Bishops of *Alexandria*, who is not to be found in the Catalogue of the Bishops of that See. 2. Touching the Translation of Bishops, he establishes some things, contrary to the Determinations of the Councils of *Antioch*, *Sardica* and *Chalcedon*. And besides, he cites the Words of *St. Jerome*, *Siricius*, *Ennodius*, *St. Gregory*, *Isidore*, *Martin* the First, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*.

The Author of the First Epistle attributed to *Fabian*, supposes that *Novatus* came to *Rome* in his Papacy, though it was in *Cornelius's* time, according to the Testimony of *St. Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Jerome*. Secondly, he borrows several Passages out of *Rufinus*, *St. Leo*, *St. Gregory*, *Adrian* the First, and *Boniface* of *Meaux*.

In the Second Epistle attributed to the same Pope, we read, 1. That disobedient Clerks ought to be delivered up to the Secular Arm. 2. That the Holy Christm must be made Yearly. 3. We find some places in it, that are Copied out of the Second Council of *Carthage*, the Fifth of *Rome*, the Council of *Antioch*, *Siricius*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Augustine*, *Innocent*, *Zosimus*, *Celestine*, *Proclus*, *St. Gregory*, *Isidore*, and *Adrian*. The Third is full of Passages drawn out of the Letters of Pope *Adrian*, the *Theodosian Code*, *Amianus*, *Felix* the Third, *St. Gregory*, the Second Council of *Carthage*, the Council of *Toledo*, and other Publick Monuments later than *Fabian*.

The first Letter attributed to *Cornelius* is full of Errors; 'Tis there said, First, That the Bodies of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* were removed out of the Catacombs; which appears to be false by the Testimony of *St. Gregory*, who tells us in the third Letter of his third Book, That the Body of *St. Paul* lay always near the *Porta Ostia*, and *St. Peter's* in the *Vatican*. Secondly, Some Passages are to be found in this Letter, taken out of the Epistles of *Martin* the First, and *St. Leo*. The Second is a Collection of several things out of the *Constantinopolitan Council* under *Flavian*, the First and Third Council of *Carthage*, the Council of *Chalcedon*, the Fifth of *Rome*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Jerome*, and *Boniface* of *Meaux*; but nothing shows the Impotence of these two Letters more palpably, than the difference of Style from those that truly belong to *Cornelius*, which are to be seen in *St. Cyprian*, with the Fragment of one in *Eusebius*. There is another Letter of his besides, to *Lupicinus* Bishop of *Vienne*, which is writ in a Style as different from that of the true *Cornelius*, as any of the rest; we find the word *Musi* in it, which was unknown to the Authors, that lived in the time of this Pope.

The Epistle attributed to *Lucius*, is full of Citations out of the Vulgar Latin, and of several Passages taken out of the First Council of *Aries*, the Third of *Carthage*, that of *Milevis*, *St. Leo*, *Gregory*, *Agatho*, *Adrian*, and *Sixtus* the *Pythagorean*: Besides, it is dated Six Months before the Election of *Lucius*.

The two Epistles attributed to *Stephanus*, are filled with Citations out of Modern Authors, and Statutes, that don't all agree with the time of this Pope, and consequently are Spurious.

For the same Reasons, we must pass the same Judgment of the two Letters of *Sixtus* the Second, the two of Pope *Dionysius*, the three of *St. Felix* the First, the two of *Eusebius*, that of *Cornelius*, the two of *Marcellinus*, those of *Marcellus*, the three of *Eusebius*, the Letter and Decree of *Miltiades*, and the rest of the Letters of the Popes collected by *Isidore*, that are full of several Passages taken out of the Fathers, Popes, and Councils more Modern than the very Popes, by whom they are pretended to be written; and in which many things are to be found, that don't in the least agree with the true History of those times, and were purposely said to favour the Court of *Rome*, and establish her Pretensions against the Rights of Bishops, and the Liberties of Churches. But it would take up too much time to show the gross falsity of these Monuments, that are now rejected by a common Consent, and even by those Authors, that are most favourable to the Court of *Rome*, who are obliged to abandon the Patronage of these Epistles, though they have done a great deal of Service in establishing the greatness of the Court of *Rome*, and ruining the ancient Discipline of the Church; especially in relation to Ecclesiastical Decisions, and Rights of Bishops.

An Abridgment of the Doctrine, Discipline, and Morality of the Three First Ages of the Church.

An Abridgment of Doctrine, &c.

AFTER having given a Summary of what is contained in the Works of the Ecclesiastical Authors for the Three first Ages of the Church, I supposed it would not be amiss, to present the Reader with an Abridgment also of the Theology of the Primitive Christians. This Design, besides the relation it had to the Work it self, seem'd in my Opinion to be the principal Fruit and Advantage that could be gathered from it. For the ultimate Scope and End, which a Man ought to propose to himself in reading the Ecclesiastical Authors, and their History, is not to gratify a vain foolish Curiosity, but to learn Religion thereby. We must not study these Matters, only to make a Pompous Ostentation of our Knowledge, but to become better Christians, to become more certain of the Doctrine of the Church, more respectful to its Discipline, and better instructed in its Holy Morality. For all Theology reduces it self to these Three Points, Doctrine,

Discipline, and Morality. Doctrine concerns the Articles of Faith that our Religion teaches us; Discipline concerns the Government of the Church; and Morality teaches us, what things we are to do, and what we are to forbear. Hereticks overthrow the Doctrine of the Church by their Errors. Schismatics destroy its Discipline by violating the Orders and Rules of the Church: And lastly, The vicious Christian discards and lays aside the Laws of its Morality, by living after an irregular manner. For the better avoiding these Rocks and Precipices, it is exceeding requisite for all Christians, to draw out of the Tradition of the ancient Church, that is to say, out of the Books of the Primitive Fathers, who are the unquestionable Witnesses of the Opinion of the Church in their own times; to draw, I say, from thence the Doctrine which they are obliged to believe, to examine the Ecclesiastical Discipline, which they are to revere and obey, and lastly from thence to learn the most Holy Rules of the Christian Morality.

An Abridgment of the Doctrine.

THE Doctrine of the Church was always the same, and will be ever so till the end of the World: For 'tis utterly impossible that the true Church should cease to be, or that the true Church should not teach the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, because whether the Church teach a Doctrine different from that of Jesus Christ, or whether she should not teach the Doctrine of our Blessed Saviour, in both these Cases she would cease to be the true Church. Jesus Christ, as *St. Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, and all the rest of the Ancients have observed, taught his Apostles all the Truths of Faith. The Apostles published them throughout all the Earth, and opened them to all the Churches in the World, whose Doctrine is found to be conformable each to other in Articles of Faith. This Doctrine was always preserved in the Church, which is the Pillar and Foundation of Truth. 'Tis indeed very true, that they did not always make use of the same terms, and that before the Birth of Heresies, they did not observe that precaution in speaking of Mysteries, which they did afterwards, when they were attack'd by the Hereticks: But still the Foundation of Doctrine was always the same as to the principal Articles of our Faith. We must likewise acknowledge, that there were some Errours very frequent in the First Ages of the Church, that have been rejected since, but then they don't concern the principal Articles of our Faith; and besides were never looked upon to be the received Doctrine of the Church, but only the most common Opinions. These previous Observations, will be confirmed by an Abridgment of the Doctrine of the Church, as it is delivered by the Authors of the Three first Centuries; which we are going to represent in as few words as possibly we can.

They taught, That the Grounds and Principles of Faith, were the Holy Scriptures, and Tradition; that we ought to believe Mysteries, though we were not able to comprehend them; they spoke of the Nature of God and of his Attributes after a most excellent manner; they believed him to be Invisible, Eternal, Incorruptible, &c. they have frequently discoursed of his Providence, his Power, his Bounty, his Mercy, and his Goodness; they wrote very sharply against the false Divinities of the Pagans, and the Errours of Hereticks, who imagined that there could be above one Sovereign and Independent Being; they proved that God Created all Things, and even Matter it self, which was not Eternal; they acknowledged the Trinity of the Three Persons in one only God, the Divinity and Eternity of the Word, and of the Holy Ghost; they maintain'd that the Word was from all Eternity in God, as a Person distinct from the Father; that the Father created the World by him, and that he governs it, and that it was the Person of the Word that appear'd to the ancient Patriarchs under different Figures, and who was at last Incarnate; that Jesus Christ was the Word made Man, God and Man all together, compos'd of two intire and different Natures; that he had a Soul and Body like unto ours; that he took this Body in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*; that his Flesh was real and true; that he suffered and was really Dead; that he made himself Man, to save the World that was lost by the Sin of the first Man; that he came to discover the Truth to them, to show them an Example; and that he redeemed them by his Death; that he descended into Hell, and afterwards rose again from the Dead; that he will come at the Day of Judgment to judge all Men; that he will Condemn the Wicked to Everlasting Punishments, and reward the Good with Eternal Happiness, after he has raised up both the one and the other. All the Fathers, of whom we have spoken, make Profession of this Faith, and assure us, That this is the Doctrine, which all the Churches in the World have received from the Apostles, and that it was necessary to believe it in order to become a Christian. They sometime make use of some Expressions concerning the Person of the Word, that seem to derogate from his Divinity; as for instance, when they say, that the Word was not begotten, till the Beginning of the World; that he is visible, and that the Father is invisible; that he is one Portion of the Substance of the Father, and that the Father is all Substance. But these ways of Speaking, have a very good, Meaning in these Authors, as we have often observed. For when they say, That the Word was begotten at the Beginning of the World, and that he was not the Son before, they don't mean that the Word began only to exist then, since they acknowledge he existed before, and was in God from all Eternity: But they take the Word Generation in another Sense than we do, giving this Name to a certain Prolation, or Emission of the Word, which they imagine was done, when God resolv'd to create the World; and 'tis in this sense they say, that

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the Word who was from all Eternity in God, was generated or begotten at that time, and that he had not always the Quality of the Son. We have likewise explained in what sense they say, that the Word is visible, and the Father invisible; and we have made it evidently appear, that they did not believe, that the Word was therefore of a different Nature from the Father, but only that they attributed Visibility to the Son, as they ascribed Almightiness to the Father: Saying, That it is through the Son, that God makes every External Being, and consequently that by him he renders himself visible to Mankind. This Manner of Speaking is so little contrary to the Divinity of the Word, that it is to be found in *Athanasius*, and in the other Fathers that lived after the *Nicene* Council. In short, when they say that the Son was a Portion of the Substance of the Father, we are so far from being able to conclude that they were of *Arian's* Opinion, that on the contrary, it follows from thence, that they believed the Son was not created of Nothing, as *Arius* afterwards taught, but that he was Consubstantial to the Father; that is to say, of the same Substance as the *Nicene* Council has determined. But wherefore do they say, that the Son is only something derived from the Substance of the Father? Is it because they believed he was inferior to the Father? Not at all, but it was because they conceived, that the Father, as having all the Divinity in him, communicated it to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. 'Tis upon this account that they usually ascribe to the Person of the Father all the Attributes of the Godhead, as we may see in the Creed, where after it is said, *I believe in God*, they add, *Almighty, Creator of Heaven and Earth*, &c. and yet we must not therefore say, that these Attributes don't agree to the Son and the Holy Ghost, but only that they are attributed to the Father; because he is the Fountain and Original of the Divinity, and because the Son and Holy Ghost receive it from him. I pass over in Silence some feeble Objections, that are only founded upon the ambiguity of the words *Nature* and *Creation*, that have not been as yet determined to a certain sense, as also the Signification of the word *Hypostasis* has been a long time undetermined. Thus when the Son is called another Substance than the Father, (though that is but very seldom) yet we are not to conclude from thence, that the Person who speaks after this manner, does not believe him to be truly God, because the Words of Nature and Substance were not at that time determined to the sense, they received afterwards, and because they may be taken for a Person subsisting. This is so true, that *Gregory Nazianzen*, and some others that lived in a time, when these Expressions were determined, forbore not to say sometimes that the Father was the first Substance or Nature, and the Son the Second: And thus it is ordinary for those, that acknowledged the Divinity of the Word, to say, That God made or created him, though they believe that he was not created of Nothing, but Begotten of the Divine Substance.

As to the Incarnation, the Fathers of the Three first Centuries have said nothing that in the least seems to favour the Errors of the *Paulianists*, the *Apollinarists*, the *Nestorians*, or the *Eutychians*; and they always distinguished Two Natures in Jesus Christ, and admitted the Properties of these Natures without Confusion, and being changed one into the other, yet re-united at the same time in the same Person, God and Man both together. They likewise plainly say, That Jesus Christ was Born of a Virgin by the Operation of the Holy Ghost, without Concupiscence and without Sin. And though they frequently tell us, That the benefit of the Incarnation is the Instruction, and the Example which Jesus Christ has given us; yet they acknowledge besides that, that he has truly Redeemed us by his Death; and that he has satisfied God for us. They believed, that we could not be Saved without believing in him; and for that Reason they imagined, that he descended into Hell, as well as the Apostles after him, to Preach the Gospel there to the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, who had known the true God, and had lived virtuously. They were of Opinion, That the Day of Judgment was at hand; That the Souls of Men until that Day, were neither perfectly Happy nor Miserable, though they underwent some Punishment before-hand, or were at rest, according to the proportion of the Good or Evil they had done in their Bodies. They almost universally believed with *Papias*, that Jesus Christ was to Reign a Thousand Years upon Earth, but they never asserted that Opinion as a Matter of Faith. They were sufficiently divided about the Nature of the Soul; some of them supposed it to be Corporeal, others declared, That they believed it to have been Spiritual; but however the better part of them agreed that it was Immortal, that the Just would be rewarded with Everlasting Happiness, and the Wicked everlastingly Punished. They never disquieted themselves in examining wherein the Beatitude consisted, but they were persuaded, That the Wicked should be punished with Fire, and that not Metaphorically, but Real. They advanced Man's Free-Will very highly; and maintained that he might carry himself either to Good or Evil; and yet they acknowledged, That since the Transgression of the First Man, we were naturally inclined to Evil, and that we stood in need of the Assistance and Grace of God to determine us to what was Good. They did not Philosophize too far about the Nature, and several Species of Angels; but only satisfied themselves, that there were good Angels, and likewise bad ones called *Demons*. They were of Opinion, that both the one and the other were Corporeal, and imagined that the bad Angels were lost for their love of Women, and they positively asserted, that the good Ones took care of things below. All of them were sensible of the Wounds and Punishment of *Adam's* Sin, but they don't seem to agree, that Infants were born subject to Sin, and worthy of Damnation. Nevertheless, this appears to be the common Opinion; as is evident from *St. Cyprian*, who says, "That it was requisite to Baptize Infants before the Eighth day, for fear lest if they died without Baptism, this delay should prove the occasion of their Destruction." They often spoke of the Necessity and wonderful Effects of Baptism, and said that the Holy Ghost descended by the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishop. They maintained, That the Church had Power to reconcile those that repented of their Sins; and did not doubt but that the Eucharist was the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and accordingly called it by that

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Name. They extolled Virginity without condemning Marriage; they honoured the Saints and Martyrs as the Servants of God, they spoke of the Virgin *Mary* with a great deal of respect, and yet with no less discretion and advisableness. *St. Clement* affirms, That she continued a Virgin after her Delivery; but *Origen*, *Tertullian*, and some others, were of the contrary Opinion. We find nothing in the Three first Ages of the Church, either for or against the Assumption; there is a Passage in *St. Irenaeus*, that is not favourable to the immaculate Conception. They believed that the Holy Scriptures were written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, that they contain all the principal Articles of our Faith; that though they are obscure in some places, yet they are clear enough in many others, and that even their Obscurity has its Use; and that all Christians might read them, provided they made good use of them: That it is necessary to believe what the Scripture, Tradition and the Church teach us, without endeavouring to search too deep into the Mysteries of our Religion, and disputing about them. They acknowledged no other Books of the Old Testament to be Canonical, but those that were received into the Canon of the *Jews*, though now and then they cited some other Books as very good and useful. In the New Testament they received as Canonical the Four Evangelists, the Fourteen Epistles of *St. Paul*, (though some of them questioned that to the *Hebrews*, and many Persons attributed it to another, and not to *St. Paul*) the First Epistles of *St. John*, and of *St. Peter*. The Epistles of *St. James* and *St. Jude*. The Second of *St. Peter*, the Second and Third of *St. John* were received by some, and rejected by others, as well as the *Apocalypse*. They sometimes cited the Apocryphal Books, but never reckoned them amongst the Canonical Scriptures.

Thus I have given you a short Summary of part of the Opinions of the Fathers in the Three First Ages of the Church. The most part of the Proofs, which I have here laid down, are to be found in the Abridgment of those Authors, that I have made in this Volume; and I don't in the least question, but that those Persons, who will carefully read over the same Authors, will be sensible, that I have imposed nothing upon them, and that their Doctrine is what I have now represented it.

An Abridgment of the Discipline.

WE cannot say of the Discipline of the Church, what we have affirmed concerning its Doctrine, viz. That it is the same in all Times, and all Places; because it is an undeniable Truth, that it has been different in many Churches, and has been from time to time subject to change. We ought not however to conclude from this Principle, that it is unnecessary to study the Primitive Discipline, or that we are obliged only to learn that of the Time and Church where we live; for besides, that those Persons who are ignorant of the Discipline of the Primitive Church, cannot pretend to understand the Books of the Ancients, this ancient Discipline is the Foundation of ours: And therefore an unprofitable Labour as some have vainly imagined, to busy oneself in examining the Discipline of the Ancient Church; on the contrary it is a Study extremely useful, and necessary for a Divine.

It must be acknowledged that the Discipline that was observed in the Infancy of the Church, however Holy it was in its Simplicity, yet was not arrived to its Perfection; for the Apostles altogether applying themselves to what was necessary at the beginning, were content to Preach the Doctrine and Morality of our Blessed Saviour, without giving themselves the trouble to regulate what related to the Ceremonies, or Discipline of the Church. Nevertheless we are not to imagine, that they entirely neglected it, and *St. John*, who lived longer than the rest of the Apostles, seems to have applied himself more particularly to it. But the Successors of the Apostles, by little and little, regulated the Ceremonies, that ought to be observed, as well in the Administration of the Sacraments, as in the Assemblies of Christians, and made particular Orders about the Government of Churches, the Form of Ecclesiastical Judicatures, and many other Points of Discipline.

These Ceremonies were exceedingly augmented in the Fourth Century, when the Church began to enjoy the benefits of Peace and Tranquillity, and Publicly celebrated the Divine Service in the time of the Emperor *Constantine*. Then it was that the Bishops met together with Liberty, being supported by the Authority of Princes; and made abundance of Rules concerning the Government of the Church, the Rights of the Bishops of the greater Sees, the Forms of Judicature, and infinite Numbers of other Matters.

We have here obliged our selves to speak only of the Discipline, that was observed in the Three First Ages of the Church: Then it was plain and simple, and had scarce any other Splendor to recommend it, but what the Holiness of the Manners and Lives of the Christians gave to it. They Assembled every Sunday in particular, in certain Places appointed and set apart for Publick Devotion, where they continued a long time in Prayer, which they pronounced with a low Voice, without Singing it aloud, as afterwards they did. The Bishop, or in his Absence, the Minister, presided in that Congregation, where they read the Holy Scriptures, and oftentimes the Bishop preached the Word of God. The Festivals of our Blessed Saviour's Nativity, of *Easter*, and *Whitsunday* were Celebrated even in those Days with great Solemnity. It was not their Custom on *Sundays*, as likewise from *Easter* to *Whitsunday*, to pray Kneeling, and when they offered up their Prayers, they always turned to the East. The places where they met were plain and without Ornament, and it seems probable, that in those times the use of Images, of Crosses, and Incense was not common. They did not give the

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the Name of *Temple* to their House of Publick Prayer, nor that of *Altar* to the Table upon which they celebrated the Eucharist; they had often their Feasts of Charity and Benevolence, which they called *Agape*, where all Commers were kindly entertained.

They pray'd for the Dead, and made Oblations for them, and celebrated the Sacrifice of the Mass in Commemoration of them; the Christians gave one another a Kiss of Peace; they call'd one another by the Name of Brethren, and continually made the Sign of the Cross. They pray'd to Saints and Martyrs, and solemnized the day of their Death with Joy, and were periwaded that they interceded with God in behalf of the Living. They Baptized with some Ceremonies, those that were well instructed in their Religion, and who had given satisfactory Signs of their sincere Conversion; they generally dip't them thrice in the Water, invoking the Name of the Holy Trinity, and they never administred this Sacrament solemnly, but at the Feasts of *Easter* and *Pentecost*. In *Africa* towards the Third Age of the Church, they made use of Holy Water in Baptizing their *Neophytes*. They anointed them with Oil after Baptism, and imagined that this Ceremony convey'd some Internal Benefit to them, and likewise in some Churches they gave them Milk and Honey to taste. They imposed hands upon them, that the plenitude of the Holy Ghost might descend on them, and they considered this Imposition of Hands, which was generally reserved for the Bishop, as a distinct Sacrament from Baptism.

Baptism was never reiterated amongst them, but by Hereticks in some particular Churches, and if after it any Christians fell into Sin, of which they were convinced, or made a Confession to the Priest, they were enjoy'd a severe Penance; that is to say, they were thrown out of the Communion of the Church, forbidden the Assemblies of the Faithful, and obliged to Fast, to Humble and Mortifie themselves Publickly at the Church-Porch. In some Churches, and particularly in those of *Africa* and *Rome*, there was a time, when they never admitted to Peace those that fell into Idolatry, or those that had committed Murder and Adultery. They afterwards consented to some relaxation for Murderers, and Adulterers, and afterwards for Idolaters themselves, whom they reconciled to the Church, either at the point of Death, or after a long and severe Penance. 'Tis true indeed, they did not use the same Severity in all Churches, and in some they admitted Offenders to a Reconciliation after a short Penance, and they likewise abated somewhat of the Rigour of it at the recommendation of the Martyrs. As for the Clergy, those of them that fell into any notorious Sin, were not only deprived for ever from the Ministry, but also obliged to undergo Publick Penance, at least in some Churches. They that had once undergone this Scandal in the Face of the Congregation were never admitted into the Clergy. They imposed this course of Repentance never but once, and whoever fell into his vitious Transgressions the second Time, could never be reconciled to the Church, and was to expect his Pardon from God alone. The Sentence of Excommunication was pronounced against Hereticks, the Disturbers of Discipline, and those Christians that persisted in a profligate irregular Life. He that was Excommunicated by a Bishop, could be no where received into Communion. The Matter of the Eucharist was ordinary Bread, and Wine mingled with Water; the Faithful made this Offering, and the Priest or the Bishop that presided in the Assembly, said Prayers and Thanksgivings over the Bread and over the Chalice, and after these Prayers were ended, all the Congregation answered *Amen*. They divided the Consecrated Bread into several pieces, and the Deacons distributed them to the Standers by, and gave them also the Consecrated Wine. In some Churches this Distribution was reserved for the Priests, and in others every Man approached near the Table, and took his Portion of the Eucharist himself. All the Christians took it with wonderful respect, protesting they received the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: they received the Species of Bread in their hands, and likewise the Eucharist was given to Infants under the Species of Wine. They generally received it in the Morning before they had eaten, but this Custom was not intirely Established as a Law, and sometimes they received it in the middle of a repast. This Celebration of the Eucharist was frequently called a Sacrifice; the Priest recited several Prayers both before and after Consecration, and St. *Cyprian* observes, that he said, *Lift up your hearts to God*: And the People answered, *We have lifted them up to the Lord*. The manner of celebrating this Sacrament was Simple and without abundance of Ceremonies, as we have already observed in another place. They received the Eucharist often, and generally whenever they met together in the Assemblies of the Faithful: but they believed that they were obliged to live Piously, and according to the Holy Rules of the Gospel, that they might partake of this Celestial Food worthily, and after a manner that might be beneficial to them. There is no mention made, in the Three first Ages of the Church, of Anointing the Sick, which St. *James* speaks of; perhaps because it was seldom used in that time. Marriage was celebrated in presence of the Priests, and was confirmed by some Oblation. Second Marriages were reputed Scandalous; nay, they were condemned by some Persons. In some Churches they allowed the Husband to send home his Wife and Marry another, in case of Adultery only: But this was no general Custom amongst them. They took great Care in the Choice of their Ministers to elect such Persons, whose Life and Conversation were unblameable. After the Death of those who had been ordained by the Apostles, the People elected. Though the Names of Bishops and Presbyters were frequently confounded; yet the Bishops were above the Presbyters. The Bishops were generally Ordained by their Brethren, who imposed their Hands upon them, and the Priests by the Imposition of their Bishop and the Clergy. The Bishop was mightily respected and considered by them: Nothing of considerable moment in the Church could be done without him, even Baptism itself was reserved for him, but then he treated his Presbyters as Brethren, and did nothing without their Advice. There were Deacons in the Times of the Apostles, to whom belonged the Administration of Sacred Things at the beginning

of the Church, and to whom in some places it was allowed to lay hands upon Penitents in case of Necessity. The Deaconesses also are very Ancient. As for the Sub-Deacons, and other inferior Orders, they were afterwards instituted; yet they were in use in St. *Cyprian's* time.

All the Bishops were periwaded, that they received their Office immediately from Jesus Christ, and that Providence had assigned to each of them a Portion of the Flock of the Heavenly Pastor to Govern, in such a manner however, as that in an exigence or time of Necessity, they were to relieve the wants of all Churches. They lived in great Union together, and preserved a mutual Correspondence by Letters, which they sent to one another. The Bishops of great Cities had their Prerogatives in Ordinations, and in Councils, and as in Civil Affairs Men generally had recourse to the Civil Metropolis; so likewise in Ecclesiastical Matters, they consulted with the Bishop of the Metropolis. The Churches of the Three Principal Cities of the World were looked upon as Chief, and their Bishops attributed great Prerogatives to themselves. *The Church of Rome founded by St. Peter and St. Paul, was consider'd as first, and its Bishop, as first amongst all the Bishops of the World; yet they did not believe him to be Infallible, and though they frequently consulted him, and his Advice was of great Consequence, yet they did not receive it blind-fold and implicitly, every Bishop imagining himself to have a Right to Judge in Ecclesiastical Matters.* They had a Prodigious respect for the Decisions of Councils; and the Opinion of the Universal Church, that is to say, of all the Churches in the World, passed for an Infallible Rule of Faith: They esteemed those Persons, that were separated from the visible Society of the Church, to be Schismatics, for whom no Salvation was to be had. The Clergy were not distinguished from others by any peculiar Habits, but by the Sanctity of their Life and Manners, they were removed from all kind of Avarice, and carefully avoided every thing that seem'd to carry the appearance of scandalous, filthy luxury. They administred the Sacrament *gratis*, and believed it to be an abominable Crime to give or receive any thing for a Spiritual Blessing. 'Tis then were not then appropriated to them, but the People maintained them voluntarily at their own expence. The Goods of the Church were in common between the Priests and Bishop, who had the Administration of them; the Offerings were reserved for the Poor; the Pastors never abandoned the Flock that was committed to their Care, but with infinite regret, and only in case of Necessity, and carefully acquitted themselves in all the Functions of the Ministry. The Clergy were prohibited to meddle with any Civil and Secular Affairs. They were ordained against their Will, and did not remove from one Church to another, out of a Principle of Interest, or Ambition. They were extremely Chast and Regular. It was lawful for Priests to keep the Wives they married before they were Ordained, but Marriage was never permitted after Ordination; but both the one and the other was allowed to Deacons. Monks were not as yet instituted; but there were abundance of Persons of both Sexes amongst the Christians, that lived in a state of Celibacy, and cheerfully submitted to the austerities of an Ascetic Life. There were likewise some Women in the Third Age of the Church, that solemnly obliged themselves to keep their Virginity all their Life-time. All Christians forbore to eat of any Meat that was Strangled, or Blood, or things offered to Idols, which were called *Idolothya*. They fasted with great rigour before *Easter*, some a longer, and others a shorter space, according to the different Customs of Churches: Besides this, they ordinarily fasted every *Wednesday* and *Friday*, till Three a Clock in the Afternoon only, and many of them spent these Days in Prayers, which they called their Stations. They likewise fasted and mortified themselves in Times of Publick Calamities, and when they were in the rank of Penitents. They were of Opinion, That it was unlawful to fast on *Sundays*, and from *Easter* to *Whitsunday*. They buried the Bodies of the Deceased in the Earth, and did not approve of the Custom of those that burnt them.

These are the Principal Points of the Discipline of the Ancient Church, which I have collected with all the brevity and exactness that was possible. But no body ought to conclude from what has been said here, that all these things were practised in all Churches, and in all Times of the Three first Centuries. Some began to be used but in the Third Age, and others were only observed in some particular Churches. After all, it must be confessed, That the Discipline of the Church has been so extremely different, and so often altered, that it is almost impossible to say any thing positively concerning it.

An Abridgment of the Morality.

THE Morality of the Gospel has been as immutable as its Doctrine, but it has moreover this Advantage, that though there have been abundance of lewd, wicked Christians in the World, who lived in a manner contrary to the Rules of the Evangelick Morality; yet there were never any Maxims opposite to it; for, there was scarce ever any dispute in the Church, or any different Sentiments about the Questions of Morality. They followed the Precepts of the Gospel according to the Letter, and exhorted all the Faithful to imitate the Life of Jesus Christ, as a Model of what they were to observe: I should never have done, if I should endeavour to heap together all the Principles or Heads of Morality, that are to be found in the Authors of the Three first Ages: It is sufficient to say, that they not only carried the Professors of Christianity to observe the Precepts of the Decalogue and the Natural Law, but that they likewise recommended to them, the embracing the Perfection of the Christian Morality. They maintained, that the most agreeable Sacrifice that could be offered to God, was to give

give him a contrite Heart; that it was necessary to love him above all things, in order to be just; that those that were influenced only by a Principle of servile fear, were not really upright; that we ought to die, and suffer all Punishments imaginable, rather than be guilty of any thing, that might give the World occasion to believe, that we have renounced or despised the Doctrine of Jesus Christ; that we ought to love our Neighbour as our self, and assist and help him; to with ill to no body, to render Good for Evil, and Pray for those that Persecute us. They exhorted the Faithful to give large Alms, to visit the Poor, to comfort the Sick, and those that were Imprisoned upon the account of Religion. They recommended it to the Consideration of those Christians that were Rich and Powerful, to employ the Superfluities of their Fortune in these indispensable Duties, and to use the World without being Wedded to it; They taught them, that they were obliged not only to avoid Criminal Pleasures, such as Debauchery, and those that were dangerous, such as the publick Shows and Comedies, but also all unprofitable Pleasures that had no other end but the mere entertainment of the Senses; that they ought to content themselves with what was necessary, without a sollicitous pursuit and search after those things that served only for Pleasure or Luxury: That Christian Women ought to be extremely Modest in their Garb and Dress. They commanded all Persons of whatsoever Condition, to be Obedient to all Emperours, Magistrates and Secular Powers. They exhorted Wives, to love their Husbands, Husbands to cherish their Wives, Children to obey their Fathers and Mothers, and Parents to have a Care of their Children, and reprehend them without bitterness; they admonished the Faithful to be submissive to their Pastors, and the Pastors to have a great deal of Charity and Zeal for their Flock.

In a word, They prescribed all the Rules and Holy Maxims of the Gospel to the Observation of Christians, and exhorted them to lead a Life conformable to them. But what is most to be admired, this excellent System of Morality was not only to be found in the Writings of the First Christians; but it appeared and glittered in their Lives and Actions. *We say not great things, says one of these Ancients, but we live them.* Non eloquimur magna, sed vivimus.

The End of the First Volume.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN the Table of the Works of the Authors in this Volume, under the Name *Hippolytus*, in the Column of Books Lost, dele the whole Paragraph [*What I said formerly*, &c.

A CHRO-

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE A U T H O R S OF THE Old Testament.

With the Names of the Authors, their Country, and Employments, Time of their Birth, Time when they Flourished, and time of their Death.

MOSES, of the Tribe of *Levi*, Chief of the People of *Israel*, born in *Egypt* in the 2433d Year of the World, 1571 Years before Jesus Christ; he brought the *Israelites* out of the *Egyptian* Bondage in the Year 2513, and led them in the Wilderness for forty Years. He died in the Year 2553. 1451 Years before the Birth of Jesus Christ.

JOSHUA, Son of *Nun*, *Moses*'s Successor, born in the Year 2460, he succeeded *Moses* in the Year 2552; and governed the People till the Year 2570, died in the Year 2570, Aged 110 years.

JOSEPH, descended from *Esaú*, believed to be as old, or older than *Moses*.

SAMUEL, Prophet, and last Judge of the People of *Israel*, born in the Year 2849. he began to govern the People in the Year 2888, and ruled them 21 years, died in the Year 2947.

The **AUTHORS** of the Books of *Judges* and *Ruth*, who lived before the Captivity.

DAVID, Son of *Jesse*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, King of *Israel*, born in the Year 2919. he reigned forty years, i. e. 7 years in *Hebron*, and 33 in *Jerusalem*; died in the Year 2990, and 1014 years before Jesus Christ.

GAD and **N**ATHAN, Prophets, prophesied under *David* and *Solomon*, from the Year 2980, till the Year 3020 circiter.

SOLOMON, Son of *David*, King of *Israel*, reigned from the Year 2990, till the Year 3030, died in the Year 3030.

AHIZAH and **I**DDO, Prophets, under *Solomon* and *Jeroboam*.

HOSEA, Son of *Beeri*, Prophesied under *Ozziah*, *Jotham*, &c. from the Year 3194, till towards the End of the next Age.

JOEL, Prophet; some say, soon after *Hosea*'s death; others, not till after the Captivity.

ISAIAH, Son of *Amos*, of the Blood Royal, began to Prophesie in the 25th Year of *Ozziah*, in the Year 3219, and continued for an Age.

AMOS, Herdsman of *Tekah* near *Bethlehem*, began to Prophesie in the 24th Year of *Ozziah*; i. e. about the 3218th Year of the World, and continued 25 or 26 years.

OBADIAH, Prophet. Time when he lived and prophesied very uncertain.

JONAH, Son of *Amittai* of the Tribe of *Zebulun*, Prophesied from the end of the 31st Century of the World, to the end of the 32d.

MICAH, of the Tribe of *Judah*, began to Prophesie in the Year 3257. under *Jotham*, and continued under *Ahaz* and *Hezekiah*, for about fifty years.

HABBAKUK, Prophet, sometime in *Manasse*'s Reign, but uncertain.

NAHUM, Prophet, Time uncertain.

JEREMIAH, born near *Jerusalem*, of the Family of the Priests, began to Prophesie in the Year 3375, and continued 45 Years.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

JERUCH, Scholar and *Amanuensis* to *Jeremiah*, Prophesied in *Jeremiah's* time, or rather after his death.

DANIEL, Of the Blood Royal, Prophesied during the Captivity, from the Year 605, before Jesus Christ, i. e. the Year 3398, of the World, for almost 70 years.

EZEKIEL, Son of *Buzi* the Priest, began to Prophesie in the Year 3408, the fifth of the Captivity, and continued under *Jehoiachin* 22 years.

HAGGAI and **ZACHARIAH**, Son of *Berechiah*, the Son of *Ida*, Prophesied after the People returned, and began in the Year 3283. 319 years before the Birth of Jesus Christ.

MALACHI, Prophet, after the two former. **TOBIT**, wrote after the Ten Tribes were carried away by *Sargon*, in the Year 3283, 721 years before Jesus Christ.

The Author of the Book of **JUDITH** uncertain. Time uncertain.

ERZA, returned from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem* in the Year 3537.

NEHEMIAH, the Author of the Book of *Chronicles*, returned in the Year 3550. Lived in *Egypt's* time.

The LXX. Interpreters, under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, about the Year 3227.

JESUS, Son of *Sirach*, under *Ptolomy Euergetes*, in the Year 3759.

The uncertain Author of the first Book of **MACCABEES**. **PLATON**, Abtuler of the Second.

PHILO **STRABO**, A Platonick Philosopher, under the Emperors *Tiberius* and *Caligula*.

JOSEPHUS, of the Priestly Family, descended from the *Hajmonians*, born the Year 37. after Jesus Christ. **JOSEPHUS**, *Antiquities* and *Dominian* died in the Year 93 after Jesus Christ.

JUSTUS, of *Tiberias* at the same time.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the Authors of the NEW TESTAMENT.

With the Names of the Authors, their Country, and Employments, Time of their Birth, Time when they Flourished, and time of their Deaths.

ST. MATTHEW, Publican, converted by Jesus Christ, and made an Apostle, wrote his Gospel about the 37th year of the common Account.

ST. MARK, Disciple of *St. Peter*, wrote about the Year 43; or perhaps several years after.

ST. LUKE, Physician of *Antioch*, wrote his Gospel about the Year 56. of Jesus Christ. The *Acts* were written afterwards, towards the Year 58.

ST. JOHN, Son of *Zabedee*, Apostle of Jesus Christ, and the beloved Disciple, wrote his Gospel about 100 years after the Birth of Jesus Christ.

The *Revelation* in the Year 95. The time of his Epistles uncertain. Died in the Year 101. after the Birth of Jesus Christ, in the 68th year, after his death.

S. AUL or **PAUL**, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, of the City of *Tarsus*, converted in the Year 34.

Wrote his two Epistles to the *Thessalonians* in the Year 52.

In the Year 56 to the *Galatians* and *Corinthians*.

In the Year 57 to the *Romans*.

In the Year 62 to the *Ephesians*, the *Philippians*, the *Colossians*, the *Hebrews*, and *Philemon*.

In the Year 63 the first Ep. to *Timothy* and that to *Titus*.

In the Year 64 the Second to *Timothy*. Suffered Martyrdom in *Nero's* Persecution, in the Year 64.

ST. JAMES, Kinsman of our Lord, made Bishop of *Jerusalem* after the Death of Jesus Christ. Time when he wrote his Epistle uncertain. Died in the Year 63.

ST. PETER, Son of *Zona*, Chief of the Apostles, wrote his first Epistle in all probability, about the Year 43 or 44. and the second a little before his death. Suffered in the Year 64. in *Nero's* Persecution.

ST. JUDE, Son of *Alpheus*, called also *Thaddaeus* or *Lebbai*, wrote after *St. Peter's* death.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

Ecclesiastical Authors

That are Mentioned in this Volume.

With the Names of the Authors, their Country, and Employments, Time of their Birth, Time when then Flourished, and Time of their Deaths.

HERMAS, a Greek Author; the fame Perion probably that *St. Paul* salutes in his Epistle to the *Romans*; which was written in the Year 57. *Nero's* 4to.

ST. CLEMENT, Bishop of *Rome*, by birth a Greek, contemporary with the Apostles, he governed that Church from the Year 93, to the Year 101, under the Emperors *Dominian*, *Nerva*, *Trajan*; died in the Year 101, the third year of *Trajan*.

DENTS, believed to have been originally of *Tirace*, Judge of the *Aecopagus* at *Athens*, and afterwards Bishop of that Church, converted by *St. Paul* in the Year 52. constituted Bishop of that Church towards the Year 60; he governed it till the Year 95, under the Emperors *Nero*, *Vespasian*, and *Dominian*; died in the Year 95. in *Dominian's* Persecution.

ST. IGNATIUS, called *Theophorus*, of *Asia*, Bishop of *Antioch*. Some say he was about seven years old when Jesus Christ preached: Some say he was not born till after Jesus Christ's Death. He succeeded *Evdodius* in the See of *Antioch* in the Year 70 of Jesus Christ, and governed that Church forty years under *Vespasian* and his Successors, till *Trajan's* time, under whom he suffered Martyrdom; died in the tenth Year of *Trajan*, in the Year 107.

ST. POLYCARP, of *Asia*, Bishop of *Smyrna*, born about the Year 70. Consecrated to the Service of God in the Year 81. Consecrated about the Year 98. He governed the Church of *Smyrna* till the Year 167, from the time of *Nerva* to *Commodus*; suffered Martyrdom in the Year 167.

PAPIAS, of *Asia*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, Disciple of *St. John the Evangelist*; he flourished under the Emperors *Trajan* and *Hadrian*. The year of his death is not known.

QUADRATUS, of *Asia*, Disciple of the Apostles, flourished under *Hadrian*, to whom he presented an Apology for the Christians about the Year 120.

ARISTIDES, a Philosopher of *Athens*, presented an Apology to the same Emperour about the same time.

AGRIPPA, a Greek Author, flourished at the same time.

HEGESTIPPUS, of *Palestine*, born soon after the Apostles' deaths, about the beginning of the Second Century, flourished under the *Antonines*, and wrote his History under Pope *Eleutherius*; he died under the Emperor *Commodus*, about the Year 180.

ST. JUSTIN, a Philosopher, born at *Sichem*, a City in *Palestine*, a Greek by Birth and Religion; flourished under *Antoninus Pius*, to whom he presented an Apology about the Year 150. died in the Year 166.

MELITO, of *Asia*, Bishop of *Sardis*, flourished under *M. Aurelius* the Philosopher, to whom he presented an Apology for the Christians in the Year 182. died about the Year 185.

TATIAN, an *Assyrian*, flourished under *M. Aurelius*, and *Commodus*.

ATHENAGORAS, an *Athenian* Philosopher, flourished at the same time, and presented an Apology to *M. Aurelius*.

A Table of Books belonging to the Old Testament.

HERMIAS, a Greek Author. Time when he lived uncertain.

THEOPHILUS, a Greek Author, Bishop of Antioch. Consecrated Bishop of Antioch in the Year 170. governed that Church till the Year 181 or 182, under *M. Aurelius*, and the first years of *Commodus*. Died in the Year 182.

APOLLINARIS, a Greek, Bishop of Hierapolis, a City in *Phrygia*, flourished under the Emperor *M. Aurelius*; died about the beginning of *Commodus*'s Reign, in the Year 182 or 189.

DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Corinth, flourished under the Emperors *M. Aurelius* and *Commodus*. Died in the latter End of *Commodus*'s, or the beginning of *Severus*'s Reign.

PINTUS, a Bishop in *Creta*.

PHILIP, a Bishop in the same Island.

MODESTUS, a Greek.

MUSANILIS, a Greek.

BARDESANES, a Syrian of Bilessa.

These five flourished under the Emperors *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, the Philosophers, and *Commodus*.

St. IRENEUS, a Greek, went into *Gaul*, was ordained Priest, and afterwards Bishop of *Lyons*, born about the Year 140. Disciple of *St. Polycarp* and *Papias*, Consecrated in the Year 178, in the 17th year of the Reign of *M. Aurelius*, under whom, and his Successors, *Pertinax* and *Severus*, he flourished in the time of *Eleutherius* and *Victor*, Bishops of *Rome*. Suffered Martyrdom in the Year 202 or 203.

VICTOR, Bishop of *Rome*, Consecrated Bishop of that Church in the Year 191; died in the Year 201.

POLYCRATES, of *Asia*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, lived at the same time.

THEOPHILUS, of *Palestine*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and

BACHILLUS, Bishop of *Corinth*, lived at the same time.

The two **APOLLONII**, one a Greek, the other a Roman Senator, flourished under *Commodus*.

Two **ANONIMOUS** Greek Authors, who wrote against the Heresies of *Montanus* and *Atræus*, at the same time.

HERACLITUS,
MAXIMUS,
APPION,
CANDIDUS,
SEXTUS,
ARABIANUS,
YODAS, and several others, whose Country is not known, flourished under *Commodus*, *Pertinax*, and *Severus*.

SERAPION, Bishop of *Antioch*, chosen in the Year 191. governed that Church under the Emperors *Commodus*, *Pertinax*, *Severus*, and *Caracalla*. Died in the Year 213, about the end of the first year of *Caracalla*.

RHODON, of *Asia*, studied at *Rome*, under the Emperors *Commodus* and *Severus*.

PANTENUS, a Stoick Philosopher, born in *Sicily*, Catechist of *Alexandria*, President of the *Alexandrian* School towards the beginning of *Commodus*'s Reign, about the Year 184. He went then into the *Indies* to preach the Gospel, and upon his return resumed his Employment under the Emperors *Severus* and *Caracalla*. Died about the Year 212. under the Emperor *Caracalla*.

St. CLEMENT, believed to have been of *Athens*, Presbyter and Catechist of *Alexandria*, flourished under the Emperors *Severus*, *Caracalla*, and *Heliogabalus*, from the Year 196. to the Year 220. Died in the Year 220.

MILTIADES, a Greek, flourished under *Commodus* and *Severus*.

TEOTULLIAN, originally of *Africa*, a *Carthaginian*, Presbyter of that Church, a Latin Writer, flourished under the Emperors *Severus* and *Caracalla*, from the Year 194. till towards the Year 216. He turned *Manicheist* in the Year 207. Died about the Year 220.

CAIUS, Presbyter of *Rome*, flourished under *Severus* and *Caracalla*, under the Popes *Victor* and *Euphrinus*, from the Year 196. to the Year 201.

HIPPOLYTUS, Bishop of *Osia* in *Italy*, or rather of a City in *Arabia*; suffered Martyrdom in the Year 230.

GEMINIANUS,
or
GEMINUS, under the same Emperor.

ALEXANDER, Bishop in *Cappadocia*, afterwards of *Jerusalem*, taken in as Coadjutor to *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, in the beginning of *Caracalla*'s Reign, about the Year 213. Died in the Year 250.

JOULIUS AFRICANUS, of *Palestine*, flourished under the Emperor *Heliogabalus* and *Alexander Severus*, from the Year 218. till about the Year 230.

MINOTIUS FELIX, a Lawyer of *Rome*, flourished towards the beginning of the third Century.

AMMONIUS, a Philosopher of *Alexandria*, flourished under the Emperor *Severus*.

ORIGEN, an *Alexandrian*, Catechist of that School, afterwards Presbyter, born about the Year 185. settled Catechist about the Year 203, and flourished till the Year 252, died in the Year 252.

BERYLUS, Bishop of *Bostran* in *Arabia*. Converted by *Origen*, under the Emperor *Gordian* in the Year 238.

St. CYPRIAN, an *African*, Bishop of *Carthage*, Converted by *Cecilius* in the Year 246. governed the Church of *Carthage* from the Year 248. to the Year 258. under the Emperors *Philip*, *Decius*, *Gallus*, *Volusian* and *Valerian*. Suffered Martyrdom in the Year 258.

PONTIUS, of *Africa*, Disciple of *St. Cyprian*, under *Volusian*.

CORNELIUS, Bishop of *Rome*, Consecrated in the Year 251.

NOVATIAN, a Roman, flourished under the Emperor *Philip*; created Anti-Pope in 251. and wrote in 253.

St. MARTIALIS, a Greek, came to *Tholouse* in the Year 250.

SIXTUS,

SIXTUS, Bishop of *Rome*, chosen Bishop in the Year 254.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS, born at *Neocaesarea*, a City in *Pontus*, of a Noble Family; afterwards Bishop of that City. Born about the Year 215. Converted by *Origen*, whose Disciple he was. Chosen Bishop in the Year 240. flourished under the Emperors *Gordian*, *Philip*, *Gallus*, *Volusian*, *Decius*, *Valerian* and *Gallienus*, for 25 years. Died in the Year 265.

DIONYSIUS, Disciple of *Origen*, Catechist, and Bishop of *Alexandria*, chosen Bishop in the Year 247. flourished under the same Emperors for seventeen years.

THEOGNOSTUS, of *Alexandria*. Time uncertain.

ATHENOGENES. Time uncertain.

DIONYSIUS, Bishop of *Rome*, governed that Church from the Year 258. to the Year 270.

MALCHION, Presbyter of *Antioch*, disputed against *Paulus Samosatenus* in the Year 270.

ARCHELAUS, a Syrian, Bishop in *Mesopotamia*, flourished under the Emperor *Probus* towards the Year 280.

ANATOLIUS, of *Alexandria*, Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, under the same Emperor, and his Successor *Carus*.

VICTORINUS, Bishop of *Passau*, at the same time.

PIERIUS, Presbyter, and Catechist of *Alexandria*, under *Carus* and *Dioclesian*, about the Year 285.

METHODIUS, Bishop in *Lycia*, afterwards of *Tyre* in *Palestine*, under the same Emperors; suffered Martyrdom in 302 or 303.

PAMPHILUS, Presbyter of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, suffered Martyrdom under *Maximinus*.

LUCIAN, Presbyter of *Antioch*, died under the same Emperor.

PHILEAS, of *Thmuis*, a City of *Egypt*, died under the same Emperor.

ZENO, Bishop of *Verona*, died in *Julian* the Apostate's time.

ARNOBIUS, an *African*, Professor of Rhetoric at *Sicca* a City in *Numidia*, flourished under *Dioclesian* towards the end of the third, and beginning of the fourth Centuries.

L. CECILIUS FIRMIANUS, surnamed **LACTANTIUS**, according to some, an Italian to others an *African*, studied in *Africa*, afterwards went to *Nicomedia*, where he taught Rhetoric, and at last Tutor to *Crispus*. He wrote in Latin; flourished under *Dioclesian* and *Constantine*, from the Year 302. till towards the Year 330.

COMMODIANUS, a Latin Author, probably an Italian, in the time of Pope *Sylvester*.

JOULIUS FIRMICUS MATERNUS, a Latin Author, Bishop of *Milain*, according to *Baronius*, under *Constantinus* and *Constantine*, Sons of *Constantine* the Great. He wrote about 340 or 350.

A TABLE of BOOKS that belong to the Old Testament, Canonical, Apocryphal, and Lost.

Canonical Books unanimously received by Jews and Christians.

THE five Books of *Mosè*.
The Book of *Josua*.
The Book of *Judges*.
The Book of *Samuel*, i. e. the first and second Books of Kings.
Isaiah.
Jeremiah.
Ezekiel.
The Twelve minor Prophets.
The Book of *Job*.
The 150 *Psalms*.
The Proverbs
Ecclesiastes } of Solomon.
Canticles }
Daniel.
The Chronicles.
Ezra divided by us into Two Books.

These Books thus divided are 22.

Books owned by some Jews as Canonical and received by others.

Esther.
Ruth.
Baruch.

Books rejected by Jews, and most Primitive of the Christians, as Apocryphal, and afterwards received by the Church.

Tobit.
Judith.
Wisdom.
Ecclesiasticus.
The two Books of *Maccabees*.
The History of *Suffana*.
Bell and the Dragon.

Books cited in the Old Testament, which are lost.

The Book of the Covenant, *Exod. 24*. [This does not seem

A Table of Books belonging to the Old Testament.

Right to be a Book by it self, but only those Laws which are set down in the 10, 2, 22 and 23d Chapters belonging to the People promised in the same Verse. That all which the Lord hath said, they would do, and be obedient, (Exod. 24. 7.) which words refer to the Laws set down above, that God delivered to Moses upon the Mount.

The Book of the Wars of the Lord, Numb. 21. 14.
The Book of Jasher, Josh. 10. 13. 2 Sam. 1. 18.
The Books of Nathan, Gad, Shemaiah, Iddo, Abijah, Jehoiada, Chron.

The Book of Samuel, 1 Chron. 29. 29. [This also seems to be no other than the Books of Samuel in the Old Testament; in which, as every one knows, there is a very particular Account of David's Life, from his Union by Samuel, till his Death.]

The Sayings of Haggai, or as our Translation renders it, of the Serp. 2 Chron. 33. 19.

The Discourses of Uzziah, 2 Chron. 26. 22. [This is obscurely expressed: He means the Life of Uzziah, written by the Prophet Isaiah.]

Three thousand Proverbs of Solomon, 1 Kings 4. 32.
A thousand and five Songs. Ibid.

Several other Discourses of his. Ibid.

The Descriptions of Jeremiah, Match. 2. 17. [What our Author means here, I cannot tell. The Evangelist quotes the Prophet Jeremiah, (31. 4. 5.) and the sense of the words in the Prophet, agrees with that of those in the Evangelist, exactly.]

The Memoirs of Hycannu.
The Books of Jafon.

Apocryphal Books, not dangerous.

The Prayer of King Manasses.
The Third and Fourth Books of Esdras.
The Third and Fourth Books of the Maccabees.
The Genealogy of Job, and a Dialogue of his Wife.
The 151st Psalm.

Other Apocryphal Books of the same Nature, which are lost.

The Book of Enchir.
The Book of the Assumption of Moses.

Books forged by Jews and Hereticks, Fabulous and Erroneous, which are lost.

The Generations of Creation of Adam.
The Revelation of Adam.
A Book of Magic by Cham.
The Assumption of Abraham.
The Book of the Twelve Patriarchs.
A Book of James and James.
A Book written by King Og.
Jacob's Ladder.

The Genealogy of the Sons and Daughters of Adam. With several others.

Greek Translations.

An old Version of the Bible, or of some part of it.
The Translation of the LXX. Interpreters.
Aquila's Version.
Theodotion's Version.
Symmachus's Version.
A Fifth and a Sixth Version.
A Seventh upon the Psalms.

Authors whose Books have a Relation to the History of the Old Testament.

Genuine.
Philo.
Josephus.
Justus.

Forged or Doubtful.

Ariston.
Aristobolus.
Joseph Benignon.
Pseudo-Berossus.
Magesho.
Methisenes.
Pseudo-Dorotheus.
Zoroaster.
Santhoniabon.
Philo Byblus.
The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.

A TABLE of BOOKS that belong to the New Testament.

Books owned as Canonical, at all Times, and by all Christians.

THE Four Gospels.
Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul.
The first Epistle of St. Peter.
The first Epistle of St. John.
[The Acts of the Apostles; This by a Mistake is omitted in du Pin.]

Books doubted of at first by several, but soon received as Canonical by the Catholic Church.

The Epistle to the Hebrews.
The Epistle of St. James.
The second Epistle of St. Peter.
The second and third Epistle of St. John.
The Epistle of St. Jude, something later.
The Revelation, which was not universally received of a long time.

Apocryphal Books, not full of Errors.

The Letter of J. C. to Agbarus.
The Letters of the V. M.
The Gospel according to the Egyptians.
The Gospel according to the Hebrews.
The Proto-Evangelium of St. James.
The Gospel of Nicodemus.
The Ancient Acts of Paul and Theodotus.
The Epistle to the Laodiceans.
The Letters of St. Paul to Seneca.
The Epistle of St. Barnabas.

The Liturgies } Of St. Peter.
 } Of St. Mark.
 } Of St. James.
 } Of St. Matthew.
The Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles.
The Book of Prochorus.
The Book of Abdias.
The Ancient Acts of the Passion of St. Andrew.

Erroneous Books, Forged by Hereticks.

The Gospels } Of St. Thomas.
 } Of St. Matthias.
 } Of St. Bartholomew.
 } Of the Twelve.
 } Of Philip.
 } Of Jude.
 } Of Thaddaeus.
 } Of Barnabas.
The Acts } Of St. Peter.
 } Of St. Paul.
 } Of St. Andrew.
 } Of the Apostles.
 } Of St. John.
 } Of St. Philip.
 } Of St. Thomas.

The Doctrine and Sermons of St. Peter.
The Clementines.
The Memoirs of the Apostles.
The Travels of the Apostles.
A Book of the Priesthood of Jesus Christ.
The Life of the Virgin Mary.
Questions of the Virgin Mary.

Revelations } Of St. Peter.
 } Of St. Paul.
 } Of St. Thomas.
 } Of St. Stephen.

Other Supposititious Books, favourable to Religion.

A Letter of Agbarus to Jesus Christ.
Letters of Lepidus and Pilate, concerning Jesus Christ.
The Sibylline Oracles.
The Books of Hermes Trismegistus.
The Books of Hyfaspes.
Seneca's Letters to St. Paul.
A Passage of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ; which we cannot tell whether it be Supposititious or no.

A T A B L E

Of all the Ecclesiastical Writers Mentioned in this Volume.

| Names of Authors. | Genuine Books still Extant. | Books left. | Supposititious Books. |
|----------------------------------|--|--|-----------------------|
| HERMAS. | A Discourse entitled, <i>Pastor</i> , divided into three Books. | | |
| St. CLEMENT. | Two Epistles to the <i>Corinthians</i> . | The Conferences of <i>St. Peter</i> and <i>Apollin.</i> Recognitions. Apollitical Constitutions. <i>Clementines</i> . | |
| DIONYSIUS the Areopagite. | | Books of the Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. A Discourse of the Names of God. A Discourse of Mytical Theology. Ten Letters. | |
| St. IGNATIUS. | Epistles to the <i>Smyrnaeans</i> , to <i>St. Polycarp</i> , to the <i>Ephesians</i> , to the <i>Magnesians</i> , to the <i>Philadelphians</i> , to the <i>Trallians</i> , to the <i>Romans</i> . According to <i>Vossius's</i> and <i>Usher's</i> Editions. | Five Spurious Greek Letters, to <i>Maria</i> , <i>Cassiodorus</i> , to the <i>Tarrians</i> , to the <i>Antiochians</i> , to <i>Hera</i> the Deacon, to the <i>Philippians</i> . Three in <i>Latin</i> , one to the <i>V.M.</i> the other two to <i>St. John</i> . | |
| St. POLYCARP. | Epistle to the <i>Philippians</i> . | Some Letters to the Neighbouring Churches. A Letter to <i>St. Demetrius</i> the <i>Areopagite</i> . A Discourse of the Union of <i>St. John</i> . [Dr. Cave produces a Quotation out of <i>Hall's</i> Life of <i>St. Polycarp</i> , which says, This Book was concerning <i>St. John's</i> Death. They both mean the same Book, because they say from <i>Hall's</i> Life, that it is extant in the Library of the Abbey of <i>Fleury</i> . I believe it is false printed in <i>Mr. Du Pin</i> .] | |

P A P I A S.

A Table of all the Ecclesiastical Writers, &c.

| Names of Authors. | Genuine Books, still Extant. | Books left. | Supposititious Books. |
|------------------------------|--|--|---|
| P A P I A S. | | Five Books entitled, <i>Explications of the Discourses of our Saviour</i> . | |
| QUADRATUS. ARISTIDES. | | Two Apologies for the Christians. | |
| AGRIPPA. HEGESIPPUS. | | A Discourse against <i>Baptists</i> . An Ecclesiastical History, divided into five Books. | |
| JUSTIN Martyr. | Two Apologies. The Second Part of the Book of the Monarchy of God. A Conference with <i>Trophimus</i> , the Jew. Two Orations against the <i>Gentiles</i> , doubtful. A Letter to <i>Diognetus</i> , doubtful. [These are owned by Doctor Cave.] | A Discourse against Heresies, particularly against <i>Marcion</i> . Two Books against the <i>Gentiles</i> , one called <i>The Palmist</i> . A Book of Collections concerning the Soul. [Besides these, Dr. Cave mentions, An Exposition of the Revelation. A Commentary upon <i>Hexameron</i> . Letters, <i>apocryphal</i> . A Discourse upon the Resurrection. | Letters to <i>Zena</i> and <i>Serenus</i> . [Owned by Dr. Cave as Genuine.] A Confutation of some <i>Aristotelian</i> Opinions. [Owned likewise by him.] Questions and Answers to the Questions of the Orthodox. An Exposition of the Faith concerning the Trinity. |
| MELITO. | | Two Books of <i>Egbert</i> . One of the Lives of the Prophets. One of the Church. Of the Lord's Day. Of the Nature of Man. Of the Creation. Of the Obedience of our Selves to the Faith. Of the Soul, the Body, and the Spirit. Of the Truth. Of Baptism. Of the Generation of J.C. Of Prophecy. Of Hospitality. A Book entitled, <i>The Key</i> . Of the Devil. Of the Revelations. Of God Incarnate. Collections out of the Scriptures. An Apology for the Christian Religion. | |
| TATIAN. | A Discourse against the <i>Gentiles</i> . | A Gospel composed out of the four. A Discourse of Evangelical Perfection. | |
| ATHENAGORAS. | Apology for the Christians. A Discourse of the Resurrection. | | A Romance of True and Perfect Love, in French, said to have been Translated out of Greek. |

Q 99

[Missing]

Names of Authors.

Genuine Books, still Extant.

Books Lost.

Supposititious Books.

[*Eusebius* in his *Discourse* of the Original of Romances, thinks that this Book might possibly have been composed by *Phileander*, who imposed upon *M. Fimie*, as if it had been really written by *Athenagoras*. This *Dr. Cave* says is very improbable: But if we consider how extremely particular this Author is in his Description of those Buildings he mentions, how very improbable it is that *Athenagoras* should have brought in his *Melanigenia*, describing *Jupiter Hammon's* Temple more like an Architect than an Historian, we can hardly conceive it to have been written by a *Greek*. Besides the Architecture it self is so very exact according to the Rules of the Five Orders, the Four Ancientest whereof were introduced first by the *Greeks*; that it is not likely that one of that Nation, who knew very well that *Jupiter Hammon's* Temple was never raised by Men that were acquainted with their Models of Building, would ever have described it as Built after such a manner, if he had thought fit to have described it at all. So that though we cannot certainly tell whether *Phileander*, (who wrote Commentaries upon *Virginius*) was the Author of this Romance, or no; yet these Reasons seem to make it more than probable, that it was not written by *Athenagoras*, especially since a *Greek* Copy was never yet produced, and that none of the Ancients ever quoted it, either as his, or as belonging to any Body else. And I do not doubt, but *Dr. Cave* would have been of the same Opinion if he had read the Book over himself.]

HERMIAS.

A Discourse to shew the Ridiculousness of the Opinions of the Pagan Philosophers.

THEOPHILUS. Three Books to *Autolytus*.

A Discourse against *Marcion*.
A Discourse against the Heresie of *Hermogenes*: And some other little things.

[Since the first Edition of *Mr. du Pin's* *Bibliothèque* was published, *Mr. Dodwell* set out the Chronological Fragments of Bishop *Pearson*, with Additions of his own to the late Bishop of *Chester's* Discourses concerning the Succession of the first Bishops of *Rome*. In his Additions to the second Chapter of Bishop *Pearson's* first Discourse, he brings some Arguments to prove that this *Theophilus*, the Author of these Discourses to *Autolytus*, was not that Bishop of *Antioch* that was the sixth from *St. Peter*, as it has hitherto universally been believed. *Theophilus* speaks of the Persecution, as of a Calamity the Christians then groaned under, in two or three places, towards the End of the Third Book: *Καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ τὸ πᾶν τὸ ἔσχατον*: daily, and until now. He says also, that it chiefly lay upon those that *fastened after Virtue*, and endeavoured to live a Holy Life, *Ἐκείνοις γὰρ ἀπέβη τὸ ἀσκήσαντες βίον ἑαυτοῦ*. These *Mr. Dodwell* affirms to have been Profelytes and Catechumens who endeavoured to live up to the Rules of their new Religion, and used great Philosophical strictnesses of Life, as *Origen* and his Disciples did, which is properly meant by the word *ἀσκήσαντες*. The Persecution of *Severus* was raised particularly against New Converts, and those that endeavoured to instruct the Catechumens in the Christian Faith: for which reason, *Origen* was so severely enquired after; from hence it will necessarily follow, That *Theophilus*, who mentions the Persecution as a thing that had been of some Continuance, which did not begin till the Year CCIII. could not be that Bishop of *Antioch* that succeeded *Maximinus*, and preceded *Heros*.]

APOLLINARIUS.

An Apology to the Emperor for the Christians.
A Treatise against the *Gentiles*, divided into five Books.
Two Books against the *Jews*.
Discourses against the *Montanists*.

DIONYSIUS, Bishop of Corinth.

Epistles to the *Lacedaemonians*, the *Athenians*, the *Nicomeditans*, the Church of *Corinth*, the *Amastrians*, the *Gnostians*, *Soter*, and to *Chrystophora*.

PINYTUS.

Names of Authors.

Genuine Books still Extant.

Books lost.

Supposititious Books.

PINYTUS.

Letter to *Dionysius* Bishop of Corinth.

PHILIP and MODESTUS.

Discourses against *Marcion*.

MUSANUS.

Discourse against *Encratites*.

BARDESANES.

Discourse against *Marcion*. Of Fate.

St. IRENEUS.

Five Books against Heresies, extant only in *Latin*.
A Letter to *Victor* in *Eusebius*.

Letters to *Blastus*, to *Florinus*.
A Discourse of Knowledge.
A Discourse against *Marcion*.
Several Discourses of various Subjects.

VICTOR, POLYCRATES, THEOPHILUS, BACHTLUS.

Letters and Discourses concerning the Celebration of *Easter*.

HERACLITUS, MAXIMUS.

Commentaries upon *St. Paul*.
A Discourse concerning the Original of Evil.

APPION, CANDIDUS.

Commentaries upon the *Hexameron*.

SEXTUS.

A Discourse of the Resurrection.

YUDAS.

A Discourse upon *Daniel's* Weeks.
Works unknown.

ARABIANUS.

SERAPION.

Letters against the *Monothists*, to *Dominius*.
Other Letters.
A Discourse concerning the Gospel, falsely attributed to *St. Peter*.

RHODON.

A Discourse against *Marcion*.
A Discourse upon the *Hexameron*.

PANTÆNUS.

Commentaries upon the Bible.

St. CLEMENT of Alexandria.

Exhortation to the *Gentiles*.
Pedagogus, in three Books;
Stromata, ineight Books.
A Discourse concerning *What rich man can be saved*.
[*Dr. Cave* mentions a Hymn in Praise of our Saviour.

Eight Books of Institutions.
A little Book of *Easter*.
A Discourse of Fasting.
A Discourse of Slander.
An Exhortation to Patience.
[And several other Discourses.]

MILTIADES.

A Discourse against the *Montanists*.
Against the *Gentile* and *Jews*.
An Apology for the Christian Religion.

A Table of all the Ecclesiastical Writers, &c.

| Names of Authors. | Genuine Books, still Extant. | Books Lost. | Supposititious Books. |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| APOLLONIUS, a Greek. | | A Discourse against the <i>Montanists</i> . | |
| APOLLONIUS, a Roman. | | An Apology for the Christian Religion. | |
| ANONYMOUS Authors. | | Discourses against the Heresies of <i>Montanus</i> and <i>Artemo</i> . | |
| TERTULLIAN. | Of Penance. Of Baptism. Of Prayer. An Apology for the Christian Religion. Of Penitence. Exhortation to Martyrdom. A Discourse to <i>Scapula</i> . Two Books to the <i>Gentiles</i> . Of Publick Shews. Of History. Of the Drests of Women. Of Womens Habits. Of the Testimony of the Soul. Five Books against <i>Marcion</i> . Of Prescriptions. Of the Flesh of Jesus Christ. Of the Soul. Of a Soldiers Crown. A Book entituled, <i>Scorpianum</i> . [Against the <i>Enosticks</i> .] Against the <i>Jews</i> . Against <i>Praxeas</i> . Against <i>Hermogenes</i> . Against the <i>Valentinians</i> . Of the Philosophick Clock. To his Wife two Books. Of Chastity. Of Fasting. Of single Marriages. An Exhortation to Chastity. Of Flight in Persecution. Of Veiling of Virgins. | A Discourse against <i>Apollonius</i> . Of <i>Aaron's</i> Robes. Of <i>Circumcision</i> . Of clean and unclean Beasts. Of <i>Paradise</i> . Of Fate. Of the Hope of the Righteous. Against <i>Apelles</i> . Of Baptism. Of Publick Shews. } in Gr. Of veiling of Virgins. } [The Discourse of <i>Cornelius Militin</i> was translated likewise by himself into Greek.] | A Catalogue of Heresies at the end of his Prescriptions. A Letter of Jewish Meats. Of the Trinity. Several Poems. |
| CASSIUS. | | A Discourse against <i>Proculus</i> the <i>Montanist</i> . Another entituled, <i>The little Labyrinth</i> . Of the Nature of the Universe. | |
| HIPPOLYTUS. A Paschal Cycle. | Commentaries upon the <i>Psalms</i> . Of the <i>Witch of Endor</i> . Commentaries upon <i>St. John's</i> Gospel, and the <i>Apocalypse</i> . Of Spiritual Gifts. Apocryphical Tradition. Chronicles; or Chronological Accounts of Time. Against the <i>Greeks</i> , and <i>Plato</i> , concerning the Universe. Exhortation to <i>Severina</i> . A Demonstration of the Time of <i>Easter</i> , as it is in the Table. Odes upon all the Scriptures. | Of the End of the World, and Antichrist. A Demonstration against the <i>Jews</i> . A Discourse of <i>Susanna</i> . [Not disowned by Doctor <i>Cave</i> .] Collections against <i>Bero</i> and <i>Helico</i> , amongst the excerpts of <i>Anastasi</i> . Homilies of the Trinity and the Incarnation. | Of God, and the Resurrection of the Dead. Of Good, and whence cometh Evil. [What I said formerly concerning the <i>Engastrimithos</i> , will not hold; the <i>LXX</i> . Interpreters, from whom the Church has borrowed most of its Technical words, call the <i>Witch of Endor</i> by no other Name.] Against Heresies. Against the <i>Marcionites</i> . Several other Tracts. Works unknown. Epistles, to the <i>Antinoira</i> . to the <i>Antiochians</i> . to <i>Origen</i> . to <i>Demetrius</i> , and others. A Chronicon. Letter to <i>Aristides</i> of the Genealogy of <i>J. C.</i> a great part whereof is quoted by <i>Eusebius</i> . |

A Table of all the Ecclesiastical Writers, &c.

| Names of Authors. | Genuine Books, still Extant. | Books Lost. | Supposititious Books. |
|--------------------------|---|--|---|
| GEMINIANUS. | | | Of God, and the Resurrection of the Dead. Of Good, and whence cometh Evil. [What I said formerly concerning the <i>Engastrimithos</i> , will not hold; the <i>LXX</i> . Interpreters, from whom the Church has borrowed most of its Technical words, call the <i>Witch of Endor</i> by no other Name.] Against Heresies. Against the <i>Marcionites</i> . Several other Tracts. Works unknown. Epistles, to the <i>Antinoira</i> . to the <i>Antiochians</i> . to <i>Origen</i> . to <i>Demetrius</i> , and others. A Chronicon. Letter to <i>Aristides</i> of the Genealogy of <i>J. C.</i> a great part whereof is quoted by <i>Eusebius</i> . |
| ALEXANDER. | | | |
| JULIUS AFRICANUS. | Letter to <i>Origen</i> , concerning the History of <i>Susanna</i> . | | |
| MINUTIUS FELIX. | <i>Octavius</i> ; A Dialogue against the <i>Gentiles</i> . | | |
| AMMONIUS. | Evangelical Harmony. | Several Treatises. | Of Fate; lost. |
| ORIGEN. | See the Catalogue of his Commentaries upon the <i>SS.</i> in his Life. Against <i>Celsus</i> in Eight Books. Of Martyrdom. Of the History of <i>Susanna</i> , in a Letter to <i>Africanus</i> . His Principles, in <i>Latin</i> . Of Prayer. | His Principles in Four Books. Of the Resurrection. <i>Stromata</i> in Ten Books. Conference with <i>Beryllus</i> Bishop of <i>Bostra</i> . Dialogues concerning the Resurrection. Explication of the Hebrew Names of the Old Testament. Conference, Letters, and other small things. | Against <i>Marcus</i> ; Dialogue. Two Commentaries upon <i>Job</i> . Commentaries upon <i>St. Mark</i> . Several Homilies. The Lamentations of <i>Origen</i> . |
| BERYL LUS. | | | |
| St. CYPRIAN. | <i>LXXXIII.</i> Letters. Of the Vanity of Idols. Testimonies against the <i>Jews</i> , to <i>Quirinus</i> , in Three Books. Of the Discipline and Habits of Virgins. Of the <i>Lapfi</i> . Of the Unity of the Church. Of Prayer. An Exhortation to Martyrdom. Of Mortality. To <i>Demetrius</i> . | | Against Publick Shews. Of Chastity. Homily against <i>Novatian</i> . Homily against <i>Gamesters</i> . Of the Celibacy of the Clergy. Of the <i>XII</i> Abuses of the Age. A Panegyrick upon Martyrdom. |

A Table of all the Ecclesiastical Writers, &c.

| Names of Authors. | Genuine Books, still Extant. | Books lost. | Supposititious Books. |
|--------------------------|---|---|---|
| | Of Works of Mercy and Alms-Deeds. Of Patience. Of Envy. [<i>Trithemius</i> tells us, That <i>St. Cyprian</i> also enlarged <i>Seneca's</i> and <i>Tyrr's</i> Characters, by adding of numbers of Technical words that belong'd to the Christian Religion; they are all printed by <i>Gruter</i> , and are commonly bound up with his Body of Inscriptions.] | | Of double Martyrdom. A Discourse of the Cardinal Vertues by <i>Arnaldus Benevalis</i> . <i>Ruffinus's</i> Explication of the Creed. Of the Baptism of Hereticks. Of Mount <i>Sion</i> , and Mount <i>Sinai</i> . The Supper. Of the Revelation of <i>St. John Baptist's</i> Head. <i>Celsus's</i> Preface. Two Books to Martyrs. <i>St. Cyprian's</i> Confession. A Kalender for <i>Easter</i> . The Secrets of <i>St. Cyprian</i> . |
| FONTIUS. | St. Cyprian's Life. | | |
| CORNELIUS. | Two Letters amongst <i>St. Cyprian's</i> , and a Fragment of another in <i>Eusebius</i> . | | |
| NOVATIAN. | A Letter in <i>St. Cyprian's</i> Works. Of the Trinity. Of Jewish Meats. | Of the Passover. Of the Sabbath. Of Circumcision. Of the High Priest. Of Prayer. Of Relolution. Concerning <i>Attalus</i> . | |
| St. MARTIALIS SIXTUS. | | | Two Letters. The Sentences of <i>Sixtus's</i> the Pythagorean. |
| GREGORY Thaumaturgus. | A Speech to <i>Origen</i> . A Profession of Faith in <i>Gregory Nyssen</i> . A Canonical Epistle. A Paraphrase upon <i>Ecclesiastes</i> . | | An Exposition of Faith published by <i>Turrian</i> . A Treatise of the Soul, Sermons, |
| DIONYSIUS of Alexandria. | Of Besides Fragments produced by <i>Eusebius</i> , we have a Letter to <i>Basilides</i> . | Two Letters to the Roman Confessors. to <i>Stephen</i> . to <i>Sixtus</i> . to <i>Philemon</i> . to <i>Dionysius</i> . to <i>Hierax</i> . to the Church of <i>Antioch</i> against <i>Paulus Samosatenus</i> . Paschal Letters. Discourses of Martyrdom. Of the Promises of God. Against the <i>Sabellians</i> . Of the Trinity to <i>Dionysius</i> . An Apology and Refutation of his former Opinions. Of Nature, and Temptations. Several other Letters mentioned by <i>Eusebius</i> . | A Discourse against <i>Origen</i> , quoted by <i>Anastasius</i> of <i>Nice</i> . |

THEOC.

A Table of all the Ecclesiastical Writers, &c.

| Names of Authors. | Genuine Books, still Extant. | Books Lost. | Supposititious Books. |
|---------------------------|--|--|---|
| THEOGNOSTUS. | | Institutions. | |
| ATHENOGENES. | | A Hymn. | |
| DIONYSIUS Bishop of Rome. | | A Letter against the <i>Sabellians</i> . | |
| MALCHION. | | | A Conference against <i>Paulus Samosatenus</i> . |
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A NEW
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AND
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Together with A
Judgment upon their Style and Doctrine.

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With Necessary TABLES to the whole.

Written in FRENCH
By *Lewis Ellies du PIN*, Doctor of the SORBON.

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*Containing the AUTHORS that Flourished in the FOURTH
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THE CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

*Of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the Authors that
Flourished in the Fourth Century, viz.*

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| <i>Of the Synod of Ariminum.</i> | <i>Of the Council of Alexandria in the Year 399.</i> |
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BIBLIOTHECA PATRUM. OR, A NEW HISTORY OF Ecclesiastical Writers.

TOME II.

CONTAINING

An Account of the LIVES and WRITINGS of the
Primitive FATHERS, that Flourished in the Fourth Century of
Christianity, with Censures upon all their BOOKS, determining
which are Genuine, and which Spurious.

EUSEBIUS of Caesarea.

EUSEBIUS Surnam'd Pamphilus, was Born in Palestine, towards the latter end of the
Reign of Gallienus. He was ordain'd Priest by Agapins Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine,
and settled a Famous School in that City. When the Persecution of Dioclesian arose, he ex-
horted the Christians of Caesarea to Suffer with Courage for the Faith of Jesus Christ, and
more particularly assisted his dear Friend Pamphilus, who suffer'd Martyrdom after two Years
Imprisonment. Some have accus'd him of offering Incense to Idols during this Persecution, to release
himself out of Prison; but this Accusation is groundless, and 'tis much more probable, that he con-

Eusebius of
Caesarea.

^a Surnam'd Pamphilus. From the Name of the Mar-
tyr Pamphilus his Friend, and not of his Brother, as
Nicephorus believ'd; for in the 7th. Book of his History,
he says, That he was first acquainted with him when he
was a Priest.

^b Palestine. All the Ancients call him Eusebius of
Palestine. In the First Book of the Life of Constantine,
he testifies, that he had his Education in Palestine, and
in the Second Book of the same Work, after he has
repeated a Law of Constantine directed to those of Pa-
lestine, he adds, This was the first Letter which Constantine
address'd unto us. 'Tis not known who were his
Kindred. Some have thought that he was the Kinsman
of Eusebius of Nicomedia, because in a Letter of Aris-
to to this Bishop, Eusebius of Caesarea is call'd his Brother.
Neither is it known who were his Masters. In the
Seventh Book of his History, he says, That he heard
Dionysius, a Priest of Antioch, expound the Scriptures;
from whence Trithemius, and some others, have concluded
that he was his Scholar. Acacius Successor to Eu-
sebius wrote his Life, but 'tis lost.

^c Towards the latter End of the Reign of Gallienus.
There is some Proof of this Epoch: For in his History
Book III. Ch. 28. he says, That Denys of Alexandria,
who died the 12th. Year of the Reign of Gallienus, liv'd
in his time: And in the Fifth Book he says, That Paulus
Samofatenus reviv'd the Error of Artemon in his time;
and in his Seventh Book, where he gives an Account of
what was done under Gallienus, he says, After we have
related the Translations of former times, we come now to
those things which happened in our own time.

^d Some have accus'd him of offering Incense to Idols dur-
ing this Persecution, &c. This he was charged with by
Potamon a Confessor and Bishop of Egypt, at the Synod of
Tyre; for if we give Credit to St. Epiphanius, in Here-
sie 68, this Bishop perceiving Eusebius of Caesarea there
present, cry'd out, O Eusebius, How come you to sit as
Judge upon the innocent Athanasius? Who can endure it?
Tell me, I pray you, were not you in Prison during the
time of Persecution? I left an Eye there, for maintaining the
Truth, but you have left no Part of your Body, you have suf-
fer'd nothing: How then did you get out of Prison? Epipha-
nius adds, That Eusebius hearing this, rose up and dis-
sol'd the Assembly, saying, Seeing you charge me with
things of this Nature, in a place where you are Strangers, it
must be true which your Accusers say; for if you exercise such
Tyranny here, much more will you do it in your own Country.
This is confirm'd by the Bishops of the Council of Alex-
andria, who say in their Letter, That Eusebius of Caesarea
was accus'd by the Confessors of Sacrificing to Idols. In the
mean time, this Charge of Potamon is groundless: For
although it were true, that Eusebius was cast into Prison
for the Faith of Christ, it does not follow that he must
have Sacrific'd to Idols to obtain his liberty, because he
lost no Part of his Body, since he might have been de-
livered from that Persecution for many other Reasons;
without losing any of his Members; and it was a rash
Censure of his Neighbour in Potamon, to accuse, as he
does, a Bishop of so heinous a Crime, upon so weak a
Conjecture as this: But the Good-man had more Zeal
than Prudence.

Ensebius of Calarea.

tinued alway steadfast in the Faith of Jesus Christ. Immediately after this Persecution was ended, *Ensebius* was chosen Bishop of *Cesarea* in the room of *Agapius*, in the Year 313, or 314, from the Birth of Christ: And from that time he was much engag'd in the Controversy of *Arius*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, whom he, (as well as some other Bishops of *Palestine*) at first protect'd, thinking that he was unjustly persecuted by *Alexander of Alexandria*, his Bishop. He did not only write to this Bishop in favour of *Arius*; but finding he could not prevail to restore him, he permitted him and his Followers to keep their Places, and to hold the ordinary Assemblies of the Faithful in their Churches, upon condition that they should submit to their Bishop, and earnestly desire to be re-united to his Communion.

It appears by a Letter of *Ensebius* to *Alexander*, which is produced in the Second Council of *Nice*, that he did verily think that *Arius*, and those of his Party, acknowledg'd the Eternity of the Word, and that he believ'd the contrary Doctrine was fully charg'd upon them, which may in some measure excuse his Proceedings in this Affair. For as soon as *Arius* did clearly discover his impious Sentiments in the Council of *Nice*; *Ensebius*, with all the other Bishops, condemn'd them, and propos'd a very Orthodox Confession of Faith. But because it seem'd not to renounce the Heresie of *Arius* formally enough, therefore the Fathers of the Council add'd to it the word *Consubstantial*, together with Anathematisms against the Errors of *Arius*. This new term *Consubstantial*, gave some trouble to *Ensebius*, and he refus'd at first to assent to it; but being afterwards fully satisfy'd of its true meaning, he made no scruple of Subscribing to it; and of Signing the Confession of Faith made by the Council of *Nice*, which he was never known afterwards openly to violate, though he always maintain'd an intimate Correspondence with the Bishops of *Arius's* Party. He was present with them at the Council of *Antioch*, held in the Year 330, wherein they unjustly depos'd *Eustathius*, then Bishop of *Antioch*. But if he was to be blam'd for consenting to that unjust Deprivation of a Bishop who was his Enemy; yet it must be acknowledg'd that he deserves great Commendation for refusing to Succeed him in his See: For being Elect'd both by the Bishops and the People, in order to his Ordination to the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, after the Deposing of *Eustathius*, he did absolutely refuse it; and when the Bishops wrote about it to the Emperor *Constantine*, that he would oblige *Ensebius* to agree to this Election, he wrote to him himself, humbly praying that he might have leave to refuse this Bishoprick; which at last the Emperor granted, and greatly commended his Moderation. Nevertheless, *Ensebius* continued always to take part with *Ensebius* of *Nicomedia*, and assist'd at the Council of *Tyre*, held against St. *Abbasius*, in the Year 335, and also at the Assembly of Bishops, which was held at *Jerusalem* at the time of the Dedication of the Church of that City: And, in the Name of those Bishops to the Emperor *Constantine*, to justify what they had done against St. *Abbasius*. Then it was that he spoke a Panegyric in honour of the Emperor; at a time of publick Rejoicing for beginning the 30th Year of his Reign, which was the last of his Life: And *Ensebius* himself did not long survive this Emperor, whom he mightily lov'd and honour'd, for he also died about the Year 338.

He has written many very Learned Books. The first were his Five Books of Apology for *Origen*, which he compos'd with the Holy Martyr *Pamphilus*, during the Persecution of *Dioclesian*; and to which he only add'd a Sixth, after the Death of this Martyr. About the same time he wrote a Treatise against *Manichees*, who had written two Books against the Christian Religion. After he was chosen Bishop of *Cesarea*, he compos'd his Fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, and Twenty Books of *Evangelical Demonstration*. After this he wrote a Chronicle from the Beginning of the World down to the 20th Year of *Constantine* the Great: After this Chronicle follow'd his Ecclesiastical History, divided into Ten Books, which seems to have been finish'd some time after the Council of *Nice*, though it reaches no further than the 20th Year of *Constantine*. About the Year 332, he compos'd a Cycle for *Easter*, at the desire of the Emperor, to whom he dedicated it; and caus'd some very fair Copies of the Holy Scriptures to be written out, as he himself tells us in the Fourth Book of the Life of *Constantine*, Chap. 34, and 35. St. *Jerom* and *Isidore* make mention of this Paschal Cycle of *Ensebius*, compos'd, as they say, in imitation of that of *Hippolytus*: His Books against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* were written after the first Condemnation of that Heretic in the Council of *Constantinople*, held in the

It is much more probable that he continued always steadfast in the Faith of Jesus Christ. First, Because we must always think well of our Neighbour, when it does not evidently appear that he has done ill. Secondly, Because 'tis no ways probable, if he had committed such a Crime when he was Priest, that he would have been afterwards chosen Bishop of *Cesarea*.

In the room of *Agapius*, *Eusebius* and *Blondel* place *Agathangus* between *Agapius* and *Eusebius*, whose Name is to be found among the Subscriptions of the Council of *Ancyra*. But *Ensebius* in his Seventh Book reckoning up the Names of those Bishops who govern'd the Church while the Persecution lasted, endeth his Catalogue of the Bishops of *Cesarea* with *Agapius*, of whom he says, that he took a great deal of pains for his Flock during that Persecution: And *Ensebius* himself was ordain'd immediately after the Persecution; for he assist'd in the quality of a Bishop, at the Dedication of the Church of *Tyre*, which was done immediately after Peace was restor'd to

the Church, before *Licinius* had taken Arms against *Constantine*, which happen'd in the Year 313. And therefore if there was one *Agathangus* Bishop of *Cesarea*, he did not hold that See for any long time, for *Ensebius* was ordain'd to it in the Year 314.

After he was chosen Bishop of *Cesarea*, he compos'd his Fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, and Twenty Books of *Evangelical Demonstration*. After these are cited in his Ecclesiastical History, B. I. Ch. 2. *Blondel* believes the contrary, that the History is cited in the Sixth Book of his *Evangelical Demonstration*, Ch. 23, but he was deceiv'd by the Translation.

After this, *Chronicle* follow'd his Ecclesiastical History. He faith expressly in the beginning of his History, that the *Chronicle* was written before it; in these Words, *Formerly I made an Abridgment of high things in my Chronicle, but now I will give a more ample Declaration of them here in this Work.*

Year 335, or 336. In short, the Four Books of the Life of *Constantine*, were compos'd after the Death of that Emperor, to which he has added three Tracts, viz. The Harangue which he made at the Dedication of the Church of *Jerusalem*, The Discourse of *Constantine* to the Convention of the Saints, and a Panegyric in Praise of this Emperor.

Besides these Works, whose Chronology is known, he hath also written, as St. *Jerom* testifies, Five Books of the Theophany, or the Incarnation, Ten Books of Commentaries upon *Isaiah*, Thirty Books against *Porphyry*, Ten whereof were lost in St. *Jerom's* time; and a Book of Topography, which is the same that St. *Jerom* translated and entituled, a Book of the Country of the *Hebrews*, which was afterwards Publish'd in Greek by *Bonservius* in the Year 1631. There is mention made in this Book of two other Tracts of the same Nature, whereof one contains an Explication of the Names which the *Hebrews* give to other Nations, and the other was a Topographical Description of the Holy Land and the Temple. St. *Jerom* also places in the Catalogue of *Ensebius's* Works, Three Books of the Life of *Pamphilus*, some little Tracts upon the Martyrs, the Commentaries upon the 150 Psalms, translated afterwards by *Ensebius* of *Vercelles*, and the Rules for reconciling the Four Evangelists, together with a Letter to *Carpianus*. He mentions also, in an Epistle to *Pammachius*, *Ensebius's* Commentary upon the First Epistle to the *Corinthians*; and he testifieth in another place, that he caus'd to be Publish'd an Edition of the Version of the *Septuagint*, taken from the *Hexapla* of *Origen*. St. *Basil* cites a Treatise of *Ensebius* concerning the Polygamy of the Patriarchs, of which *Ensebius* himself speaks, Book I. Chap. 9. of the *Demonstration*, and Book VII. Ch. 3, and 7, of the *Preparation*. In fine, *Theodoret* tells us, that *Ensebius* wrote Eclogues upon the whole Scriptures: But we must not forget the Letter which he wrote to the *Cæsareans* mention'd by *Theodoret* in his History, nor those Letters to *Alexander* and *Eubodorus* concerning *Arius*, which are cited in the Second Council of *Nice*, Art. 5. & 6. To these we may add, the Letter to the Empress *Constantia*, which is quoted by the Bishops that condemn'd Images, whereof there is a Testimony related in the same Council, Art. 6. *Photius* mentions a Book of *Ensebius* entituled, *Apology and Refutation*, that is to say, An Apology for the Religion of Christ, and a Refutation of the Errors of the Gentiles, divided into two Books; and also of two other Books, which were, as he says, very little different from the two former. The Commentary upon the *Canticles*, publish'd by *Mennsius*, is fully ascribed to *Ensebius*, since in it are cited the Testimonies of Authors much later than *Ensebius*, such as *Gregory Nyssen*, *Philo Carpathian*, and many others. It is not certain, that *Ensebius* was the Author of that little Tract of the Life of the Prophet, publish'd in Greek before *Procopius*, by *Curterius*, from a Manuscript of the Cardinal of *Rochefort*, and printed at Paris in the Year 1580, though it appears to be ancient. To conclude, There are some Treatises or Discourses publish'd by *Sirmundus*, which are believed to be a Translation from the Greek of *Ensebius* of *Cesarea*: But though these Treatises, which seem indeed to be translated from the Greek, were compos'd by some ancient Author, and have something of the Air and Genius of *Ensebius's* Writings, neither do they contain any thing unworthy of him; yet there is no full assurance that they are his, because they are not mention'd by any of the Ancients, and we cannot now judge with any certainty from a Version, of the Style of *Ensebius*.

After we have given a Catalogue of all the Writings of *Ensebius*, whereof we have any Testimony, we must now Discourse more largely of those that are come to our Hands. His Ecclesiastical History is the most considerable of all his Books, which is a Collection of all the Memorable Things which happen'd in the Church from the Birth of Jesus Christ to his own time. He has exactly noted the Succession of Bishops to the Sees of all the Great Cities in the World; he has given an Account of Ecclesiastical Writers and their Books, together with the History of Heresies, and some Remarks concerning the Jews. He has describ'd the Persecutions of the Martyrs, the Controversies and Disputes touching Ecclesiastical Discipline; and, in a Word, all things which concern the Affairs of the Church. He writes nothing of History as from himself, but almost every where, in his Works, he cites the ancient Authors or their Monuments, from whence he had his Relations, and inserts long Extracts taken out of them, as Men usually do when they write Annals or Memoirs. This manner of writing History, is less agreeable indeed, but much more profitable than any other, and gains Credit and Weight to that which is related: For when a Writer reports the Transactions of Ancient Times without citing the Authors from whence he had them, he cannot so easily gain Credit with his Readers, as when he cites his Vouchers, and produces their Testimonies for the Truth of what he says, since those Relations must certainly be agreeable to Truth, which are founded on the Authority of unquestionable Witnesses. But besides this general Reason, there is also a particular one, why this way of writing History, which is followed by *Ensebius*, is of wonderful Advantage unto us; which is this, That for the most part, those Authors and their Works which were more ancient than *Ensebius*, have been lost since his Death by the injury of time; and therefore we are mightily oblig'd to him who hath preserv'd in his History, not only the Memory of those Authors, but some considerable Fragments of their Works. In short, without the History of *Ensebius*, we should scarce have any Knowledge, not only of the History of those first Ages of the Church, but even of the Authors that wrote

His Books against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* were written after the first Condemnation of that Heretic in the Council of *Constantinople* held in the Year 335, or 336. They are Dedicated to *Flacilian* Bishop of *Antioch*, who was no chosen Bishop of that Church until the Year 335. Besides, in the First Book of Ecclesiastical Theology, Ch. 14, he says, That *Marcellus* was condemn'd.

Some little Tracts upon the Martyrs. We have one Book of these Tracts concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, but it is probable that he wrote more. The Martyrology suppos'd to be translated by St. *Jerom*, has been ascribed to him, but that Work is none of his, neither is the Translation St. *Jerom's*.

anharctic, and their Works, does no other Writer but he, has given an Account of those things, for it is observable that the Historians who followed after him, as *Socrus, Sozomen, and Theodoret*, began their History where he ended his, either because they thought that he had collected in his all that was Remarkable of those first Ages, or because they had no other way of coming to the Knowledge of them but by him. *Neophrontius Callistus*, who pretended to write a New History in the Fourteenth Century, has tract in it at great many fabulous and uncertain Tales, because they were not taken out of *Eusebius*, nor confirm'd by the Authority of any Ancient Author. Nevertheless, it must be confest, that even the History of *Eusebius* is not altogether so perfect as were to be wish'd, for it is not written sincerely, neither is it always exact. Our Author does often enlarge too much upon those things that ought to be slightly said over; and on the contrary, sometimes he expresses such things very succinctly, which deserve a much larger Account. But notwithstanding these Faults, it is a most Excellent History, and highly to be priz'd.

There is at the End of the Eighth Book, a small Tract of the Martyrs of *Palastine*, in which he describes the Martyrdom of those that suffer'd in this Province for the Faith of Jesus Christ. Some have confounded this with the Eighth Book, but against Reason; for it is a distinct Tract, and, as it were, a Supplement to it.

Ruffinus is the first who Translated this History of *Eusebius*, but he, according to his usual manner, took a great liberty in doing it. He has past over the whole Tenth Book, and has added to it two more, which contain the following History down to the Death of *Theodosius*. His Translation is plain, neat, and elegant enough, it gives the Sense and Thought of the Author in a very agreeable Style, and sometimes more faithfully than those Interpreters who have Translated him since. This Version has been the great Magazine to all the Latin Authors, who have drawn from thence whatever they either wrote or understood of the Ecclesiastical History of the First Ages.

Meuschenius the Protestant, undertook a new Translation of the History of *Eusebius*, which he perform'd happily enough. He ties himself up very much to the Letter, and has Translated the Text with much politeness and brevity. But he does not always understand his Author aright, and so he has committed many Faults in his Version. The Translation of *Christophorus* is more Elegant, and his Style more *Ciceronian*, but it is too Copious for an Historian, whose Style should be concise and close. He hath Corrected many Faults of *Meuschenius*, and yet his own Version is not altogether free.

The Learned *Henricus Valestinus* having observ'd the Faults of all former Versions, undertook to make a new one, more perfect. He publish'd it with the Greek Text, Revis'd by Four Manuscripts, and added to it most learned Notes. His Version deserves Universal Applause, and the singular esteem of all Learned Men, for it has two qualities that rarely meet together, being both Elegant and Literal; and yet the Critics have observ'd some Faults in it: But it is impossible to satisfy all Men, and very difficult to avoid all Mistakes, in a Work of so great a length.

It was very fit that the History of *Eusebius* should be Translated, that those who neither understand Greek nor Latin might not be depriv'd of the History of the Church in its Original Purity. The President *Comin* has done the Publick this Service, who has Translated this History into French, with as great Purity as Faithfulness, and has prefix'd to his Version a Preface wherein he briefly takes notice of the principal Errors of *Eusebius*, and passes a very sound and solid Judgment upon his History and his Person.

The Chronicle of *Eusebius*, or the Abridgment of the Universal History of all Times and Places from the Beginning of the World down to his own time, was divided into Two Parts: The First was entitul'd, *Canons of Universal History, or Universal Chronography*; and the Second, *Chronical Canon*. In the first, he has collected the Origin and History of all Nations severally, the Succession of all Kings and Princes of the World of the High Priests of the Jews, and the Bishops of the Chief Churches from the Birth of Jesus Christ. In the second, he has enlarg'd and digested these Histories according to the order of Time. *St. Jerom* has translated both Parts: But there was nothing remaining of the Translation of the First, but some Extracts containing the Names of Kings, which are Printed with the Version of the Second Part. This Translation of *St. Jerom*, which was thus Printed at *Basil*, was

afterwards Publish'd more exactly by *Arnand de Pontac*, Bishop of *Bazac*, in the Year 1605. But none took care to Collect the Greek Fragments of the Original of *Eusebius*, before the famous *Joseph Scaliger*, who Publish'd them in the Year 1606, in a Book entitul'd, *The Treasure of Time*, wherein he gives a larger Version of the First Part of the Chronicle than any other Edition, and renders the Version of the Second Part more Correct and Exact; to which he adds many very considerable Greek Fragments, taken out of some later Greek Authors.

This Book of *Eusebius* is a Work of Prodigious Study, and most Accomplish'd Learning: For he must have read an infinite number of Books and Ancient Monuments, to compile such an Universal History; and at the same time he must have a well-poiz'd Judgment, to collect so many Particulars, and relate every one of them in their proper time. This infinite Labour, is an evident Proof, that *Eusebius* was a Man of vast Reading and a Prodigious Memory: Nevertheless, it must be confest, that the Chronicle of *Africanus* was a great help to him, and that he took almost all his Chronicle, from *Africanus's Chronicle*, which he had Copied. He correct'd indeed some of the Faults which he found in him, but then he himself committed many more: And indeed it is next to impossible, to avoid all Errors in so long and knotty a Work as an Universal Chronicle. These Faults are pardonable in a Book of this Nature, and do not hinder, but that it ought to be esteem'd one of the most useful Books of all Antiquity.

The Four Books of the Life of *Constantine*, are, properly speaking, a Panegyrick; in which, he gives an Account as an Orator, rather than as an Historian; not only of the Life of this Emperor, but also of the Revolutions of the Empire, and the Affairs of the Church, in which *Constantine* had a hand. The Style of this Work is more Sublime and Florid than that of the other Books of *Eusebius*, and yet it is not finer, nor more agreeable. He does nothing for the most part, but give slight hints of the Relations which he has given at large elsewhere, and deliver the Heads of them, leaving out the Circumstances and Particulars.

He has added at the End of those Four Books, *Constantine's* Oration to the Convention of the Saints, i. e. to the Christians, and a Harangue in Praise of this Emperor, which he spoke before him at the Festival Solemnity of the 30th. Year of his Reign. In this Piece he enlarges upon the Praises of God, the Wonders of his Providence, the Mystery of the Incarnation, the Benefits of Jesus Christ to Mankind, more than upon the Commendation of the Emperor, which he intermixes only now and then; for he praises him as a Christian Prince ought to be priz'd; that is to say, by publishing those Vertues which have a relation to Piety and Religion. This Discourse is the most Eloquent of all his Works, and is compos'd with much Art and Fineness.

The fifteen Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, address'd to *Theodorus*, (who is believ'd to have been Bishop of *Laodicea*, and is mention'd in the 32th. Chapter of the Seventh Book of his Ecclesiastical History) were written on purpose to dispose the Minds of Men to embrace the Christian Religion. In them *Eusebius* shows, that the Theology of the Pagans was ridiculous, and contrary to good Sense; and that the Christian Theology was Holy and Reasonable. The First Part of this Proposition, he proves in the First Six Books, and the Second Part in the other Nine. He begins with a General Description of the Doctrine of Christ, and to render it the more enticing, he gives an account of the infinite Blessings it has reveal'd to Mankind, and how it conduces to Piety, by teaching them to know and honour one God. After this, he alleges some Prejudices in favour of the Christian Religion, such as the Accomplishment of Prophecies, the Holiness of the Lives of Christians, and the wonderful facility, with all Persons, even those that were more dull and barbarous, found in comprehending the greatest and sublimest Truths. After he has thus dispos'd his Readers to be favourable to the Christian Religion, he destroys the Religions of all the Nations of the World, and lays open the Falshood of every one of them in particular, not only as to what concerns their History, but as to their pretended Mysteries and Prophane Morality. In the Fourth Book, he confutes the strongest Argument of the Pagans, taken from the Predictions of their Oracles. He shows, that the Gods whom they worship'd, were Evil Spirits, call'd *Demons*, as the Philosophers themselves have acknowledg'd. In the Sixth Book he opposes Destiny or Fatal Necessity, and proves there by many Reasons and Testimonies, that Man is entirely a free Agent.

In the following Nine Books, he shews that the Christians had reason to embrace the Theology of the Hebrews, because none but that affords solid Foundations for a Sincere Piety, together with Sound and true Doctrine. This he proves by a particular Induction of their Opinions, because there is no Theology but this which teaches the Immortality of the Soul, which commands Men to Adore one God only; which informs them, that he was the Creator of the World, which teaches them that the Word is the Son of God, and that the Holy Ghost is to be Worship'd with the same Worship that is due to the Father and the Son; There is no other Religion but this, which teaches Men, that they must not Adore the Angels as Gods, but honour them as the Ministers of God; which gives a rational Account of the Fall of some of the Angels, and instructs Man, that he is made after the Image of God: In a word, there is none but this whole Doctrine is agreeable to Right Reason. After this, he subjoins a long Fragment out of a Treatise of *Maximus*, which demonstrates that Matter is not Eternal.

In the Eighth Book he gives the History of the Version of the *Septuagint*, and to prove the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, he makes it appear by the Testimony of the Jews, that their Law is Mytical and very Significant, which he afterwards represents as worthy of all Esteem, by the holiness of

But then he himself committed many more Errors in *Chronology*. You may see them observ'd by *Scaliger* in the

afterwards

Neither is it always Exact. Many Faults are observ'd in it contrary to the Truth of History, and contrary to Chronology. In his First Book he saith, That the Taxing which *Josephus* speaks of in his Eighteenth Book of the History of the Jews, is the same that *St. Luke* writes of. In the same Book, Ch. 9. he says, That *Lysania* Tetrarch of *Abylene* was Brother to *Philip*, and Herod the younger, which is not true. In Ch. 7. he says, That *Herod Junior* was banish'd to *Vienna*, contrary to the Testimony of *Josephus*, who assures us, Book XVIII. Ch. 9. That he was sent to *Lycia*. He thinks that Jesus Christ spent Four Years in his preaching. He is mistaken in the Epochs of the Voyage of *St. Paul* to *Jerusalem*. In Book XXI. Ch. 13. he distinguishes *Cephas* who was rebuked at *Antioch* by *St. Paul*, from the Apostle *St. Peter*, tho' he was certainly the same. I shall not now mention his other Faults, which he committed by taking things upon hear-say, for the Apocryphal Books, which he cites very often. He mistakes the Jews of *Alexandria*, men-

tioned by *Philo*, call'd *Therapeuts*, for Christians. B. II. Ch. 10. he confounds *Novatus* and *Novatianus*. B. VI. Ch. 45. he makes mistakes in the years of the Pontificate of *Sixtus* and *Eusebius*. St. Jerom has translated both Parts. St. Jerom in his Commentary upon Daniel, Ch. 6. saith, That there was found in the Version of the Chronicle of *Eusebius* an Explication of two Passages of Scripture, both which were in his First Part. *Marcellinus* says also plainly, That St. Jerom translated the First Part. St. Jerom in the Preface to his Version says, That he translated *Eusebius* word for word, from the time of *Abraham* to the taking of *Troy*; and that from the taking of *Troy* to the time of *Constantine*, he had added many things of his own Head, particularly about those Matters that concern the Roman History, which *Eusebius* had neglected; and that he was the Author of what follows after the time of *Constantine*, down to the Sixth Consulship of *Valerian*.

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Eusebius of
Cæsarea.

and their Lives who have embraced it, by the Example of the *Effenger*, whose manner of Life he describes, and by the Willom of *Philo*.

In the Ninth Book, he relates the Testimonies of the Pagans, who have spoken in favour of the Jewish Religion, and of those who allow the Truth of *Moses*'s History. In the 10th. he shows, that *Plato* and the Pagan Philosophers have taken the greatest part of what they have written, from the Books of *Moses*. In the 11th. Book he demonstrates particularly, that the Doctrine of *Plato* is agreeable to that of *Moses*, and compares many of the Opinions of that Philosopher with those of the Jews. He carries on that Comparison in the 12th. and 13th. Books. But in the mean time, he demonstrates, that this Philosopher had his Errors, and that no Book but the Scriptures is wholly free. In the 14th. and 15th. Books, he relates the Opinions of the Philosophers, he shows their Contradictions, and sometimes confutes one of them by another: From all which he concludes, that the Christians had reason to forsake the Religion of the Pagans, and embrace that of the Jews.

After he has thus prepar'd the Minds of Men to receive the Christian Religion, by establishing the Authority of the Religion, and of the Books of the Jews, he demonstrates the Truth of it against the Jews themselves by their own Prophecies. This is the Subject of his Books of *Evangelical Demonstration*, of which there are only Ten remaining of Twenty which he compos'd. In the First Book he shows, that the Law of the Jews was calculated for one Nation only, but the New Testament was design'd for all Mankind. That the Patriarchs had no other Religion but that of the Christians, since they ador'd the same God and the same Word, honour'd him as they do, and resembled their holy Lives. In the Second Book he shows by the Prophecies, that the Messias was to come, into the World for all Mankind. In the Third he makes it appear in favour of the Faithful, that Jesus Christ is the Saviour of the World, and demonstrates against the Infidels that he was no Seducer, as his Doctrine, his Miracles, and many other Reasons do evidently prove.

In the Fourth Book he shows, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and gives an Account of the Reasons for which he was made Man; he explains the Name of Christ, and cites many Prophecies wherein he was foretold by that Name. In the following Books he brings abundance of Prophecies to demonstrate that the Coming of Jesus Christ, the time of his Birth, the Circumstances of his Life and Passion, and in a word, all things that concern'd him, were foretold in the Books of the Old Testament. What we have of these Books, ends with the last words of Christ upon the Cross; And in the following Books he recited the Prophecies concerning his Death, his Burial, his Resurrection, his Ascension, the Establishment of the Church, and the Conversion of the Gentiles: But these are wholly lost.

These Books of *Evangelical Preparation and Demonstration*, are the largest Work that has been made by any of the Ancients upon this Subject, where a Man may find more Proofs, Testimonies and Arguments for the Truth of the Christian Religion, than in any other. They are very proper to instruct and convince all those that sincerely search after Truth. In fine, *Eusebius* has omitted nothing which might serve to deceive Men of a false Religion, or convince them of the true.

The Treatise against *Hierocles*, was written against a Book of that Philosopher, publish'd by him under the Name of *Philalethes*, against the Christian Religion; wherein, to render it ridiculous, he has compar'd *Apollonius Tyaneus* with Jesus Christ, and says, That *Apollonius* wrought Miracles as well as Christ, and ascended into Heaven as well as he. But *Eusebius* has prov'd in his Answer, That *Apollonius Tyaneus* was so far from being comparable to Jesus Christ, that he did not deserve to be rank'd among the Philosophers, and that *Philolethes* who wrote his Life is an Author unworthy of Credit, because he contradicts himself very often, he doubts himself of those very Miracles which he relates, and he reports many things which are plainly Fabulous. At the End of this Treatise *Eusebius* has given some Observations against Fatal Necessity.

In the First of the Five Books against *Marcellus of Ancyra*, *Eusebius* endeavours to prove, That this Bishop wrote his Book upon no other Motive, but the hatred of his Brethren; he charges him with Ignorance of the Holy Scriptures, and rallies him for the impertinent Explications of some Greek Proverbs brought in not at all to the purpose. In fine, he blames him for accusing *Origen*, *Paulinus*, *Narcissus*, *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, and *Asterius*, of Error touching the Mystery of the Trinity, and endeavours to justify their Doctrine about it. In the Second Book, he discovers the Errors of *Marcellus*, and proves from many Passages of his Book, That he believes the Word was not a Person subsisting before he was born of the Virgin, That he denies the distinction of the Son from the Father. That he is positive in asserting the Flesh and not the Word to be the Image of God, the Son of God, the King, the Saviour, and the Christ, and in short, That he durst affirm that this Flesh shall be destroyed, and annihilated after the Day of Judgment.

After he has discover'd the Errors and the Malice of *Marcellus of Ancyra*, he confutes his Opinions in the Three following Books, Entitled, *Ecclesiastick Theology*, and Dedicated to *Flavillus Bishop of Antioch*.

In the First Book he propoſes the Faith of the Church which he explains very exactly, rejecting the Errors of the *Ebionites*, *Paulinians*, *Sabellians* and *Arians*. After this, he shows that *Marcellus* is guilty of the *Sabellian* Hereſy, and proves by Thirty Arguments drawn from Scripture, That the Word is a Person subsisting of himself. In the Second and Third Books, he goes on to confute the Consequences of *Marcellus*'s Error, and the Arguments which he alleges for it, and proves by many Passages of the Old and New Testament, that the Word is a Subsistence, or a Person-Subsisting distinguish'd from the Person of the Father.

From

Eusebius of
Cæsarea.

From these Books we may learn the true Opinion of *Eusebius* concerning the Divinity of the Word. He has declar'd in many places, That the Word is God, and the Son of God; and he says plainly, That he was not made of nothing, nor created in time; but begotten from all Eternity of the Substance of the Father. He does expressly reject the Error of those that say, The Word was made of Nothing, and to place him in the number of Creatures. But he seems to insinuate in some places, and chiefly B. II. Ch. 7. That the Person of the Son is not equal to the Person of the Father, and that the same Adoration is not due to him*. And it is not in these Books that he speaks after this manner; for he does the like in all his other Writings; wherein he rejects the impious Opinion of those that say, The Son was made of nothing, that he is not of the Substance of the Father, That there was a time when he was not: But then at the same time he seems to admit some inequality between the Father and the Son, and to acknowledge some sort of Dependence upon, and Inferiority of the Son to the Father. For this reason it was that he made no scruple to declare in the Council of Nice, That the Son was God from all Eternity: where he also plainly disavow'd the Impiety of *Arius*, who says, That he was made of nothing. That there was a time when he was not: Yet he found some difficulty to approve the term *Consubstantial*, that is, to confess, That the Son is of the same Substance with the Father; and after he had consented to it by his Signing, he gave such a Sense of the Word in a Letter which he wrote to his Church, as does not at all Confirm the Equality of the Father and the Son: His Words are these, When it is said, That the Son is *Consubstantial* with the Father, the meaning is only, That the Son of God has no resemblance to any Creature that was made by him, but a perfect resemblance to the Father by whom he was begotten, and not by any other Substance or Substance. This plainly shews, That *Eusebius* did not approve this term, as it establishes a perfect equality between the Father and the Son, but only as it signifies the resemblance of the Son to the Father, and that the Son was begotten of the Father. It may be said to excuse *Eusebius*, That he did not admit this Inequality between the Father and the Son for any other reason, but because the Son receiv'd his Substance from the Father: But he does every where make use of such Emphatical Expressions to denote this Inequality, that it is difficult to explain them in this Sense, especially since he wrote his Books against *Marcellus*, wherein he speaks after the same manner, at a time when this Question was debated and even determined: For those Expressions which might be innocent in former times, ought to be suspected after the Decision of the Council of Nice. We might further add the Correspondence which he maintain'd with the Bishops of *Arius*'s Faction, the Praises which he always gave them, his affected Silence in his History, as to what concerns the Council of Nice, and the disadvantageous Way that he speaks of it in his Books of the Life of *Constantine*. But though *Eusebius*'s Doctrine could be justified as to the Divinity of the Son, yet it will be much harder to Defend what he says of the Holy Spirit; for he asserts, not only in his Books of *Evangelical Preparation and Demonstration*, but also in his Third Book of *Ecclesiastick Theology*, That he is not truly God: The Holy Spirit, says he, is neither God, nor the Son of God, because he does not derive his Original from the Father, as the Son does, being of the number of those things which were made by the Son. What we have hitherto said concerning the Opinion of *Eusebius* about the Trinity, does plainly demonstrate on the one side, That *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and some late Authors, are to blame, who do wholly excuse him; and on the other side, That it is a great piece of Injustice to call him *Arian*, and the very Head of the *Arians*, as St. *Jerom* has done, whom many others have follow'd, since he formerly rejected the principal Errors of *Arius*, which are, That the Word was made of nothing, That he is not of the Substance of the Father, That he is unlike the Father, and, That there was a time when he was not.

His Sentiments about the other Articles of the Christian Religion, appear to be very Orthodox: He explains the Mystery of the Incarnation in a most Catholic manner, acknowledging in Jesus Christ

* He seems to insinuate in some places:—That the Person of the Son is not Equal to the Person of the Father, &c. B. I. Ch. 2. of his History, he calls the Son the Minister of the Father's Will, and the second Cause next to him. He says, That the Father Commands, and the Son Executes, and that 'tis not possible for the Father to assume a Humane shape. In his Oration at the Dedication of the Church of Tyre, he calls the Son of God, the Second Cause of our Blessings, the Angel of his Council, and the Captain of the Armies of God. Yet these Expressions are more tolerable than that which is found B. V. Of *Evangelical Preparation*, Ch. 4. That the Son is not adorable by and Ch. VIII. That the Son is a Lord inferior to the Father. In other places, what he says, B. II. Ch. 7. of *Theology*, and in other places, is inexcusable. That the Glory of the Son is less than the Glory of the Father, and that the Son does not deserve Equal honour with the Father.

* That *Eusebius* did not approve this term *Consubstantial*, as it establishes a perfect Equality between the Father and the Son. St. Athanasius testifies in his Treatise of *Nice*, and in his Book of the Decision of the Council of Nice, that he did by no means approve of the Explanation that *Eusebius* gave of this term. He explains the Mystery of the Incarnation in a most Catholic manner. In a Letter to the Empress *Constantia*, cited in the Second Council of Nice, and ascribed to *Eusebius*, he seems to assert, that the humane Nature was changed into the Divine, from whence some took occasion in the Council to accuse him of the Error of the *Theophasians*: But he teaches the contrary in the Fourth Book of his *Demonstration*, where he formally denies that the Divine Nature suffered. Yet in the 14th. Ch. he says, That after the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, the Man was swallowed up of the Divine Nature, and that the Word was become God as he was before he was Man, the Man being made God. But this is only a Figurative Expression, to denote the Glory of the Humanity of Christ, for he plainly rejects this Error, in his Books of *Mythic Theology* against *Marcellus*, especially, B. III. Ch. 10, 11, &c.

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Deus v. 4. c. 2. p. 13.
Ecc. Theol. B. 1. c. 20.
 and 12.
Deus B. 4. c. 2. p. 2.
 and 12.

Prof. B. 7. c. 6.
Deus B. 3. c. 9.
Prap. B. 7. c. 6.
Deus B. 3. c. 6.
Hil. B. 1.
Deus B. 1. c. 10. and 8.
 and B. 3. c. 9. B. 5.
 c. 3.
 Of the Life of Constantine.

the same time takes Notice, that many have not observ'd this Error in his Writings, and that it is not to be discover'd there but by a careful Examination of them: But, however it may be in other Books, there is not the least Footstep of it in those that are now extant.

St. *Jerom* maintains in his Book against *Ruffinus*, That *Eusebius* alone was the Author of the Six Books of *Apology* for *Origen*, which have been ascribed to *Pamphilus*: But it appears by the Testimony of *Eusebius* himself, B. VI. of his *History*, Ch. 23. and also by that of *Phoebus*, That he compos'd the 1st. Five Books, together with *Pamphilus*, and added the 6th. after his Martyrdom. We have the Translation of the 1st. of those Books, which he begins with an Investive against those that accuse the Person and Doctrine of *Origen*; and then he produces many Passages out of his Works to justify him, concerning the Trinity and the Incarnation, the Pains of the Damn'd, and concerning the Nature and State of Souls: St. *Jerom* accuses *Ruffinus* of having changed those places in his Version, which seem'd to favour the Error of the *Arians*, about the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost: *Ruffinus* deny'd to have the Charge, but only pretends that those Passages had been added. Some Books of *Apology* contain'd the Life of *Origen*, and a Catalogue of his Writings, as appears by the Testimony of St. *Jerom*, and the Report of *Phoebus*, Vol. 118. of his *Bibliothecæ*.

The Book of *Topography*, or the Names that the Hebrews give to several Countries, translated by St. *Jerom*, and lately publish'd in Greek, is a Geographical Explication of all the Countries, Cities and Places, which are mention'd in the Books of the Old Testament. This Treatise is very Exact and Curious, and shews that *Eusebius* was an able Man in every thing.

The *Harmony of the Evangelists*, or the Rules for Reconciling them, contains Ten Tables, in each of which, he has mark'd by Arithmetical Figures, with wonderful Art, what is related by 4. by 3. by 2. or by 1. Evangelist only: So, that in reading the New Testament, where the Figures of those Tables are mark'd in the Margin, one may presently know, by having recourse to that Table, not only by how many, and by which of the Evangelists, but also in what places it has been related. He compos'd these Rules according to the *Harmony of Ammonius*, to which they were instead of a Table, as he himself observeth in his Letter to *Carpianus*, at the beginning of them.

We have a Latin Fragment yet extant, of the *Harmony of the Evangelists*, upon the Subject of their apparent contradictions about the time of the Resurrection of Christ, translated by the Monk *Ambrosius*, which is believ'd to be *Eusebius's*.

It's said, There are some Greek Commentaries of *Eusebius's* upon *Isaiab*, mentioned by *Heinsius*. St. *Jerom* in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, speaks of *Eusebius's* Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Corinthians*. *Theodoret* in the First Book of his *History*, Ch. 16, says, That he made Abridgments of the Scripture. 'Tis reported that in the Library of Florence, there are some Manuscript Commentaries upon the *Psalms*, which are ascribed to *Eusebius*; and *Gelasius* in his Book of the *Two Natures*, cites a Passage of *Eusebius* taken out of those Commentaries. I don't mention the Commentaries upon the *Canticles*, publish'd by *Mensorius* under *Eusebius's* Name, because they are none of his, but compos'd by a much later Author, as we have already prov'd.

The Treatise of the Lives of the Prophets, is a short Abridgment of their Lives, and of the most Remarkable Things that are in their Prophecies.

The Tracts or Discourses publish'd in Latin by *Sirmondus*, have much of the Air of *Eusebius*; whereof the two first were written against the Heresy of *Sabellinus*, to refute that Error, and prove by the Scriptures, that the Word is a Person distinct from the Father, and there he occasionally Discourses against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, whom he calls the *Galatian*. In the following Discourse he Treats of the Resurrection, and having establish'd the Providence and Justice of God by sensible Proofs, he thence concludes, That there is a Resurrection; because if there were no other Recompense but in this Life, it would follow, that God were unjust, seeing good Men are oftentimes depriv'd of all the Advantages of this Life, which wicked Men most commonly enjoy. He shews by the Resolution that appear'd in *Abraham*, when he went to Sacrifice his Son, and by all the Circumstances of that Action which he describes very eloquently; he shews, I say, That this Patriarch must needs believe a future Resurrection, for otherwise he would never have attempted with so much Confidence and Zeal, to Sacrifice that which was dearest to him in this World. He confutes the Opinion of the *Pharisees*, who held that Men are rais'd again from the dead to eat and drink, and enjoy the same Pleasures which they had in this Life.

The Fourth Tract, is a Discourse upon the Day of the Ascension of Jesus Christ, wherein he proves the Truth of his Resurrection and Ascension, by the Constancy of the Martyrs and Apostles, and by the wonderful Promulgation of the Gospel. He observes how impossible it was, that ever the Apostles should undertake to Preach the Christian Religion, and succeed in their Attempt, if God had not encourag'd them by his Spirit, and dispos'd the Hearts of Men to receive their Doctrine. In this Discourse, he describes also the Martyrdom of St. *Romanus*, Deacon of *Antioch*. In the Six following Tracts, he discourses of things Spiritual and Invisible; and in the First, he shews, That God is Incorporeal and Invisible, and demonstrates, that things Incorporeal and Invisible, are infinitely more Excellent than those that are Material and Earthly. In the Second and Third, he proves, That the Soul of Man is Immortal and Spiritual, and describes the great Advantages it gives a Man above the Beasts. The Fourth Tract is, concerning the Thought of Man, which has these Remarkable Properties; First, That it knows it self; and, Secondly, That it resists and checks the Motions of Lust. In the Fifth, He goes on till to prove, That God is Invisible and Incorporeal, and takes Notice as he goes along, That Angels are Spiritual. In the Sixth, He answer some Passages of Scripture which seem to attribute Members to God.

The following Discourse is, concerning the Advantages of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and the great Benefits it hath procur'd to Mankind. There he explains that saying of our Saviour, *I came not to bring Peace, but War*; by shewing, That Jesus Christ, came indeed, to bring Peace; but Men being unwilling to receive it, there must be War, by necessary consequence, as arising out of the bad Disposition of their own Hearts. Towards the end of this Discourse, he praises those that suffer for the Religion of Jesus Christ, and continues the same Subject in the following Discourse, wherein he shews upon occasion of those Words of our Saviour, *Preach ye upon the House-tops what has been said to you in secret*. That nothing can dispense with a Christian's suffering for the Religion of Christ. He adds, That tho' there be no Perfection, yet we are oblig'd to suffer, and to be, as one may say, continually Martyrs, because we are always to fight against the World and our selves. The Two last Discourses are concerning good Works; in the First of which, he recommends it to Christians, if they would be happy, to follow after that which is Good, and shun that which is Evil. And in the Second, he exhorts them to the practice of good Works, and chiefly to giving of Alms. This is the Subject of those Discourses, which are more concerning Doctrines than Morality, wherein there appears a great deal of Wit, good Sense, and Eloquence, but little of Order and Method.

Eusebius was one of the most Learned Men of all Antiquity; as both his Friends and Enemies do equally acknowledge; of whom it may be said without fear of mistaking, That there was no Man of so great Reading and Learning amongst all our Greek Authors. Almost all his Books are the effects of prodigious Labour, and very long and laborious Enquiries. And yet it must be confessed, that he had great Helps by the Memoirs of those who had written before him upon the same Subjects, whose Works he makes no scruple to Transcribe. He did not much Study to polish his Discourses, which is the common Fault of almost all those that make Knowledge and Learning their chief Business. His Style is neither Elegant nor Grateful, as *Phoebus* has many times observ'd, but dry and barren, and extremely unpleasant. He is very proper to teach those who apply their minds seriously to Study and search after Truth, and love to consider it absolutely naked, depriv'd of all the Ornaments of Language; but he is not at all proper to entice those who are taken with the manner of Expressing things, and the force of Eloquence. I shall not here add any thing to what I have said concerning his Learning: But as to what concerns his Person, he seems to have been very impartial, very sincere, and a great Lover of Peace, Truth and Religion. For altho' he maintain'd an intimate Correspondence with the Enemies of St. *Athanasius*, it does not appear that he was his Enemy, nor that he sided much with any Party in the Controversy of the Bishops of that time. He was present, indeed, in the Councils, wherein unjust things were done to *Eusebius* and St. *Athanasius*; but it does not appear, that he gave any Signs of an angry Temper, nor that he serv'd the Passions of other Men. He was not the Author of New Confessions of Faith, neither did he carry on any Plot, to the Destruction of St. *Athanasius*, or the Ruin of his Party; but he only desir'd to accommodate Differences, and reconcile the two Parties. He did not abate the Credit which he had with the Emperor, to Advance himself, nor to Destroy his Enemies, as *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* did; but he only made use of it for the Welfare and Advantage of the Church. I do not doubt, but so many good Qualities obtain'd him a place among

* *Eusebius* was one of the most Learned Men of all Antiquity, as both his Friends and Enemies do equally acknowledge. See here a part of the Testimonies which the Ancients have given to the Learning of *Eusebius*. Compare in his Epistle to those of *Antioch*, and in a Letter which he wrote to himself, praises his vast Learning: St. *Basil* in his Book of the *H. Spirit*, Ch. 29, calls him an Author worthy of Credit, because of his Universal Learning, *ὁ δὲ μακροτέρως ἐπιστήμων*. St. *Jerom*, tho' the great Enemy of *Eusebius*, could not forbear oftentimes to praise his Learning, to confess that he priz'd his Books, and to say in his Second Book against *Ruffinus*, That he was a most Learned Man, *Vir doctissimus Eusebius*; *doctissimum dico, non Catholicum*: The most Learned of *Eusebius*; I call him most Learned, but not Catholic: It is not to be wondered at, that *Ruffinus* his Friend

gives him the same Title. *Antipater* of *Bysria*, tho' he did not favour him, yet gives him the Name of *ὁ μακροτέρως*, i.e. one very knowing in most Matters; and further says of him, That he had read all the Books of the Ancients, examin'd and explain'd all his Opinions, and that he had written himself most useful Books. *Philostorgius* praises him for his History, *Socrates* and *Socrumen* venerate him. *Idolatrius* calls him a most Learned Man. *Gelasius* the Pope durst not reject his History, because of its great Learning, and singular usefulness for information. *Pelagius* assures us, That there is no History that deserves greater Esteem, than that of *Eusebius*. *Phoebus*, who censures the Style and Doctrine of *Eusebius*, nevertheless, commends his Knowledge and Learning. I take no Notice of the Testimonies of Modern Authors.

the Saints in the Martyrologies of *Quirinus* and *Ado*, and some other Ancient Offices of the Church of France; for the first time since 1499, our present Collection of this Honour of Saints, yet to my mind in would be with a better Edition in which I am altogether unworthy of it.

Since the Works of *Eusebius* have been counted several, we will now give an Account of the several Editions of every one of them.

There were but two Greek Editions of his *Ecclesiastical History* before that of *Valartius*. The first was only Greek printed by *Robert Stephanus*, in the Year 1544.

The second was Greek with the Version of *Christopherus*, on the other side, printed at *Geneva*, in the Year 1612.

The Version of this *Ecclesiastical History*, made by *Rufinus*, was printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1476, in Folio, and in the Year 1479, at *Alençon*, and at *Brugues* in the Year 1500.

There was an old Edition printed without date at *Paris*, in 8vo. by *Renart*, and published by the Care of *Guadry Bouffard*, Dr. of the Faculty of *Paris*, who has put an Elegant and Sensible Preface before it, address'd to *Stephen Poncher*, then President of the Parliament of *Paris*. He observes in this Preface, That the History of *Eusebius*, translated by *Rufinus*, had been already printed. There have been since that time, several Editions of the same Version of that History in several places, in the Years 1544, and 1578, and at *Lyon*, in 1523, and with all *Eusebius's* Works in 1542, and 1559, and at *Paris* in 1641.

The Version of *Marcellus* was printed at *Basil*, in 1524.

The Version of *Christophorus*, [Bishop of *Chichester* in *England*,] was printed at *Cologne* and *Basil*, in 1570, at *Paris*, in 1571, and with the Amendments of *Suffridus*, in 1581.

At last, the Version of *Valartius* was printed with the Greek on one side, revis'd by Four Manuscripts, at *Paris*, by *Kiri*, in the Year 1659, together with the Critical Notes of that Learned Man, to which he has added Four Treatises or Dissertations: The First concerning the Schism of the *Donatists*, where he has clear'd up many Points of that History, which before were very dark and confus'd and discover'd some considerable Errors, into which almost all the Historians of our time had fallen. The Second is a Letter to a Friend, where he shows, That it is the same Church at *Jerusalem*, which is call'd by the Name of the *Reformation*, and which bears the Name of the *Death of Jesus Christ*. The Third, clears up some Difficulties concerning the Version of the *Septuagint*. And the Last, is a Critical Account of some Martyrologies. This is the fairest and most Correct of all the late Editions in Greek and Latin; which has been since Revis'd by *Peris*: But this Second Edition falls much short of the Neatness of the First. The *Chronicle* has likewise been printed apart in 4to. in the Year 1470, and 1512, and together with the History, and the other Works of *Eusebius*, as has been noted above.

Montieur de Pontac, Bishop of *Bazas*, publish'd it in 1605, at *Bordeaux*, and it has been since printed at *Antwerp*, in 1608.

Scaliger's *Thesaurus*, printed in 1606, contains the Latin *Chronicle* of *St. Jerom*, the Supplement of the two *Prophets*, the *Chronicle* of *Vittor*, *John*, and *Macarius*, of *Memphitis*, of *Marcellus*, and an Historical Collection in Latin, extracted out of the *Chronicles* of *Africanus* and *Eusebius*, by an ignorant Man, together with the Greek Fragments of the *Chronicle* of *Eusebius*, an Abridgment of History from *Adam* down to the Second Year of *Heracles*, which bears the Name of the *Fifth Siegh*, or the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, and has been since publish'd in 4to. Greek and Latin, by *Raderus*, in 1615. [All which Editions have been lately superseded by an Edition in Folio, printed at the *Louvre* by *Mr. du Cange*.] After this Abridgment, follows the *Chronography* of the Patriarch *Nicophorus*, and an Epitome or Abridgment of many Histories, compos'd by way of Chronicle. After these, follows the Notes of *Scaliger*, and a Work, Entituled, *Canon Hagiologicus*, or an *Introduction to Chronology*. There was a Second Edition of this Work, printed at *Amsterdam*, in 1688, wherein the Notes of *Scaliger* are more Large and Correct.

The Books of *Eusebius* concerning the Life of *Constantine*, have almost always been printed with his History. The Version of those Books by *Forssius* was annex'd to the Version of his *Ecclesiastical History* by *Rufinus*.

Christophorus translated Three of those Books to add them to his History, and the Fourth was finish'd by *Suffridus*. *Valartius* made a New Translation of them. The Oration made in the Praise of *Constantine*, was also printed by it self in Latin at *Cologne*, in 1581. The Version of the Four Books of *Evangelical Preparation*, and of the Ten First of *Evangelical Demonstration*, made by *Georgius Trapezuntinus*, was printed at *Venice* in 1497, and at *Paris* in 1534; but it is very unfaithfully done, because that Author gives himself the Liberty to add to it, or take away what he pleases, in that which concerns the Trinity. The Thirteen Books of *Preparation*, were also printed in Greek at *Paris*, by

Robert Stephanus in the Year 1544; and the Year following, the same Printer publish'd the Ten Books of the *Demonstration*. Since that time, the Version of the Ten Books of the *Demonstration* made by *Demetrius of Peirae*, together with that of the Fourteen Books of the *Preparation* made by *Georgius Trapezuntinus*, and that of the Fifteenth by *Hepheresius*, was subjoin'd to the Versions of the other Works of *Eusebius*, in the Editions which we have already mention'd.

To conclude, The Books of *Evangelical Preparation* and *Demonstration* (which deserve to be separated from the rest, since they belong to different Subjects) have been Printed in Greek at *Paris* in the Year 1618, in two Volumes in Folio, with a new Version of the Fifteen Books of the *Preparation*, made by the Jesuit *Vigerius*, and *Demetrius's* Version of the Books of the *Demonstration*, which Versions are plac'd over against the Greek. Moreover in this Edition was added, the Greek of *Eusebius's* Treatise against *Heracleus*, which had been already reviv'd by *Hollstenius*, publish'd by *Morcellus* in 1606, together with the Ancient Translation of *Arctinus*, which had also been Printed apart at *Cologne* in 1522, with the Latin Works of *Eusebius*; and in short, the five Books against *Marcellus of Ancyra*, with the Translation of *Richard Montague*, and some Notes of his added at the end, which for the most part are in favour of *Marcellus*, and against *Eusebius*.

The Book of the *Holy Land* has been publish'd in Greek, as we have already observ'd, by *Bonsirvus* the Jesuit, and printed at *Paris* in 1631. In 1580, *Cortierius* put forth some Fragments concerning the Lives of the Prophets, which he has prefix'd to the Commentaries of *Procopius* upon *Isaiah*. The Notes upon the *Gawicles* ascrib'd to *Eusebius*, have also been publish'd in Greek, without a Version, by *Manfius*, and printed with *Psychiarus* and *Pellius* in the Year 1617. The Tracts publish'd in Latin by *Sirmondus* were also printed at *Paris* in *Octavo* in 1643. In fine, The Letter to *Carpianus*, and the *Evangelical Canon* of *Eusebius*, are to be found at the beginning of some Editions of the New Testament, and in Greek at the beginning of the Greek New Testament, printed at the *Louvre*, by *Robert Stephanus* in the Year 1550.

CONSTANTINE the first Christian Emperour.

Though it be a very rare thing to see the Name of an Emperour, in a Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, yet this of *Constantine* is commonly to be found among them, because of some Discourses which he made and repeated, if we will believe *Eusebius*: and it may be also upon the account of the many Letters which he wrote, and Edicts which he made in favour of the Christian Religion. But before we say any thing of the Writings of this Emperour, it will be necessary according to our usual Method, to give a short Abridgment of his Life.

Constantine was the Son of the Emperour *Constantinus Chlorus*, who was the only Person of all those that shar'd the Empire in his time, that did not Persecute the Christians. His Mother was call'd *Helena*, a Woman of mean Birth, who had not the Title of Empress, while *Constantinus* liv'd.

Constantine in his youth, gave early proof of what might be expected from him afterward; His Conduct and Courage appear'd a little before his Father's Death: For being detain'd as an Hostage by the Emperour *Galerius*, and foreseeing plainly that he and his Associates had a design to kill him, that they might invade that part of the Empire which belong'd to his Father *Constantinus*, who could not live long, he made his Escape out of the hands of the Tyrants, took Post and went in great haste to find his Father in *Britain*. He kill'd all the Horles which he found at the Post-houses on the Road which he pass'd, to hinder his Enemies from pursuing after him. When he came into *Britain*, he found his Father on his Death-Bed, who chose him for his Successor. After his Death, he was Proclaim'd Emperour by the Soldiers on the Sixth day of *August*, in the Year of Jesus Christ 306. He was no sooner Emperour, but he gain'd the love of all his Subjects, by visiting the Provinces under his Government, to give them necessary Orders, and by beating back the Barbarians, who would have pass'd the *Rhine* to enter into their Territories; but they were defeated, and two of their Kings kill'd in the Year 312. After this he attack'd the Tyrant *Maxentius*, who had laid *Rome* desolate by his Cruelties. He march'd towards *Italy* with an Army of 40000 Men, seiz'd up on all the Cities that oppos'd his Passage, or contrain'd them to submit, and defeated three several times the Troops of *Maxentius*. In short, The Tyrant coming to meet him with a great Army near *Rome*, was entirely conquer'd, and perish'd by the fall of a Bridge, over which he was passing to save himself. *Eusebius* says, That *Constantine* assur'd

Who was the only Person of all those that shar'd the Empire in his time, that did not Persecute the Christians. The *Donatists* in a Petition which they presented to *Constantine*, say; That he was the Son of a just Father, who did not Persecute the Christians. *Euseb. Hist. l. viii. Ch. 13. 14.* And *Ch. 16.* he relates, That *Constantine* was very favourable to the Christians: And *Constantine* himself in his Edict, recited by *Eusebius*, in his Books of the Life of that Emperour, says, That his Father was the only Emperour, who was favourable to the Worship of the True God.

Who had got the Title of Empress, while *Constantinus* liv'd. *Eusebius*. *St. Jerom*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Orsius*, make no scruple to give her the Title of *Constantinus's* *Helena* first became acquainted with her.

Obtain'd him a place among the Saints in the Martyrologies of *Ulfhardus* and *Ado*, and in some ancient Offices of the Church of France. The Author of the Life of *St. Valerian* calls him, *Eusebius* of Holy Memory. *Ulfhardus* in June 21, calls him, *St. Eusebius* of Palestine, Bishop and Confessor, an Excellent Wit and Historian. *Nekkerus* in June 21, 685, The Deposition of *St. Eusebius* in *Caesarea*. *Manechianus* in a Letter to *Cerianus* Bishop of *Paris*, which is before the Passion of the Martyrs, *Sperusippus*, *Eusebius*, and *Melchissimus*, call him *Saint*. There is in a Manuscript Breviary at *Lezennes*, three Lectures to his praise. In an Ancient Breviary of the same Church, printed in 1587, at June 21, there is an Oration in praise

of *Eusebius*; and in the *Missal*, printed in 1484, a Mass of *St. Eusebius*. In an ancient Manuscript Version of *Eusebius's* History, at the Church of *Paris*, the Name of *Saint* is given to him. Cardinal *Bernardinus* says, That all this is the mistake of some that took *Eusebius* Bishop of *Caesarea*, for *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, and upon this Conjecture, he raises the Name of the first-out of the Roman Martyrology. But *Bernardinus* affirms this without any ground, and against the express Testimonies of the Martyrologies, which do plainly mention *Eusebius* Bishop of *Caesarea*, and distinguish him from all others by most evident Characters, in which no Man can be deceiv'd.

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him, he saw then in the Heavens a Cross of Light with this Inscription, [By this Sign you shall overcome your Enemies,] and that Jesus Christ appear'd to him when he was sleeping, and commanded him to make a Standard after the form of a Cross, to which he did in Obedience to this Revelation; and after his Victory, he plac'd his Standard among the Trophies in the midst of the City of Rome, with this Inscription: [By this Salutory Sign, which is the Mark of the true Power, I have deliver'd your City from the Yoke of Tyranny, and Establish'd your Senate and People in their ancient Splendor.] After he had regulated the Affairs of Rome, Constantine came to Milan, where he celebrated the Nuptials of his Sister with the Emperor Licinius. In this City 'twas that the two Emperours publish'd their first Edict in favour of the Christian Religion, in which they granted Liberty of Conscience to all their Subjects; and a little after, at their going out of Milan, they allow'd the Christians by a second Edict, the Publick Exercise of their Religion, and commanded that those places should be restor'd to them wherein they had usually kept their Assemblies. A short time after this, the two Emperours quarrelled, and declar'd War against one another in the Year 314. Licinius lost at first a great Battle in Pannonia; but at the second in Thracia, the Advantage was equal on both Sides, which induc'd the Emperours to make Peace for that time.

The Wars and Affairs of the Empire did not hinder Constantine from concerning himself with the Affairs of the Christians: For having receiv'd Complaints in behalf of the Donatists against the African and African Bishops, he appointed for Judges, such as liv'd out of Africa, and summon'd a Council to meet at Rome under Milidare, about this Matter. But the Donatists still complaining of this Decision, he call'd a Council at Arles, where they were condemn'd anew; and at last when they appeal'd from the Determination of this Council to the Emperor, either because he believ'd that he might take cognizance of the Matter; since there was nothing alludg'd, but a particular Accusation against Cecilian, which was Matter of Fact; or because he would oblige the Donatists to yield, as St. Austin observes, he himself gave Judgment at Milan in favour of Cecilian; condemn'd the Donatists, and wrote against them in Africa; caus'd an Information to be drawn up against Silvanus, who was of their Party, and their Temples to be taken from them; but yet he recommended them to be gently dealt withal, as a means to bring them back again into the Bosom of the Church. About this time he made many Laws in favour of the Christians. He permitted Masters to grant Liberty to their Slaves that were within the Church, in presence of the Bishop and the People. He made Laws for the due Observation of Sunday, forbidding all sorts of Persons to Travel on that Day; and allow'd Men to leave their Goods to the Church by Testament. On the contrary, Licinius Emperor of the East, publish'd Edicts against the Christians, caus'd their Churches to be demolish'd, and themselves to be Persecuted, or at least conniv'd at those that did so. Constantine declar'd War against him in 324, conquer'd him near Adrianople and Chalcedon, and then besieged him in Nicomedia, whither he had retir'd after his Defeat. Licinius seeing that he was not able to maintain the Siege, came and threw himself at Constantine's Feet, who gave him his Life at the instance of his Wife; who was Licinius's Daughter, and then sent him to Thracia. After this, Constantine Abrogated the Edicts of Licinius against the Christians, and commanded that those who were Condemn'd to the Mines or Banishment, or had been depriv'd of their Honour or Goods upon the account of Religion, should be releas'd and re-establish'd in their former Estates; That the Goods of the Martyrs which had been Confiscated should be return'd to their Heirs; That the Churches of Christians should be Rebuilt, and their Burial-places restor'd unto them: Then he Exhorted all his Subjects very earnestly in a Letter, to embrace the Christian Religion.

And he did not only take care to preserve the Church in Peace against the Attempts of its Enemies, but he us'd his utmost endeavours to hinder all Divisions in its Bowels by the Disputes of those who were its profess'd Members. He applied himself to allay the Controversy between Arius and Alexander, by writing a Letter to them, wherein he earnestly Exhorts them to Peace, in a most moving and persuasive manner, assuring them that he had delay'd his Voyage to the East, for fear of finding them there at Variance, and praying them to open by their good Agreement, his Passage to the East, which they had hitherto, as one may say, stop't up by their Differences. He sent this Letter by Hosius Bishop of Corduba, a Man commendable for his Worth and Prudence. This Bishop having call'd a Synod in the City of Alexandria, did all that in him lay to appease their Differences, but not being able to compass his Design, Constantine judg'd, that the best way to restore Peace to the Church, was to summon a General Council of the East and West in the City of Nice in Bithynia. He himself Afflict it, Exhorted the Bishops to Peace, and refus'd to receive the Accusations which one Party form'd against the other. He made them agree in the same Doctrine, and approv'd the Decision of the Council, to which they all Subscribed, except Secundus and Theonas. He wrote himself to all the World, and Exhorted all the Bishops to receive the Decrees of this Council. He banish'd Arius and two Bishops that had taken his Part in the Synod; he caus'd the Books of that Heretic to be burnt; he forbade all his Subjects to keep them; and wrote in particular two very earnest Letters against Arius, and his followers. In short, He treated the Bishops of the Council magnificently, testified a great deal of Friendship to them, and sent them away laden with Presents. Eusebius and Theonas having publish'd anew their Errors after the Council, altho' they had Subscribed to its Decrees, were by him sent into Banishment.

But the Donatists still complaining of this Decision, Valerius has prov'd in his Differtation about the History of the Donatists, That the Donatists did not appeal from the Synod at Rome; but only complain'd to the Em-

peror that their Cause was not fully examin'd; and that they appeal'd afterwards from the determination of the Council at Arles, to that of the Emperor.

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After this, he caus'd the Sepulchre of Jesus Christ to be found out in Jerusalem, and built a stately Church there, as well as at Bethlehem, and at the Mount of Olives. It's said, That he discover'd the Cross of Christ, and some pretend that many Miracles were then done by it. And yet it is very strange, that Eusebius, an Eye-witness of those things, who has exactly described all the Circumstances of the Discovery of Christ's Sepulchre, and who forgets nothing that may be to the Advantage of Religion, should not say one word, neither of the Cross of Christ, nor of the Miracles that are pretended to be wrought by it. About the same time, he gave the Name of Constantine to the City of Byzantium, Rome. After this, he labour'd more than ever he had done, to aggrandize the Church; he made Laws against Heretics, wrote to the King of Persia in favour of the Christians, destroy'd the Temples of Idols, gave great Gifts to Churches, and caus'd magnificent Copies of the Bible to be made: In a word, he did so much for Religion, that he had good right to be call'd Bishop of the Church, as to those things that concern its External Policy. And truly the Church had no reason to complain of his Conduct, till the latter end of his Life, when he gave ear to the Accusations that were brought to him against St. Athanasius, by those Bishops that favour'd Arius's Faction: For they being offended with him because he would not appear at a Council held at Caesarea, whither he had been cited to come, mov'd the Emperor to Summon a Synod in the City of Tyre, to Judge his Cause. There St. Athanasius appear'd, and finding that his Enemies had injuriously oppress'd him, he had recourse to the Emperor, and went to him at Constantinople. Constantine, although prejudic'd against him, yet heard him favourably, and commanded the Bishops of the Council of Tyre, who had call'd another afterwards at Jerusalem, to come to him and render an account of their Proceedings. They deputed Six Bishops to go to the Emperor, and accuse St. Athanasius; but those Deputies durst not alledge the Facts, of which they had accus'd him at the Council of Tyre, for fear lest the Emperor, being a lover of Justice, should discover their Falshood, and declare him Innocent. They consult therefore how they might charge him with a Crime against the State, by saying, that he threatened to hinder the Transportation of Corn from Alexandria to Constantinople. This Accusation made such Impression upon the Emperor's Mind, and so stirr'd him up against St. Athanasius, that he immediately Banish'd him to Trier, a City of Gaul. The Enemies of St. Athanasius having thus procur'd his Banishment who was the great Opposer of Arius, they call'd back again this Heretic, and us'd all the Endeavours to restore him to the Communion of the Church. But Constantine would not hear of it, till after he had drawn up a Confession of Faith, which appear'd contrary to his Errors, and had Sworn and Protested that this was his Doctrine; yet, even after he had done this, the Emperor, being always jealous of the Man, said to him, "If thy Faith be right, as thou wouldst make us believe, thou hast done well to swear; but if not, then let God condemn thee to some Punishment for this false Oath. Which words were follow'd with a suitable Effect; for in a little time after, Arius perish'd miserably, the Day before he should have been admitted to the Communion of the Church at Constantinople.

The Reader no doubt may wonder that I have not spok'd a word all this while of the Baptism of this Emperor; for it seems very strange, that one who took so great care of the Affairs of Christians, should continue so long a time without initiating himself into the Church by the Sacrament of Baptism. And yet this was certainly so, either because he waited to receive Baptism, when he should be near God; or else because he had some other reason for this delay; However it came to pass, he never thought of preparing himself for Baptism until he felt himself Sick, nor had he ever the Impression of the Bishops hands, to make him a Catechumen, till the Year 337^a, a few days before his Death, being then at Helenopolis, as Eusebius observes in the Fourth Book of this Emperor's Life, Chap. 61. After this, he receiv'd Baptism from the hands of Eusebius of Nicomedia, in the Suburbs of Theodosia, Evagrius, and all the rest of the Ancients unanimously affirm. It is therefore a fabulous story which is related in the Acts, falsely attributed to Pope Sylvester, That the Baptism of Constantine was celebrated at Rome. And indeed, nothing can be more fabulous than the Account set down in desiring to Persecute it, was smitten with Leprosy; That the Sooty-fishers said unto him, the only way to cure him, was to bath himself in the Blood of New-born Infants; That many of them were sought out to have their Throats cut, but Constantine being mov'd by their Tears, and the Cries of

^a To make him a Catechumen, till the Year 337. Eusebius says expressly, That Constantine then first received imposition of Hands, and that he assisted at the Solemn Prayers of the Church; which plainly shews, that he was not a Catechumen before. Neither does the Title of the First Book, Chap. 32. of the Life of Eusebius, contradict this Observation, for there it is only said that Constantine was Catechized, Κατηχούμενος, the meaning of which is, only that he was instructed in the Christian Doctrine, which does not prove that he was a Catechumen, and we never read before this time that he assisted at the Publick Prayers of the Church. All the Ancients unanimously affirm. Eusebius, B. I. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 32. St. Jerom in his Chronicle, says, Constantinus ultimum vitae suae tempore baptizatus est. St. Ambrose in his Funeral Oration upon Theodosius, says of Constantine, Cui licet baptizatus gratia in extremis confitendo omnia peccata dimiserit. The Fathers of the Council of Ariminum, in a Letter written at the beginning of that Synod, say, That he died a little after he was baptiz'd: which is certainly spoken of Constantine the Great, after they had mention'd in the same place his suffering at the Council of Nice. I might add to this many other unquestionable Witnesses, such as Socrates, B. I. Ch. 39. Sozomen, B. II. Ch. 34. Theodoret, B. I. Ch. 32. Evagrius, B. III. Ch. 42. the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, &c.

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their Mothers, restor'd them again, without putting them to Death: That he was afterwards admitt'd in a Dream by St. Peter and St. Paul, that he should be cur'd if he were baptiz'd by Sylvester; which having done, he was presently Purified by Baptism both from his Sins and from his Leprosie. What Fables, what Fables are here! What inconsistent Ravings of Madmen! *Confantine* was never an Enemy to the Christian Religion; he did never Persecute it; he was always a Christian from his heart before he came to Rome. There is no Historian that speaks of his having a Leprosie, or that he was cur'd of it by Baptism. How came *Confantine* to forget so considerable a Miracle in the Life of *Confantine*? With what Face could *Julian* the Apostate object to the Christians, that Baptism never cleans'd any person from the Leprosie, if his own Grandfather had been cur'd by it? St. *Cyril*, to confute this Falshood, never alleg'd an Example so illustrious as this of the Emperour had been. But I forbear to mention any more of the many Absurdities and Impertinencies which are contain'd in those Acts.¹ It's certain, *Confantine* died in a little time after his Baptism in the Year 337, of the vulgar Account, May 22th. in the Conflux of *Tiberians* and *Felicians*, the 64th. Year of his Age, after he had reign'd thirty Years and Ten Months.

This Emperor was one of the greatest Princes that ever was, whether you consider his Conduct and Policy, or take a View of the great Actions of his Life, or reflect on the great Services he had done to the Church. Some accuse him of being an *Arian*, but that's a Calumny; for though he favoured some *Bishops*, that were of *Arian's* Faction, and unjustly banish'd St. *Athanasius*, yet he always maintain'd the Creed of the *Nicene* Council, and suffer'd it not to be violated while he liv'd. The Greeks have given him excessive Praises, and plac'd him among the number of Saints, but I think the Latines have done more wisely, in fulfurling their Judgment as to that. We can say nothing of his Strife, because it is very probable, that the Writings which bear his Name, were compos'd by others, though done by his Order: They may be distinguish'd into three sorts; his *Discourses*, his *Letters*, and his *Edicts*.

Enfihim assures us, *B. II.* of the Life of this Emperor, *Ch. 2.* That he had acquir'd so profound a Knowledge of the Liberal Sciences, that even to the end of his Life, he compos'd Harangues for the Instruction of his Subjects; and that the Method which he observ'd in his Discourses, was, first to begin with the Refutation of the Errors of the Pagans, who ador'd many Gods; and then he proceeded to prove the Unity of God, and his Providence by which he governs the Universe: After which, he explain'd the Motives which brought the Son of God down from Heaven to this Earth, and describ'd the Circumstances of the Life which he led here; from whence he pass'd on to the Description of the last Judgment, and terrified his Hearers with the vehemence of his Discourse, threatening the Vengeance of God, and the just Punishment of their Sins against the Covetous, the Passionate and the Violent. The same *Enfihim*, gives us, *B. III. Ch. 12.* a short Harangue of *Constantine* to the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, exhorting them to Peace; to which may be added, that Form of Prayer which he

5 I forbear to mention any more of the many Abuses and Superstitions which are contain'd in those *Arts*. [There] is said, That St. *Sveylver* first appointed the Celebration of *Sunday*, that he held a Synod of 75 Bishops at *Rome* in the Year 315, where they found 109 Jewish Priests. The same Author tells a Story of a Font and its Ornaments, which smells rank of a Fable. He makes *Laws for Conflagrancy* which are ridiculous, and which never any heard of before. He reports, That *Conflantine* laid the first Foundation of the Church of *Rome*, and carried thither 12 Baskets full of Earth in honour of the 12 Apostles. These Remarks, and many more of that fort, make it as clear as day, that those *Arts* are Supposititious. And yet there is brought to maintain them, Firſt, The Authority of Pope *Gelasius*, who places them among those Monuments that are Genuine; And, that of *Adrian*, who cites those *Arts* in his Letter to the Emperess *Irene*, for maintaining Images; To which are added, the Testimonies of the Author of a Book call'd, *The Pomitical* of Damaskus; of *Nicholas* Firſt in his Letter to the Emperess *Irène*; of *Gregory*, *Nicophorus*, and other Modern Authors. But are all these Authorities to be compar'd with those of the Ancients, whom we have cited? and what else do they prove, but that those *Arts* were forg'd since the time of *Gelasius*? This Pope therefore had never seen them himself, nor does he approve them of his own knowledge, but only faith, That he heard that some Persons had read them. As to *Adrian*'s very well known, that he was not very Critical in the choice of the Monuments which he cited, and that he alleges sometimes those that are forg'd, as well as those that are Genuine. The following Testimonies are fill of less Authority.

Secondly, *Gregory of Tours* is cited for those Acts, who B. II. Ch. 31. of his History, saith to King Clovis, Behold, a new Constantine, who goes to Baptism to heal

the Malady of an Inveterate Leprosie, and to wash out the Spots and Stains of his past Life by those most holy Waters: But this passage proves nothing, because he does not mean the Leprosie of his Body, but only of his Soul: And moreover, it were not at all strange that Gregory of Tours, a very credulous Man, should give credit to those forged Acts.

In short, Our Adversaries not finding any ancient Christian for their turn, have recourse to *Zysimus* a Pagan Author, and a great Enemy to *Confinance*, who says, That *Confinance* was tormented with remorse of Conscience, after he had kill'd *Cyprian* his Son, and *Fausta* his Wife; and having fought in vain for *Isidore* his Expiation by the Sacrifices of the Pagans, he applied himself to an Egyptian, who told him, That the Christian Doctrine had Power to expiate all Sins; after which Discourse, he abandoned the Religion of his Ancestors. But those who employ this passage to prove the Absurdity of *Confinance* at *Rome*, do great Injury to *Confinance*'s Reputation, by giving Occasion to the Charge of Infidelity to the Heathen, who for this is so much testified of by all our Writers. Secondly, *Confinance* is not charged with the Murder of *Cyprian* and *Fausta*; happen'd after the Council of *Nice*, and so this whole Story of *Zysimus* is nothing to their purpose. In fine, *Zysimus* says not that he was Baptiz'd, but that he Embrac'd the Christian Doctrine. I shall not now fail to refute those that pretend *Confinance* was twice Baptiz'd, the first time at *Rome*; by *Sylvester*, the second time at *Nisemedia* by *Eusebius*, for the same Authorities we have alleg'd, do destroy this Supposition; and besides, it is altogether incredible that *Eusebius* and the other Bishops with him should have Re-baptiz'd *Confinance* with so much Pomp and Ceremony, if he had been Baptiz'd before; especially at a time when the Dispute about the Trinity was not started.

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preſent'd to his Souldiers, related in Z. IV. and the Admonition he gave a *Coverous* Man of his Court, which is to be found Ch. 30. of the ſame Book: But doubtleſs the moſt conſiderable of his Monuments is, that great Oration which he made to the Convention of the Saints, tranſlated by *Eufebius* into Greek, and annexed to his Life. The Preface of this Oration is about the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, the Goodneſs of our Saviour, and the Ingratitude of Men; but he concludes it with an Apoſtrophe to the Church. In the Body of this Diſcourſe, he diſputes againſt Idolatry and the multiplicity of Gods; and ſhows that there is but one truly God, the Creator of all things, and the Father of the Word, who is begotten of Him, tho' the Father ſuffer no Diminution by it, and who is united to Him: He confutes *Deſtiny*, 'tis ſhews Providence and Free-Will, and overthrowes the Errors of the Philoſophers: He diſcovers the Advantages which Mankind receiv'd by the Incarnation of the Son of God, and ſhows that his Coming was foretold by the Prophets, to whole Authority he adds the Prediction of the *Sybil*, which he endeavours to verify by the Teſtimony of *Virgil*: He deſcribes the unhappy death of thoſe Emperours who perſecuted the Church, and finiſhes this Diſcourſe with ſaying, That we ought to attribute all the Good we do to God; and that before we undertake any thing, always to implore his Aid by Prayer, as being the Fountain of all Good. The whole Diſcourſe is Sublime, and worthy of the Majesty of ſuch an Emperour as *Conſtantine* was.

The Letters of *Confutatio*, are much more numerous than his Discourses. Here's a Catalogue of them, an Account of their Arguments, the Times when they were written, and the Places where they are to be found.

1. There is a Letter of *Constantine* to *Cecilian* Bishop of *Carthage*, for distributing the Alms which he gave to the Poor of *Africa*, written in the Year 312, and set down by *Eusebius*, *Hist. B. X. Ch. 6.*
2. There is a Letter of his to *Anullinus* for the Immunity of the Clergy, written the same Year, *B. X. Ch. 7.*
3. His Letter to *Miltiades* Bishop of *Rome*, Empowering him to Judge the Cause of the *Donatists*, written in the Year 313, *Ensebj. B. X. Ch. 5.*
4. His Letter to *Abelinius*, [Dr. Cave calls him, *Elaphius* or *Alianuss*,] commanding him to send the Bishops of *Donatus's* Party, and *Cecilian*, to *Arles*, to be judg'd there; written in 314, at the end of *Optatus*.
5. His Letter to *Chrestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, commanding him to repair to the Council of *Arles*; written the same Year, related by *Eusebj. Hist. B. X. Ch. 5.*
6. His Letter to *Cecilian*, wherein he commands him to come to *Rome*, to be judg'd there a-new; written in 315, which is to be found at the end of *Optatus*.
7. His Letter to *Probianus*, Proconsul of *Africa*, to seize upon a *Donatist*, called *Ingenius*, set down by *St. Austin*, *Ep. 68.* and in his Third Book against *Cresconius*, *Ch. 73.* written in 315, as appears from hence, because *Probianus* did not succeed *Alianus* in the Office of Proconsul of *Africa*, till this Year.
8. His Letter to *Celsus*, Deputy of *Africa*; written about the end of the same Year, or the beginning of the next, wherein he recommends it to him, to advertise the Bishops of both Parties, that he should come e'er long, to judge them; and to advise them in the mean time, to continue in Peace. His testifies in this Letter, That he had a mighty Passion to Establish a good Agreement among them.
9. Another Letter of his to the same *Celsus*, written by his Order by the *Præfectus Prætorio* in favour of four Bishops of the *Donatists*, and one Presbyter who had obtain'd their Liberty.
10. His Letter to *Ennallius*, Deputy of *Africa*, in which he gives him Notice of the Judgment he had given in favour of *Cecilian* against the *Donatists*, recited in the Conference of *Carthage*, *Ch. 516.* There is a Fragment of it in *St. Austin's* Third Book against *Cresconius*, *Ch. 71.* It was written in 316.
11. His Letter to the Bishops of *Africa* wherein he testifies, That he had done all that was in his Power, to procure Peace to the Church; but since he could not compass it, he must wait till God himself afforded a Remedy for their Divisions. This Letter is at the end of *Optatus*.
12. His Letter to the Bishops of *Nomidia*, in which he grants them a place to build a Church upon, in the room of that which the *Donatists* had taken by force, and discharges the Ecclesiastics from Publick Taxes. *Ibidem.*
13. His Letter to *Eusebius*, for building of Churches at the Charge of the Emperor, written in 324 or 325, *B. II. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 46.*
14. His Letter to the Bishop of *Alexandria* and *Arius* the Presbyter, concerning their Differences, wherein he exhorts them to Peace, written about the end of the Year 324, and related by *Eusebius*, *B. II. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 64. &c.*
15. His Letter to all the Bishops about the Decisions of the *Nicene Council*, *B. III. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 17.*
16. His Letter to the *Egyptians* upon the same Subject, *Ibid.*
17. His Letter to *Alexander* upon the same Subject, *Ibid.*
18. His Letter against *Arius*, mention'd by *Socrates* in the First Book of his *Hist. Ch. 9.* and related at the end of the *History of Gelasius Cyzicenus*.
19. His Letter to the *Nicomediens* against *Eusebius* and *Theognis*, related in part by *Theodoret*, *Hist. B. I. Ch. 20.* and entirely by *Gelasius Cyzicenus*.
20. His Letter to *Macarius* Bishop of *Jernsalem*, for building a Church in that City, in *Eusebj. B. III. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 30.*
21. His Letter to *Eusebius* for building a Church in the place where the Oak of *Manre* stood, where *Abraham* had a Vision; in *Eusebj. B. III. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 52.*
22. His Letter to those of *Antioch*, upon the Deposition of *Eusebius*, written in 330, set down by *Eusebj. B. III. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 60.*
23. His Letter to *Eusebius* upon his Refusal of the See of *Antioch*, *B. III. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 61.*
24. His Letter to the Synod upon the same Subject, *Ibid. Ch. 62.*

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25. His Letter to *Sapor King of Persia*, in favour of the Christians, *B. IV. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 9, &c.*
 26. His Letter to *Eusebius* upon his Book of *Ezra*, *Ibid. Ch. 35.*
 27. Another Letter to him, concerning the Copies of the Bible, *Ch. 36.*
 28. His Letter to *St. Athanasius*, in favour of *Arius*, in *Athan. Apol. 2. p. 778.*
 29. His Letter to the Church of *Alexandria*, in favour of *St. Athanasius, Ibid. p. 779.*
 30. His Letter to *St. Athanasius*, against the Cheats of his Enemies, *Ibid. p. 789.*
 31. His Letter to *John*, the Head of the *Melaites*, wherein he congratulates his Reconciliation to *St. Athanasius, Ibid. p. 787.*
 32. His Letter to the Council of *Tyre*, in *Euseb. B. IV. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 42.*
 33. His Letter to the Bishops of the Council of *Tyre* to cite them to *Constantinople*, in *Athanasius, Apol. 2. p. 803.*

34. His Letter to *Publishus Optatianus Porphyrius*, who Dedicated some Poems to him, that were wrote in Prison; published by *Paulus Velleros*, and annexed to the *Nuremberg Edition of Marcus Velleros Works*. [The 6th. Letter to *Cacilian* is only hinted at in a Letter of *Constantine* to the *Donatist Bishops*, wherein he tells them, That tho' he had before given Orders that they should return into *Africa*, there to have their Controversy with *Cacilian* Examind, yet he was now resolv'd that they should of both Sides go to *Rome*, as he himself had written already to *Cacilian*. This Letter is in the Collection of Records at the end of *Optatius*.]

As also another Letter to the Catholic Bishops in the Council of *Aries*, wherein he congratulates the Conclusion of their Differences, and expresses his detestation of those Persons who would not abide by what was already determined: Adding withal, That if the *Donatists* would not be quiet, they should be brought before the *Vicarius Præfatus*, to whom he had given Orders to send them to his Palace, where they should meet with such treatment as they deserved.]

There are many other Letters, of which *Eusebius* design'd to make a distinct Volume, as he himself testifies, *B. III. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 24.*

Tho' the Edicts which bear Names of the Emperours, are commonly Penn'd by their Secretaries of State, yet I must give an Account of those that *Constantine* publish'd in favour of the Christians.

The first Edict of *Constantine* for the Liberty of Religion, was publish'd at *Milan*, in the Year 313; whereof there is mention made in the following Edict.

The second Edict of *Constantine*, by which he gave full Liberty to Christians of the publick Exercise of their Religion, and commanded that their Churches should be restor'd to them, was published some time after the first, and is set down by *Eusebius, Edif. B. X. Ch. 5.*

His third Edict restrains this favour to Catholics. 'Tis found in the same place.

His fourth Edict in favour of Religion, is dated the last of *October*, the same Year: It continues the Immunity of Ecclesiasticks, whom the Hereticks had caus'd to be charg'd with publick Taxes, contrary to the Privileges which had been granted them: The Emperour commands that those who were taxed, be discharg'd, and that a Course be taken to hinder any such Proceedings for the future.

Amongst the number of those Edicts, made in favour of the Christians, that which was directed to *Abdion*, may be reckoned, bearing Date, *May 12. 315.* in which *Constantine* commands, That Provision be made for the Maintenance of the Children of the Poor in *Italy*.

The fifth Edict of *Constantine* for the Christian Religion, is dated *November 26.* the same Year, wherein he condemns the Jews to the Fire, that should abuse the Christians. It is to be found in the *Justinian and Theodosian Code*.

His seventh Edict directed to *Protegenes*, dated *June 7th. 316.* grants a very considerable favour to the Christian Church, by appointing a new way of giving Liberty to Slaves, in the presence of the Bishop and the People: This Law is related in the *Justinian Code, Tit. 13. l. 1.* Besides this, There are two other Edicts upon the same Subject. The first, which is dated in the Year 321, related in the same place, is added to that, which we have been speaking of, That the Clergy may give Liberty to their Slaves, even out of the Church. The third Edict upon the same Subject is lost.

The first which we have of those Edicts of *Constantine*, that Establishes the Jurisdiction of Bishops as to Temporal, seems to be that which is related in an Addition to the *Theodosian Code*, publish'd by *Simondus*, under Title 17th. It imports, That if those who plead a Cause, shall appeal to the Judgment of the Bishops, they shall be refer'd thither, altho' the Proccs be enter'd before another Judge. This Edict is dated, *June 21st. 318.* There is besides this, another on the same Subject, without the date of the Year, related in the same Collection, under the first Title, wherein he Confirms and Explains the former Order, concerning the Judicial Decisions of Bishops, and he will have them to stand firm, even tho' they are given between *Minors*, commanding, that at all times, and as oft as any one of the two Parties shall desire an Appeal to the Judgment of the Bishop, it shall be granted him. He Ordains also in this Edict, That the Testimony of a Bishop shall be received by all the Judges.

In the Year 319, *November 19th.* He confirmed the Immunity of the Clergy by a new Edict, declaring, That they should be free from all publick Taxes. This Law is related in the *Theodosian Code, Lib. 16. Tit. 2. l. 2.*

There are many more Edicts of the Year 320, and 321, concerning the Church, among which may be plac'd that which abrogates the *Papian Pœpular Law*, which was made against those that continued unmarried: This Law, *Constantine* seems to have abolish'd, in favour of the Christians, who honour those that make Profession of continuing in Celibacy all their Life. *Eusebius* makes mention of this Edict, *B. IV. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 26.* and after him *Sozomen, B. I. of his Hist. Ch. 9.* and *St. Ambrose, B. III. of Virgins.*

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It was also about this time, that he made some Edicts against the *Donatists*. The first is related by *St. Auspin, B. II. against Petilianus, Ch. 92.* and in his Letters 167, and 168, wherein he commands, that the Churches should be taken from them which they possess'd: It bears Date, *Anno 320.*

The second Edict directed to *Verinus*, dated *May the 4th.* in the Year 321, moderates alittle the Rigor of the first, for it permits them to return to their own Country, and to live there in quiet, referring to God the Punishment of their Crime. This is also related by *St. Auspin, Ep. 152.* and in his Book written after the Conference of *Carthage*. The Edict for the due observation of *Sunday*, of which *Eusebius* makes mention, *B. IV. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 18.* and 19. related in the *Justinian Code, Lib. III.* under the Title, *De Feriis. B. III.* is dated *March 6th.* in the Year 321. It imports, That all Judges, People and Artificers, shall cease from their Labour on this Day; yet he excepts Country-men, who are permitted to Till the Ground on this Day, because it often happens, says the Emperour, That a more seasonable time cannot be found to sow their Corn, or Plant their Vines, and it is not fit, that we should lose a favourable Opportunity which Divine Providence has put in our Hands.

There is another Edict of the first of *July*, the same Year, by which he permits all sorts of Persons to leave their Goods by Testament, to the Catholic Church.

In the Year 323, he publish'd an Edict against those who constrain'd Christians to Sacrifice to Idols, which is in the *Theodosian Code, Tit. 2. B. V.*

In the next Year he made many Edicts after the defeat of *Licinius*, for the Liberty of Christians, and for the Restitution of their Goods and their Honour. *Eusebius* relates them, *B. II. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 20, 24, &c.*

He produces likewise in the same place, his Edicts against the Worship of False Gods, and for the Establishment of the Church. *Ibid. Ch. 48.*

After the Council of *Nice*, he publish'd an Edict, in which he condemns the Books of *Arius* to be burnt, and commands his followers to be call'd *Porphyrians*.

The Edict of the Month of *May*, in the Year 326, prohibiting the admitting of rich Persons into the Order of the Clergy, or those that were the Children of such as had born publick Offices, appears but little favourable to the Clergy; but it was necessary, because many rich and great Persons, took Holy Orders, to exempt themselves by this means, from the publick Taxes, which tended to the Oppression of the Poor. Wherefore *Constantine*, says wisely in this Edict, That it was just, the Rich should maintain the heavy Expences of the State, and that the Poor should be fed with the Riches of the Church: We have this Law in the *Theodosian Code, B. XVI. Tit. 2. l. 6.* Besides this, there is also another Edict publish'd in the Month of *July*, in consequence of the former, altho' it bears the Names of the Consuls for the Year 320, which forbids the disturbing of those that had taken Holy Orders, before the preceding Law was publish'd, and commands at the same time, that such as had taken Orders since its publication, on purpose to avoid the publick Taxes, should be remov'd from the Clergy, and sent back into the World, and left liable to publick Taxes. This Edict is related in the same place, *B. III.* After all, by another Edict of the first of *September*, the same Year 326, it is ordain'd, That Clergy-men who were Hereticks and Schismatics, should not enjoy this Privilege of Exemption, but should be subject to Taxes and Impositions. This Edict is in the *Justinian Code, B. I. Tit. de Heret. and in the Theodosian*.

He treats the *Novatians* with more moderation than the other Hereticks, permitting them by an Edict of the Month of *September* in the same Year 326, to keep their Churches, their Cemeteries, and the Goods which they had purchas'd after their Separation from the Church. In the Code of *Theodosius, Tit. 5. B. II.*

In the Year 330, he publish'd an Edict against the Hereticks, in which he forbids their Assemblies: It is related in *Euseb. B. III. of the Life of Constantine, Ch. 63, &c.*

There is in the *Theodosian Code*, another Edict of the same Year, in favour of the Clergy that were accus'd, or evil treated by Hereticks.

The Laws concerning the Jews, are the last which *Constantine* made in the favour of the Christian Religion.

By an Edict *September 27th. 330.* He grants to the Patriarchs of the Jews, i. e. to those that presid'd in their Assemblies, Exemption from the publick Taxes. He renews the same favour by another Edict *December 1st.* in the Year following. It is probable that he granted these favours to the Jews for no other reason, but because they Worship the same God with the Christians, and to leave them some kind of Consolation, as he says in one of his Laws, because their's was once the only true Religion: For at the same time he made very severe Laws against the Jews that should purchase or detain Christian Slaves, and condemn'd those to death, that circumcis'd them. There are many other Laws in the *Theodosian Code* upon this Subject, of the Years 330, 331, and 336.

I do not place among the Number of *Constantine's* Edicts, the Donation which bears his Name, in which he is suppos'd to give to the Bishop of *Rome* and his Successors, the Sovereignty of the City of *Rome*, and of the Provinces of the *Western Empire*; because this Act has so many signs of Forgery, that 'tis impossible it can be attributed to *Constantine*. I shall here subjoin some of those Reasons which clearly prove, that it is an Impostor.

1. Not one of the Ancients mentions this pretended Liberality of *Constantine* to the Church: But who can believe that *Eusebius*, and all the other Ancient Historians, who have exactly describ'd all the Benefits of this Emperour to Christians, and especially to the Bishops, should pass over in silence one so considerable as this of the *Western Empire*, to the Bishop of *Rome*?

2. Not one of the Popes who mention the Benefits of Kings and Emperours to the See of *Rome*, or

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or who defend their Temporal Patrimony, did ever alledge this pretended Donation, tho' it had been very much for their Advantage so to do.

3. The Dates of this Act is false, for it bears the Names of the Consuls, *Constantine* (for the fourth time), and *Gallienus*: Now *Constantine* in his fourth Consulship had not *Gallienus*, but *Licinius*, for his Colleague: And this Consulship answers to the Year 315, at which time *Constantine* was not baptiz'd, even in the Opinion of those that believe he was baptiz'd at Rome by St. Sylvester; and yet mention is made of his Baptism in this Edict of Donation. We must add to this Argument, another Error in Chronology: *Byzantium* is there call'd *Constantinople*, tho' it had not that Name, till Ten Years or thereabouts, after the Date of this Edict.

4. The Style of it is barbarous, and very different from that of the Genuine Edicts of *Constantine*: It is full of new Modes of speaking, the Expressions are affected, and the Terms such as were never us'd in any publick Acts, till after the time of *Constantine*.

5. Who can believe that *Constantine* should give the City of *Rome*, all the Provinces and Cities of the *West*, that is to say, one half of his Empire, to the Bishop of *Rome*, and that this should never be known till the Eleventh Age of the Church?

6. There are infinite Numbers of Falsities and Absurdities in this Edict, which demonstrate that it was compos'd by an ignorant Impostor: take some of them as follows. In it the Pope is permitted to wear a Crown of Gold, like that of Kings and Emperours, whereas in those times, Kings and Emperours did not wear a Crown at all, but a Diadem. The Fabulous History of *Constantine's* Baptism by *Sylvester*, and the miraculous Cure of his Leprosy, is reported there as a thing Certain. There are reckon'd up in this Edict, five Patriarchal Churches, and that of *Constantinople* is put in the second place, whereas it had not this Honour, till a long time after. And yet it is suppos'd, that *Sylvester* had already acknowledg'd it for a Patriarchal See. These Falsities and many others that occur in this Edict, do plainly prove, That it is a Forgery.

In short, to destroy entirely this pretended Edict, it is sufficient to observe, That while *Constantine* liv'd, and a long time after his Death, the City of *Rome*, and the Empire of the *West*, were always subject to the Power of the Emperours; That the Popes themselves acknowledg'd them as their Sovereigns, without pretending that the City of *Rome*, or *Italy*, or any part of the *Western* Empire, belong'd to them: That all the Temporal Power they have obtain'd since, is owing to King *Pepin* and the Emperor *Charlemagne*. The Account of this, deserves a little Digression, which will not be tedious to the Reader, and will not carry us too far from our present Subject.

'Tis certain, that the City of *Rome*, *Italy*, and all the other Provinces of the *Western* Empire, were that under the Power of *Constantine*, and the Emperours that succeeded him. History informs us, That they were absolute Masters of it, That they sent Governors thither, That the City of *Rome* depended upon their Laws, upon their Power, and the Magistrates whom they should appoint; That they made such Changes there as they pleas'd: In a word, That they were no less Masters of it, than of all the other Cities of the World. When afterwards the *Barbarians* begun to invade *Italy*, they sent thither Generals of Armies to defend it, as being a Country that belong'd to them: But in spite of all their Endeavours *Theodoric* King, of the *Ostrogoths* having Conquer'd it, made it Tributary, and govern'd the City of *Rome* with a Power as absolute as that of the *Roman* Governors. His Successors, *Athalaric* and *Theodas*, maintain'd the Possession of it, until they were chas'd thence in the time of *Justinian* by *Belisarius* the *Roman* Captain, who took the City of *Rome* by Force. A little time after, Count *Narses* deliver'd all *Italy* from the Tyranny of these *Barbarians*, and reduc'd it under the Power of the Greek Emperours, to which it had belong'd.

His Successor, nam'd *Longinus*, finding it was difficult to govern all *Italy*, which was divided into many Petty Principalities, appointed Dukes or Governors over the Principal Cities, and reserv'd to himself the Sovereignty over them; taking the Title of Exarch or Viceroy, and all this while acknowledg'd the Emperour for his Lord. From this time forward, the Emperours sent Exarchs into *Italy*, who commonly resided at *Ravenna*, and govern'd all *Italy*. But this Exarchate was diminish'd by little and little, and at last was wholly destroy'd, when the *Lombards* made themselves Masters of *Italy*. Until this time it does not appear that the Popes were Sovereigns of the City of *Rome*, and of *Italy*; on the contrary, they themselves were subject to the Emperour or King of *Italy*, and obey'd him as all his other Subjects. The History of the Popes furnishes us with many Instances, which prove this clearly. The First is that of Pope *Liberius*, whom the Emperour *Constantius* order'd to be made Prisoner, and carried out of *Rome* by *Leontius* Governor of that City, as St. *Athenasius* testifies. The Schism of *Damasus* and *Ursicinus*, does also prove, that the Popes were subject to the Emperours. *Maximus*, that then govern'd the City of *Rome* for the Emperour, compos'd the Differences that arose between those two Competitors, and the Bishops themselves address'd to the Emperour, praying him, that *Ursicinus* might be forc'd to depart out of the City of *Rome*. The same Observation may be made upon the Schism of *Eulalius* and *Boniface*, which was also cur'd by the Order of the Emperour, and afterwards by King *Theodoric*, when he became Master of *Italy*. 'Tis remarkable, that this King exercis'd his Power over the Church of *Rome* and its Bishop with so much Haughtiness, that he appointed a Visitor to this Church, and sent poor Pope *John*, being very sick, to the Greek Emperour, to obtain a Revocation of the Edict he had made against the *Arians*; which *John* not being able to obtain, *Theodoric* caus'd him to be imprison'd at *Ravenna*, where he died. *Theodasius* sent in like manner from *Rome*, Pope *Agapetus*, to the Emperour *Justinian*, and when he became Master of *Italy*, he us'd the Popes no less roughly than *Theodoric* had done; for he exacted of them great Sums of Money to confirm their Ordination, and caus'd the Popes, *Silverius* and *Vigilius*, to be carried to *Constantinople*, where he made them approve the Restauration of *Anthemius*, to the Patriarchal See of that City.

Marin

Marin the First, was also banish'd to the Province of *Pontus*, by the Exarch of *Ravenna*, according to the Orders he had receiv'd from the Emperour. *Justinian* the Younger banish'd also Pope *Gregory*. In short, The Emperour *Leo Isauricus*, would have put to Death, Pope *Gregory* the Second: But the *Lombards*, growing weary of their subjection to the Power of Strangers, who could not secure them against their Enemies, began to shake off the Yoke and to acknowledge their Dukes for Sovereigns. The Pope nevertheless oppos'd them in it, and did all that lay in his Power to retain them in their Allegiance, acknowledging, as he himself speaks in his Letter written to the Duke of *Venice*, That the Republick of *Rome* was subject to the Dominion of the Emperours. But the *Lombards* afterwards invading *Italy*, and having no expectation of Succours from the Greek Emperour who was engaged by other Wars, the Popes, *Gregory* the Third, and *Zachary*, were oblig'd to have recourse to Charles Martel Governour of the French. This Prince by menaces obtain'd of *Luitprand* King of the *Lombards*, and his Successor *Rachisius*, the Restitution of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, which by his means was twice restor'd to the Exarchs depending upon the Greek Emperours. But at last *Alphonsus* the Brother of *Rachisius* made himself Master of it for ever, and oblig'd *Eutychius*, the last Exarch of *Ravenna*, to retire into the East.

Stephen the Second being afraid, for the City of *Rome* was oblig'd to make a Truce with *Alphonsus* for Forty Years in the Name of the *Roman* Republick. But this King breaking his Word, came four Months after with a great Army to Take and Sack the City of *Rome*. In this extremity, *Stephen* writes presently to the Greek Emperour for Succours, but seeing there were no hopes of any from thence, he had recourse to King *Pepin*, who coming to besiege *Pavia*, forc'd King *Alphonsus* to sue for Peace; which was granted him, upon Condition that he should not only restore to the Church of *Rome*, all the Lands and Territories which he had possess'd in *Italy*; but also should yield up the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and the Cities of the *Roman* Dutchy. This Peace was quickly broke by the perfidiousness of this *Lombard* King, who perceiving that *Pepin* was gone out of *Italy*, went forthwith and besieg'd the City of *Rome*. *Pepin* presently reliev'd it, and rais'd the Siege; and yet *Alphonsus* found himself in too good a Condition to perform the Articles of Peace, which he had made: But *Pepin* forc'd him to give Hostages, and enlarg'd the Bounds of the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, which *Fulradus* the Abbot of St. *Denis*, receiv'd in his Name, and presently restor'd into the Hands of the Pope. It is observable, that in the time of these two Expeditions of *Pepin*, an Ambassador came from the Greek Emperour, and demand'd back again the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, as belonging of right to his Master: But *Pepin* believing that he was lawfully dispos'd of, thought it more convenient to give it to the Pope. In the mean time the Greek Emperour was still Master of *Sicily*, *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and all the extreme Parts of *Italy*, and had a Governour call'd *George* in the City of *Naples*, who combin'd with *Desiderius* the Successor of *Alphonsus*, to Invade the Exarchate of *Ravenna*.

Paul the First knowing of this League, and seeing himself attack'd by this *Lombard*, wrote presently to *Pepin*, his Protector. *Desiderius* fearing the Power of this King, push'd the Matter no further at this time, and promis'd to restore to the *Roman* Church what he had taken from it: But, as it plainly appear'd after the Death of *Pepin*, Pope *Adrian* implor'd the Aid of *Charlemagne*, who came with a great Army, defeated *Desiderius*, and shut him up in *Pavia*. From thence *Charles* went to *Rome*, and restor'd to the Pope all the Cities which his Father *Pepin* had given him, and all the Estates which the *Roman* Church had possess'd in *Italy*. In consideration of which Benefits, *Adrian*, as Head of the *Roman* Republick, granted him, with the content of the People of *Rome*, the Title of *Patriarch*, and gave him the Sovereignty over the City and all the Republick of *Rome*; inasmuch that all the People, and even the Bishop himself, took an Oath of Allegiance to him. After this, *Charles* wanted nothing but the Title of Emperour, which he received in the Year 800, being then Proclaim'd Emperour by the People of *Rome*, and afterwards Consecrated and Crown'd by the Pope. When *Charles* had gotten the Title of Emperour, he regulated all the Affairs of *Italy*; he permitted the *Lombards* to live peaceably under his Dominion; he gave the Name of *Romania* to the ancient Exarchate, and shar'd *Italy* with the Greek Emperour, on condition, that all which was on this side *Naples*, should belong to him; and that the City of *Naples* and all that was on the other side of it, should continue in the Greek Emperour's Power.

From this time the Successors of *Charles* were Kings of *Italy*, and Sovereigns of *Rome*; though the Popes were Temporal Lords of the Cities that anciently belong'd to the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, and some others. *Ludovicus Pius*, the Son of *Charlemagne*, sent *Bernard* to *Rome*, to allay the Differences that were risen there. After the Death of this *Bernard*, *Lutarius* comes to *Rome* with an Army, to punish some Rebels, and ordains, That for the future the Magistrates of *Rome* should be created by the Emperours. But *Charles the Bald* parted with this Noble Right, and Surrender'd up to the *Romans* the Sovereign Power, restoring them, if I may so say, to their ancient Liberty.

In the mean while, the Popes begun to lay by little and little the Foundations of their Sovereign Dominion. For although the Sovereign Power was still as yet remain in the Body of the People, who created the Magistrates in *Rome*, and the Neighbouring Cities, nevertheless, the Popes who were now grown Rich and Powerful, us'd all their Endeavours to make themselves Sovereigns, and that the shadow of Sovereignty should only remain in the People. Yet the *Romans* had two Consuls, one Prætor, and one Governor of the City, whom they chose; and oftentimes cast off the Yoke which the Popes would impose upon them; which was the Cause of those cruel Wars that happen'd between the Popes, the Principal Citizens of *Rome*, and the Emperours of *Germany*: But at last the Popes got the better on't, and remain'd sole Masters and Sovereigns of *Rome*, and the Countreys about it.

All that we have said concerning the Foundation and Growth of the Pope's Power, plainly shews, that

Constantine the Empe-
rour.

that the Settlement of their Empire is not owing to *Constantine*, but to the Kings of *France*; and by consequence, that the Edict of Donation that bears the Name of *Constantine*, is wholly Supposititious; but it is not so easy to find out who was the Author of this false Monument, and upon what Motive he forg'd it. 'Tis certain, that it is more ancient than *Thomas*, since that Bishop cites it in his Third Ep. Ch. 13. and *Isidore* * has put it in his Collection. It is also alleg'd by Pope *Leo* the Ninth, in his Epistle to *Michael Cerularius*; and *St. Asclepias*, *Ivo Carnutesis*, and *Gratian*, have inserted it into their Collections. To conclude, *Balsamon* a Greek Author, has related a part of it in Greek; in his Commentaries upon *Phoebus's Nomocanon*. *Baronius*, and those that blindly follow his Conjectures, have suspected the Greeks of this Forgery, pretending that they forg'd this Monument to establish the Antiquity of the Patriarchate of *Constantinople*, by affirming, that the Church of *Rome* owes its Grandeur to the Emperor *Constantine*. But besides, that 'tis no ways probable that the Greeks should forge an Act contrary to their own pretended Right over *Italy*, this Edict is found cited by the Latines 200 Years before it was known to the Greeks. *Martinius* believes that it was written by *John*, a Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, who liv'd in the Year 963: But that cannot be, since it was cited before that time by *Hincmar*. *Monfieur de Marca* maintains, That the Popes fram'd this Monument with the consent of the French Kings; That they might oppose it against the Greek Emperours, who demanded back again the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, as belonging to them: But what probability is there, that the Popes and French Kings should have recourse to this Forgery, which might easily be discover'd, having much better Reasons to alledge to the Greeks, why the Exarchate of *Ravenna* did not belong to them? Some have attributed this false Monument to the Author of the Collection of *Isidore*, a notorious Forger of such kind of Pieces; and this Conjecture is more probable than the rest, but neither is it certain, and therefore it is better to suspend our Judgment about this Matter, than to build it upon Conjectures that have so little solidity.

Besides the Greek Fragments of this Edict recited by *Balsamon*, 'tis said, there are Four Greek Manuscripts of the whole Edict in the *Vatican Library*. The Latin Editions of it do not altogether agree; for *Isidore's* is different from that which is found in the ancient Manuscript of *Fustellus*. One *Bartholomew Picernus*, boasts that he made a new Translation of it from a Greek Manuscript in the *Vatican Library*, which he printed with a Dedication to Pope *Gulius* the Second: But he has done nothing but corrected the ancient Latin Edition. A Priest of *Deventer* has also printed this Edition at *Cologne* in the Year 1535. The Differences of all these Editions are to be seen in *Father Labbe's* First Volume of the *Councils*. 'Tis seems more probable to me, That the Greek was taken out of the Latin, than that the Latin was translated from the Greek. However it be, this Monument has neither Authority nor Usefulness.

JUVENCUS.

Juvenius.

Hitherto we have not met with any Poet among the Christian Writers. Here is a very excellent one who flourish'd under the Reign of *Constantine*; he was call'd *C. Velitius Aquilinus Juvenius*, and was descended of one of the Noblest Families in *Spain*. *St. Jerom* assures us, that he was a Priest, and that's all that he tells us of his Life. He compos'd a Poem about the Year 329, divided into Four Books; wherein he describes the Life of Christ in *Hexameter Verse*, without wandering from the Text of the Four Evangelists. *St. Jerom* also testifies, That he wrote some Books in *Hexameter Verse* about Mysteries; and 'tis said, That he compos'd some Hymns, of which *St. Jerom* says, not a Word: But 'tis probable enough, that one who had so fertile a Vein in Poetry, as he had, wrote several other Books. However that be, we have now only Four Books of the History of the Gospel under his Name: In the Exordium of this Poem he says, That if the Verses of those who have publish'd the Actions of mortal Men, which they adorn'd with their Fictions, have purchas'd them a Reputation for lasting for many Ages, he ought to be assur'd of Immortal Glory, who writes the Life of Jesus Christ, and needs not to fear that the Day of Judgment shall consume his Work.

Quod si tam longam meruerunt carmina famam,
Sue veterum gestis hominum mendacia nestunt;
Nobis certa fides eterna in sacula laudi:
Immortale decus tribuet, meritiq; rependet:
Nam mihi carmen erunt Christi vitalia gesta,
Divinum in populi sacri sine crimine donum;
Nec metus ut mundi rapiant incendia secum
Hoc opus.

After this, he invokes the Assistance of the Holy Spirit, to enable him to recount the Actions of Christ, in such a manner as is suitable to their Greatness.

Ergo age sanctificans adsit mihi carminis autor
Spiritus, & puro mentem riget amne canentis
Dulcis Jordanis, ut Christo digna loquamur.

After

After this Invocation, he begins the History of Christ, and relates in Verse, all that has been said by the Four Evangelists, without wandering from the Text, and without adding any thing uncertain or fabulous. He concludes those Four Books with a Complement to the Emperor *Constantine*, whom he thanks for the Peace of the Church, and mightily commends, because he was the only King who would not allow the peculiar Names of God to be attributed to him.

The Air of the Poem is very Poetical, the Cadence of the Verse is fine and soft; but the words are not always Poetical, and sometimes they are not very good Latin. That which is chiefly to be commended in this Author, is the Faithfulness of his Translation; wherein he has render'd almost word for word the Text of the Evangelists. This was a difficult Undertaking, which he has perform'd with good Success, and one may say, that 'tis almost impossible to have done it better.

There are a great many Editions of this Author. His Book was printed with *Sedulius* and other Christian Poets at *Cologne*, in *Octavo* 1537; at *Balle*, in *Octavo*, 1537, 1550; at *Venice* by *Aldus*, in *Quarto* 1502; at *Balle* by *Oporinus*, in *Quarto* alio, 1564; at *Lyon* by *Tornesius*, 1588; at *Paris*, in 1543, 1575, 1589, 1624; at *Vienna*, in *Quarto* 1519; and in many other places: And, it is also to be found in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

RHETICIUS.

RHETICIUS Bishop of *Autun*, had so great a Reputation in the time of *Constantine*, that the Emperor chose him to be one of the Judges in the Cause of the *Donatists*. He assist'd at the Council of *Rome*, wherein *Cacilian* was Absolv'd, and afterwards at the Council of *Arles*, held in the Year 314. *St. Jerom* says, that in his time, this Bishop's Commentaries upon the *Canticles*, were extant, and also a large Volume against *Novatian*; but he met with so other Books of his. The same *St. Jerom*, speaking of this Author's Commentaries, in his Second Letter to *Florentinus*, says, That he gave a lofty fence of the *Canticles*. And lastly, in his Ep. 133. to *Marcellus*, he gives a Critical Judgment of these Commentaries, which is very little to their Advantage. He says, They are full of Extravagant Explications; That he found an infinite number of Errors and base Things in them; That the Style, indeed, is lofty and swelling, but such as is not suitable to an Interpreter, who ought not to aim at the discovery of his own Eloquence, but the true sense of his Author. He relates in the same place some of the gross Mistakes of this Author; e. g. That he confounds *Tharfi* which is mention'd in the *Psalms*, with the City of *Tarsus* where *St. Paul* was born; that he believ'd the Hebrew word *Opheas*, which signifies Gold, signified a Stone, and so confounds it with the Name *Cephas*, which is given in the Gospel to *St. Peter*. In short, *St. Jerom* wrote to *Marcellus*, That he had not sent the Commentaries of this Author as he desir'd; because there were many things in them that displeas'd him, and but few things that he could approve of: And we have nothing more of these Commentaries, nor of the other Works of this Author.

EUSTATHIUS Bishop of Antioch.

EUSTATHIUS, a Native of *Syda*, a City of *Pamphylia**, was chosen Bishop of *Antioch*, after he had govern'd the Church of *Beraa* for some time; in the room of *Philogonus*, in the year 323 from the Birth of Christ. He assist'd at the Council of *Nice*, where he sat in one of the chief Places; and there maintain'd the Faith of the Church with great Constancy. After the Council of *Nice*, being one of the Zealous Defenders of its Decisions, and one of the greatest Adversaries to the *Arians*, he

Eustathius
of Antioch

* *Syda*, a City of *Pamphylia*.] As *St. Jerom* observes, this is a Sea-Port Town, call'd at present *Fone*.

After having govern'd the Church of *Beraa* for some time. It is agreed upon all hands that he was Bishop of *Beraa*. *St. Jerom*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates* and *Sozomen* testify it. He was also Bishop of that Church, when *Alexander* of *Alexandria* wrote his Letter against *Arius*, for *Theodoret* notes expressly, that it was directed to him. *Sozomen* says in the First Book of his Hist. Ch. 2. That the See of *Antioch* was vacant after the Death of *Romanus*, and that *Eustathius* was ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch* in the Council of *Nice*: and in Ch. 17. of the same Book, he says, that he was already Bishop of *Antioch* when he assist'd at this Council; yet *St. Romanus* was not Bishop, but only a Martyr of *Antioch*, and *Eustathius* Succeeded immediately to *Philogonus* some time before the Council of *Nice*, but after the beginning of the *Arian* Controversy, that's to say, in the Year 323, or 324.

He [sat in one of the Chief Places.] *Proculus* of *Constantinople*, in a Synodical Letter to the Oriental Bishops, let down by *Facundus*, B. I. Ch. 1. says, That he was the Chief of the Fathers in the Council of *Nice*. *Facundus*

das gives him the same Title, B. XI. Ch. 1. and Pope *Felix* III. calls him, in his 6th. Ep. to *Zeno*, President of the Council. *Theodoret*, B. I. of his Hist. Ch. 9. says, That he spoke to the Emperor in the Name of the Council; and *Euseb*. B. I. Life of *Const.* Ch. 11. says, That he who first Harangue'd the Emperor, was seated in the Chief Place on the right Hand: But he seems to say at the Beginning of his Books of the Life of *Constantine*, that it was himself that made this Harangue, as *Theodoret* assures us, Hist. B. I. Ch. 19. The Author of the *Tripartite Hist.* willing to join these several Opinions together, says, That *Eusebius* did not speak till after *Eustathius*. *Theodorus* of *Mopsellia*, says, That *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, was entrusted with that Office. Be that as it will, it does not follow, that he who spoke first must therefore be President of the Council, as having the first Place upon the right hand; for besides that this might be given him only for the time while he spoke, it may be that this place was not the most honourable: Moreover, *Eustathius* might be call'd the Chief, because he was one of the first; But it is more probable, that *Hosius* was President of the Council.

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drew

Eusebius
of Antioch

draw upon himself the Hatred of the Bishops of *Palestina*, which burst forth immediately upon the first occasion they found it which offer'd it self in the Year 339, when *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nice*, return'd from their Banishment, and went to *Palestina*, under pretence of visiting the Church of *Jerusalem* : for then they pass'd by *Antioch*, where they were honourably received by *Eusebius*, and they on their part gave marks of their Friendship to him : But at their Return they brought with them to *Antioch*, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, *Patrophilus* of *Seythopolis*, *Atticus* of *Lydda*, *Theodorus* of *Laodicea*, with some other Eastern Bishops, with a design to depose *Eusebius*. These Bishops being then assembled at *Antioch* in the Year 330^a, did not only fallily charge him with the Error of the *Subellians*; but also accus'd him of infamous Crimes. *Theodoret* says, That they hir'd a Woman of an ill Life to say, that she had a Child by *Eusebius*; That this wicked Woman entred with a Child in her Arms into the place of their Assembly, and declar'd with a loud Voice, That she had it by *Eusebius*; That this holy Bishop having ask'd her, if she had any Witnes of what she affirm'd; the answer d, she had none; and yet notwithstanding this, the Bishops believ'd it upon her Oath, and Condemn'd *Eusebius* as convicted of the Crime. *St. Athanasius* says nothing of this Story, which appears otherwise to be fabulous enough; but he observes only that they accus'd *Eusebius* of having treated the Emperor's Mother reproachfully^b, and that immediately he was sent into Banishment, with many of his Priests and Deacons; but the place of his Exile is not certainly known^c. In whatsoever place it was, there he ended his days, and 'tis probable, that he liv'd not long after his Condemnation; for there is no mention made of him in History, and 'tis false, whatever *Socrates* and *Sozomen* say, That he return'd again from Banishment in the time of the Emperor *Jovian*^d. This Bishop is the First, if we will believe *St. Jerom*, that wrote against the *Arians*. He compos'd many Books against their Doctrine, abundance of Homilies, an infinite number of Letters, many Treatises of the Soul, and a Discourse of the *Pythionis* against *Origen*.

Facundus quotes in Latin, *Ch. 1. of the B. XI. Four Passages of Eusebius of Antioch*, whereof the two first are taken out of *B. VII.* and the two last out of *B. VIII.* against the *Arians*. He alleges them in this place to prove, That this Bishop of *Antioch*, in speaking of the Incarnation, made use of Expressions, at least as harsh as those that were objected to *Theodorus* of *Adarnes*: in effect, the Passages which he relates, seem to favour the Error of *Nestorius*^e. But his Doctrine must not be ana-

^a Being then assembled at *Antioch* in the Year 330. All Historians agree, That *Eusebius* was depos'd under the Reign of *Constantine*. *Eusebius* an unquestionable Witness, gives us an Account, *B. III. Life of Constantine*, *Ch. 59.* of the Tumult that arose in the Church of *Antioch* upon the Deposition of *Eusebius*, as a thing that happen'd after the Council of *Nice*, but before the Death of the Emperor *Constantine*. *St. Athanasius* begins with this Deposition, the History of the *Arian* Persecution under *Constantine*; and thought there be in the Text *Constantine* for *Constantine*, that is, a misprint, for 'tis plain from *St. Athanasius*, that *Flavianus*, who was ordain'd in the room of *Eusebius*, had the Title of Bishop of *Antioch*, at the Council of *Yps*, held under *Constantine*, from whence it evidently follows that *Eusebius* was then depos'd. The like Error appears in some Editions of *St. Jerom's* Books of *Ecclesiastical Writers*; but in the ancient Editions & in the Greek Version, we read under *Constantine* & not under *Constantine*.

^b *Theodoret* says, That they hir'd a Woman of an ill Life. *Philosophus* reports also this Story, *B. II. Ch. 7.* *Socrat* and *Sozomen* allude to it, when they say, That *Eusebius* was accus'd of infamous Crimes. *St. Jerom* mentions it in his *Apol.* against *Rufinus*; *Eusebius* says, he found Sons which he knew not of *Filius dum natus invenit*: and the Emperor *Constantine* seems to hint it in his Letter to the Bishops, the infamous *Person* being driven away, as he speaks.

^c Of having treated the Emperor's Mother reproachfully. 'Twas to *Constantine* that they wrote this Calumny; for *Eusebius* having recourse to the Emperor, and being come to *Constantinople* to complain of the Injustice, that was done him, the Bishops assembled at *Antioch* made use of this Calumny to stir up the Emperor against him. They added also, that he was the Author of that Sedition which arose at *Antioch* after his Deposition. These things mov'd the Emperor to Banish him presently, without inquiring into the Merits of his Cause. The *Eusebians* also did afterwards make use of an Artifice just like this against *St. Athanasius*.

^d But the place of his Exile is not certainly known. *Theodoret* says, that he was sent to *Ibircum*; *Philosophus* says only, that he was sent into the West. But *St. Jerom* assures us, That he was exil'd away to *Trianopolis*, a City of *Thracia*. *St. Chrysostom* says, That he died in *Thracia*: And in fine, *Theodorus Lector* at the beginning of

the Second Book of his History, says, That *Calenden* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, caus'd the Reliques of *Eusebius* to be Transported from *Philippopolis* in *Macedonia*, to *Antioch*.

^e 'Tis false, that he return'd again from Banishment in the time of the Emperor *Jovian*. *Theodoret* says, That *Eusebius* was dead when *Melitus* was ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch*. And certainly *Melitus* ought not to have been ordain'd in this place before, and the *Eusebians* (as call'd) accus'd they would not communicate with any Bishop of *Antioch* that was ordain'd by the *Arian* Faction would never have suffer'd, if *Paulinus* had been ordain'd while *Eusebius* liv'd. There is no mention of him in all the Disputes that follow'd after, neither did he return after the Death of *Constantine*, when all the banish'd Bishops were recall'd; for it does not appear that he was present in any Council, or that he ever demand'd to be restor'd to his Bishoprick: In a word, there is nothing more said of him in History. From all which I conclude, that 'tis something probable, that he died before the Year 337.

^f In effect, the Passages which he relates, seem to favour the Error of *Nestorius*. In the First, he says, [That God who united the Humane Nature to the Word for the Salvation of Mankind, has conceal'd it from this Humane Nature the Day of Judgement, lest the Man should reach Mankind the view of his soul coming.]. In the Second he seems to say, That Jesus Christ incarnate is another Person than the Word; but the word *Person* is not always taken in a strict sense. In the Third, he says, That the Word dwells in the Humane Nature as in his Temple: an Expression which *Nestorius* often made use of. In the last, he says, That the Scepter which God prepar'd for his Son, does not agree to the Father, nor to the Word, but only to the Man Christ; [Who is, says he, the Lord of all the Creatures, because of the Mixture of the Divine Word.]. 'Tis evident, that these Expressions are not exact; but then we ought not for this to accus'd him of Error, for 'tis easie to excuse him, not only because of the time when he wrote, but also because 'Tis common enough with those that liv'd a long time after him, to make use sometimes of Expressions very like this, to distinguish the Humanity of Christ from his Divinity to which it is united. To which we may add, That 'tis plain from the passages related by *Theodoret*, that he was far enough from the error of the *Nestorians*.

thematiz'd,

thematiz'd; says *Facundus*, upon the account of some Expressions that are his exact, which he made use of at a time when he spoke simply and without precaution, because the Error of *Nestorius* did not yet appear. The Passage of *Eusebius* which *Theodoret* gives us in Greek, *Hist. B. I. Ch. 8.* is much more considerable than those which are cited by *Facundus*: It is taken out of the same Work against the *Arians*, and probably out of the two First Books. Take it whole as Monsieur *Cassan* has Translated it.

"A very numerous Council being Assembled about this Matter in the City of *Nice*, where 270 "Bishops, or thereabouts, assisted, (for the Number was so great that I cannot precisely set it down, "and besides, I took no great care to inform my self of it.) When they first began to enquire into the "Faith, a Libel of *Eusebius*'s was produc'd, which contain'd a convincing Proof of his Blasphemies. "The reading of it, caus'd a sensible Grief in all that heard it, and great Confusion in its Author. "The Malignity of *Eusebius*'s Associates being discover'd, and the Impious Writing being publicly "tore in pieces, some under pretence of the Peace which they propos'd, impos'd Silence upon those "that us'd to speak better than others. The *Arians* apprehending that they should be cast out of the "Church by the Judgment of so great an Assembly, condemn'd the Impious Doctrine, and sign'd the "Confession of Faith. But having secur'd by their Cabals the principal Dignities to themselves, instead "of suffering Canonical Penance as they ought, they maintain'd the Doctrine that was Condemn'd, "sometimes in private, and sometimes in Publick, by several Arguments which they had invented for "that purpose. The desire they had to sow the Seeds of Division, made them shun meeting with the "Learned, and attacking the Defenders of the Faith; but we do not think that these Atheists can "overcome God, for whatever Efforts they make will be vanquish'd according to the authentick Te- "limonies of the Prophet *Isaiah*. *Theodoret* adds, See here what *Eusebius* has written of the *Arians*. There is also another passage in Greek taken out of this Work, related by *Anastasi* in his Collections, wherein *Eusebius* maintains, That Jesus Christ cannot be said to be Created and Begotten according to the same Nature; for if he was Created he was not Begotten, and if he was Begotten he was not Created. The same *Theodoret* citeth in his Dialogues many passages of *Eusebius* about the Incarnation, taken out of his Book upon the Soul, and his Discourse upon these words of the Proverbs; *God hath created me in the beginning of his ways*: out of his 15th. and 92d. Homilies upon the *Psalm*, and out of two other Treaties upon the Inscriptions or Titles of some *Palms*^a.

All the passages of *Eusebius*, reported by *Theodoret*^b, prove, That there are two Perfect Natures in Jesus Christ, the Divine and the Humane Nature; That He has a Body and a Soul like us; That He is passible according to the Humane Nature, and, That the Humanity is not chang'd into the Divinity: From whence it appears, that *Eusebius* did more formally reject the Error of the *Eutychians*, than that of the *Nestorians*, although there are some Expressions in the same Passages, which plainly enough show that he was perfwaded, That these two Natures were united in one and the same Person. But the Oriental Writers have always more applied themselves to remark the distinction of the two Natures in Christ, than their intimate Union; whereas on the contrary, the Egyptians are more addid to discourse of their Union, than their Distinctions: Which thing afterwards was the Subject of the great Disputes that were amongst them about the Mystery of the Incarnation.

The Treatise of *Eusebius* concerning the *Pythionis*^c cited by *St. Jerom*, was publish'd in Greek in the Year 1629, and translated into Latin by *Allatius*; together, with a Discourse of this Author upon the same Subject. The Question there treated of is, Whether the Witch mention'd *B. I.* of

^a Upon the Inscriptions or Titles of some *Palms*. The First is taken from a Treatise, *Εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ εὐσεβίου*, and the Second from the Treatise, *Ἐν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ εὐσεβίου*. The 6th. *Psalm* which is our 6th. has for its Title in the Septuagint, *Σπυριγυρία τοῦ Δαβὶδ*, i. e. the Inscription of Title for *David*; and the 7th, *Τὸ Δαβὶδ εἰς εὐσεβίαν*, i. e. an Inscription to *David*, or to *David* for an Inscription, *Σπυριγυρία* is properly an Inscription upon a Pillar. The *Palms* 51, 58, and 59, have the like titles. The Treatise which *Theodoret* cites in this place, *Εἰς ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ εὐσεβίου*, was compos'd upon these Inscriptions; as the Second, *Ἐν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τοῦ εὐσεβίου*, was compos'd upon the Inscriptions of the *Palms* of Degrees. *St. Gregory Nissen* has since made a Treatise upon the Inscriptions of the *Palms*. This Observation I owe to the Learned *Colenius*.

^b All the Passages of *Eusebius*, reported by *Theodoret*. In the Passages cited from the First & Second Dialogue, he asserts, That Christ had a Body and Soul of the same Substance with ours, and there he calls the Flesh of Christ, the Temple in which the Divinity dwelt. He observes in the last passage of his Second Dialogue, that Christ had no need of the legal Sacrifices to purify himself, because he purifies himself, and sanctifies all things; but he voluntarily submitted to the Law, to deliver us from that Bondage, as who were enslav'd under, and liable to the Malediction of Sin: In the Passages recited out

of the last Dialogue, he proves, That the Divinity of Jesus Christ was not subject to any pain or Sufferings, but only his Humanity: There he affirms, That Jesus Christ had a Soul, that He truly suffer'd, though voluntarily, and that the Word dwelling in the Body of the Man as in a Temple, restor'd by the Resurrection that Temple which Death had destroy'd. In a word, he shows, that all the Properties of the Humane and Divine Nature were found in Christ; but that we must not attribute to the Divinity that which agrees only to the Humanity, or deny because of his Divinity, the Properties which agree only to the Humane Nature.

^c The Treatise of *Eusebius* concerning the *Pythionis*. 'Tis entituled in Greek, *Εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ*, in Latin, *De ventriculo*, which cannot be rendered in English, but by a Circumlocution; that is to say, *The Discourse which these Princes who have a Devil in their Belly*. To understand this, we must observe that the Ancients believ'd, That the *Dæmon* which the Pagans honour'd under the Name of the God *Python*, entred into the Bowels of the Priests and Priestesses, and by strange agitations excited in them a kind of Fury, which made them say many things which were taken for Predictions: For which reason the Women that profess'd to Divine things to come, were call'd *Pythionisses*. Such was the, to whom *Saul* address'd himself for consulting *Samuel*, whose History is the Subject of this Dissertation, and therefore I have entituled it, *Concerning the Pythionis*.

Kings,

Eusebius
of Antioch.

Kings, Ch. 28. did really bring back the Soul of *Samuel* into this World to speak unto *Saul*? *Eusebius* thinks maintaining the Negative against *Origen*, who had taught the Affirmative in one of his Homilies: And after he has related in a pleasant manner all the Circumstances of the History, he refutes the Explication of *Origen*. He lays it down for a Principle, that the Devil cannot bring back Souls from the other World: He says, It is ridiculous to give him this Authority over the Souls of the Just; and that there is none but God only who is Lord over them. He demands of *Origen*, Whether the Witch made *Samuel* appear in Body and Soul together, or if she only brought back his Soul; and then he shews, that neither the one, nor the other is probable. He rallies *Origen* for attributing to the Holy Spirit the Words which the Witch pronounced when she was acted by an Evil Spirit. He maintains that *Saul* did not at all see the Ghost of *Samuel*, but only was astonish'd with the extraordinary Speeches, and violent Motions of the Witch, and therefore cast himself down upon the Ground to worship. He proves, That tis contrary to common sense, to say, as *Origen* does, That the Gods which the Witch lays the law ascending out of the Earth, were the Souls of the Just and the Angels: He observes, that the Prediction of the *Pythons* was found to be false; and tho' it had been true, it would not therefore follow, that it was from the Holy Spirit, since the Devil has often made such like Predictions, which Chance and the Circumstances of things, that are known to him, have sometimes verified. He does also make it appear from the Circumstances of this Prediction, That it was an Imposture of the Devil, and that it cannot be attributed to the Holy Spirit, without some kind of Impiety. After this, he answers the chief Objection of *Origen*, taken from the Scripture, which gives the Name of *Samuel* to that Apparition: To which he says, That he was astonish'd at an Author, who durst explain the whole Scripture Allegorically, treat as a Fable the History of *Moses* concerning the Terrestrial Paradise, and give Mythical Sences to all the Histories of the Old Testament, that he should endeavour to put off for Truth, the Fictions of a Woman acted by an Evil Spirit. He shews, That when the Scripture gives the Name of *Samuel* to this Apparition, 'tis not to be understood as if *Samuel* himself in Body and Soul were there; but only that this Woman made him believe by the Representation which she gave *Saul* of this Spectre, that this was the Prophet *Samuel* whom he desir'd to consult. In short, he demonstrates, from all the Circumstances of this Story, That there was nothing real in this Apparition; but that it was only an Apparition represented in the imagination of *Saul* and this Prophetess, by the Devil which possess'd them. This is the Sentiment which *Eusebius* confirms in this Differtation, which is short, beautiful and very close; for as he says nothing superfluous, so he omits no Proof which might be of Advantage to his Opinion. There appear in it much Learning and a well-poiz'd Judgment, and one may venture to say, That there are few Works of this nature in all Antiquity so perfect as this Discourse. Yet I think, he has treated *Origen* a little too harshly, in a Question that does not at all belong to Religion, but is purely Critical. To conclude, The Opinion of *Eusebius* is since his time grown the more common Opinion*, and I must confess, that tis more probable than the other, tho' I cannot affirm any thing for certain in this Matter.

We cannot give any Judgment so much to the Advantage of that Commentary upon the Work of the Six Days, or the *Hexameron* which bears the Name of *Eusebius*, publish'd by the same *Allatius*; but on the contrary, 'tis a Work altogether unworthy of a Man of his Sense, and which cannot be attributed to *Eusebius*, without doing him great Dishonour; and there is no probability that it was his. For First, Not only *St. Jerome* and *Theodoret* make no mention of it, but it is not found cited by any Author. Secondly, It is an ill contriv'd Collection of Passages out of *Eusebius*, *St. Basil*, the Old Testament, *Josephus*, *Aristippus*, the Gospel finally ascrib'd to *St. James*, and many other Authors. Thirdly, The Style is perfectly different from that of his Differtation concerning the *Pythons*, and the Fragments of *Eusebius*'s Sermons. Fourthly, The things treated of in this Book, do not at all suit with the Genius of *Eusebius*, for in his Differtation concerning the *Pythons*, he reproves *Origen* for studying to make too many useless Remarks and Allegories in explaining the Scriptures, while he neglects the literal sense of them, and the Moral Reflections that should be made upon them: Now this Treatise upon the *Hexameron*, is almost wholly compos'd of such unprofitable Remarks, which

* The Opinion of *Eusebius* is since his time grown the more common Opinion.] *St. Justin* in his Dialogue against *Tryphon*, is of the same Opinion with *Origen*, and concludes, That all Souls, even those of the Just, fall under the Power of *Demons*: But *Tertullian* is of *Eusebius*'s Opinion, in his Book of the *Soul*, Ch. 27. where he says expressly, That we must not believe that it was the Soul of *Samuel* which the *Pythons* brought back from the other World; but that 'twas only a Cheat of the Devil. Since *Eusebius*'s time, there are but few Authors of *Origen*'s Opinion, excepting *Sulpicius Severus*. *St. Aspin* makes a Problem of this Question, in his Letter to *Simplicianus*, but he inclines to *Eusebius*'s side. *Eucherius*, *Bede*, *St. Aspin*, *Rabanus* and *St. Thomas*, follow *St. Aspin*. *Theodoret* and some others, have said, That God form'd this Apparition of *Samuel*, or that he made an Angel appear under the form of *Samuel*. *St. Basil* is of *Eusebius*'s Opinion, in his Commentary upon Ch. 8. of *Ishai*; but he seems to approve the contrary Opinion in his Letter to *Eusebius* the Physician. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* touches both these Opinions in

his first Oratio against *Julian*: But *Gregory Nyssen*, in a Letter written on this Subject, expressly refutes the Opinion of *Origen*, and proves that of *Eusebius*. 'Tis no wonder that *Methodius* and *St. Jerome*, condemn *Origen*'s Opinion, but 'tis surprizing that *Philastrius* has tax'd it of Heresy, *Hares*, 28. The Author of the Question ascrib'd to *St. Aspin*, Quest. 22. The Author of the Questions concerning the wonderful things of Scripture, B. II. Ch. 2. and of the Questions of the Old and New Testament attributed to *St. Aspin*, Quest. 26. *Jidore*, B. VIII. Ch. 8. of his *Origines*, *Zonaras* Hist. Tom. I. *Synellus* in his *Chronicle*, and many others, approve the Opinion of *Eusebius*. The Modern Commentators, are much divided about it: And indeed, the Opinion of *Origen* may better be maintain'd when 'tis suppos'd, That 'twas by the Permission of God, and not by the Power of the Devil, that the *Pythons* brought back the Soul of *Samuel*; and so it seems to be more agreeable to the Letter of Scripture; but the other is more rational, and explains the Matter in Dispute more naturally.

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concern neither Religion nor Manners. Fifthly, This Author begins with an Extract out of the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, concerning the Antiquity of *Moses*, and then repeats the first Verses of *Genesis*, from whence he takes occasion to make a particular Enumeration of all the different sorts of Plants, Herbs, Trees, Fishes, Birds and Beasts; and to discourse of their Nature and Properties, laying many things very fabulous of them: After this, he makes a very imperfect Abridgment of the History of *Genesis*, adding many Circumstances to it taken out of *Josephus*. He makes a Digression concerning the Genealogy of *Jesus Christ*, in which he copies out a passage of *Africanus*, and then gives an Abridgment of the Fables which are in the *Prato Evangelium* of *St. James*, concerning the Virgin, *St. Joseph*, *Joachim*, and *Zachary*. Afterwards he resumes the Continuation of his Abridgment of History, which goes as far as the End of *Joshua*'s Government, being nothing else but Extracts out of the Books of Scripture, and the History of *Josephus*; whereby it appears, that there is neither Order nor Design in all this Work, and that 'tis nothing else but a heap of Passages confusedly jumbled together by a Man of no Learning or Judgment: which cannot be said of *Eusebius* of Antioch, who was a very Learn'd, Judicious and Eloquent Man, as any one may easily perceive by his Differtation, and the Fragments we have of his Works. *Allatius* has no proof that this Work is *Eusebius*'s of Antioch, under whose Name he has publish'd it; but he endeavours to prove, that it was made by some ancient Author, because in speaking of the End of the World, he maintains that it will not continue above 6000 Years, and in giving the Chronology of Time already past, he does not go beyond the 30th Year of *Constantine*. But this proof is not at all convincing, for 'tis probable, that this Author has taken what he says in those places from one of the Ancients, without adding any thing of his own: But suppose he were the Author of what is related concerning the End of the World, may not an Impostor affect to speak so, on purpose to make us believe that his Work was Ancient? Be it as it will, there is no manner of probability that it was written by *Eusebius* of Antioch.

I shall not now commend this Bishop for his Zeal in defending the Faith, his invincible Constancy, his Wisdom, and singular Moderation, which appear'd in suffering patiently the reproachful Accusation, wherewith his Enemies charg'd him, and the unjust Deposition which they pronounced against him; but shall content my self to consider him as an Author, and observe with *Sozomen*, Hist. B. II. Ch. 19. that he had acquired a rare Eloquence, As appears, says he, by his Works, which are most worthy of Commendation, as well for the ancient Purity of Style, as the Sublimity of Thought, the Beauty of Expression, and the Curiosity of his Discourses. These rare Qualities of this good Writer appear in his Differtation of the *Pythons*, and in his Fragments set down by *Theodoret*, which confirm the Judgment that *Sozomen* gives of this Author: I have not seen any other Edition in Greek and Latin of his Works, but that which we have already spoken of, Printed at *Lyons* by *Durandus* in *Quarto*, in the Year 1629.

PETER of Alexandria.

PETER of Alexandria had his Head cut off^a for the Faith, by the Commandment of the Emperor *Maximinus*, in the Ninth Year of *Dioclesian*'s Persecution, that's to say, in the Year 311 from the Birth of *Christ*: We have the Acts of his Martyrdom; but since they do not agree with the Ecclesiastical History of that Time, we ought not to give much credit to them^b. Though *St. Jerome* and others, who have given an Account of Ecclesiastical Writers, do not place this Bishop among

Peter of Alexandria.

^a Had his Head cut off.] *Baronius* sets down the Martyrdom of *Peter* at the Year 310; but *Eusebius* says, in two places of his History, That he Suffer'd the 9th Year of the Persecution, which is 311. according to the vulgar Era: The Author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* follows *Eusebius*. *Baronius* cites for himself, Ch. 13. of the Eighth Book of *Eusebius*, where *Peter* is number'd amongst the Martyrs; but in this place of his History, he does not reckon up the Martyrs in order of time, but only Discourses of many famous Bishops and Martyrs.

^b We ought not to give much credit to them.] These Acts were publish'd by *Sirius*, and afterwards in Greek by *Combes*: But they neither agree with the History of the Time, nor with that of *Peter*. 1. This Author says in two places, that *Peter* died under *Dioclesian*, which is false, since this Emperor abdicated the Empire a long time before the Year 311. 2. *Eusebius* says, That *Peter* was seiz'd, and executed upon the spot. These Acts suppose that he was a long time in Prison, and that he must have written of it to the Emperor who was at *Nicomedia*. 3. He places amongst the Bishops of *Alexandria*, one *Milius*, when, in truth, there was never a one of that Name. 4. He places *Heracles* after *Diocletian* and *Maximus*, though he certainly preceded them. 5. He seems that *Heracles* had Disputes with *Origen*,

when there was never any such thing. 6. He says, That the Body of *Peter* was carried into the Church of *Theonas*, which was built by *Alexander* the Successor of *Achillas*, who came after *Peter* to the See of *Alexandria*. In short, he relates, that *Arius* was Excommunicated by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, because of his Impious Doctrine: But the Ancients say not a word of this Excommunication, neither does *Alexander*, nor *St. Athanasius* object it to *Arius*: And indeed can there be any probability, that *Achillas* should receive *Arius* if he had been Excommunicated by *Peter*? Especially, if it be true which is related in those Acts, that *Peter* advertis'd *Achillas* and *Alexander*, that he had seen a Vision, wherein he was given to understand, that *Arius* should rend in pieces the Church of *Jesus Christ*. Besides, we read no-where that *Arius* publish'd his impious Doctrine before the Pontificate of *Alexander*, and therefore if he had been Excommunicated by *Peter*, it must have been for some other cause. There are found indeed in a Treatise of *Justinian* against *Origen*, some words ascrib'd to *Peter* of *Alexandria*, which are much like those that are found in those Acts; but besides that, they are not altogether the same: *Justinian* is neither so Ancient, nor of so great Authority, as to counter-balance the Reasons which we have alleg'd.

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not only of those that were in the City, but also of those that were in the Country, and that he would do nothing without the Consent and Approbation of his Clergy.

The Cause of *Arins* being afterwards carried into the Council of *Nice*, *Alexander* assisted there, and held one of the Chief Places, as appears by the Council's Letter, to the *Alexandrines*, wherein they say, That he was Head of the Council and had a great Hand in all its Decisions. He liv'd but five Months after this Council, and left *Athanasius* Successor to his See, and to his Zeal against the *Arians*.

ST. ATHANASIUS.

St. Athanasius was born at *Alexandria*, but the precise Year of his Birth is not certainly known, neither do the Ancients tell us any thing of his Kindred. He was so young during the Persecution of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, that when he speaks of it, he does not say, that he had seen what he says, but only that he learn'd it of his Fathers. We know nothing either of his Infancy, or Education. *Ruffinus*, indeed, tells us, That *St. Athanasius* being yet a Child, and playing with other Children, imitated the Ceremonies of the Church, and baptiz'd his Comrades; and that *St. Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, perceiving it, and having enquir'd the manner in which they were baptiz'd, he approv'd the Baptism, and from that time, design'd *St. Athanasius* for the Clergy. But this Story, which, besides its being, for very improbable, cannot agree with the Age of *St. Athanasius*, passes among Learned Men, rather for a Fable than a Truth. *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, assures us, in his Panegyrick on *St. Athanasius*, that this Saint applied himself but a short while to the profane Sciences, and proceeded quickly to the Study of the Holy Scriptures. Afterwards he enter'd into the Clergy, and discharg'd his Function, when he was in Orders, with general Approbation, according to the Obligation of *Theodore*. He was particularly taken Notice of by *Alexander* his Bishop, whom he accompanied to the Council of *Nice*, being then but a Deacon, and yet the first of the Deacons of his Church. He oppos'd there the Heresy of *Arins*, and 'tis believ'd likewise, that he maintain'd a Disputation against the Heretics. When he return'd again to the City of *Alexandria*, *Alexander* cast his Eyes upon him to make him his Successor. *Apollinarius*, says, in a Passage relating by *Sozomen*, B.I. Ch. 17. of his History, That *St. Athanasius* fled to avoid being chosen Bishop, and that *Alexander* being near his Death, did several times call for him. After the Death of this Bishop, he was chosen Bishop of *Alexandria*, in the beginning of the Year 326, by the common Voice of all the People, and ordain'd by the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis* assembled in the City of *Alexandria*. This is the Testimony which the Bishops of these Provinces give of his Ordination in a Synodical Letter reprinted by *St. Athanasius*, Apol. 2. p. 326. where at the same time they refute the Calumny of the *Arians*, who said, That *Athanasius* was privately Ordain'd by seven Bishops against the Will of all the rest. The *Arians* and the Bishops which Patroniz'd them, alson as they saw *St. Athanasius* their Adversary promoted to this See, look'd upon this Promotion as a great Obstacle to their Designs, and therefore resolv'd to drive him out of the Church. And that they might execute this Design the more easily, they join'd with the Schismatics call'd *Melitanis*, (or rather *Melitanis*;) because they had follow'd the Party of an Egyptian Bishop call'd *Melitus*, or *Melitus*, who being depos'd in a Synod by *Peter* of *Alexandria*, for having sacrific'd to Idols, separat'd himself from the Church, and made a considerable Faction in *Egypt*.

At *Alexandria*.] He was a Clergy-man of this Church, and the Clergy were commonly of that Place where they discharg'd their Office; but besides this Conjecture, 'tis plain also that he was originally of *Alexandria* by the Letter of *Constantine*, who recalling him from his Exile, says, that he would restore him to his own Country, &c. Apol. 2. p. 769, 770. and he takes his Country and Church for the same thing. *Orat. i. contr. Ar.* Of his Kindred. The Greek Author of his Life, very late, says they were very noble and of great Piety; but he gives us no Name, nor cites any Author to warrant his groundless Assertion: His Aunt was a Catholic, and died during the Tyranny of *Gregory*, Ep. ad Solit. p. 817. You may see in a Latin Letter of this Saint related at the end of *Lucifer's* Works, that during his Persecution, he had not the Liberty to see his Parents, which may be understood of his Father and Mother, according to the proper Signification of the Latin Word.

But only that he learn'd it of his Fathers. In his Letter ad Solit. p. 815. *Theodoret* from my Fathers, that the Persecution was rais'd under Maximian Grandfather to Constantine.

Rather for a Fable than a Truth. This Story of Children baptiz'd by *Athanasius*, does not at all agree with the Discipline of the Church of *Alexandria* upon the Subject of Re-baptization, and 'tis a thing unheard of that it should be approv'd of, or that any could approve a Baptism of this Nature, as *Alexander* of *Alexandria* is suppos'd to have done. 2. It does not agree with the Age of *St. Athanasius*, for *Alexander* was not

ordain'd Bishop of *Alexandria*, according to the Testimony of *St. Jerom*, until the Year 321. and *St. Athanasius* being ordain'd Bishop in 326, was not, in this Interval, of an Age to play such little Pranks. And though it were suppos'd, against the Authority of *St. Jerom*, that *Alexander* was ordain'd in 315, this would not remove the Difficulty, for it cannot be said, that *Athanasius* play'd at it as Sport, when he was above 10, or 12 Years old, from whence it would follow, that he was ordain'd Bishop at the 25, or 27th Year of his Age, which is not very probable.

In the Beginning of the Year 326. Alexander died five Months after the Council of *Nice*, and *St. Athanasius* succeeded him immediately. *St. Epiphanius* says in *Harcl.* 68. and 69. that *Achillas* was chosen by the Catholics after the Death of *Alexander*, and *Theodos* by the *Melitanis*, and that *Athanasius* was ordain'd three Months after. But all this Story is fabulous, because *Achillas* was Bishop of *Alexandria* before *Alexander*, and all Historians testify that *St. Athanasius* succeeded *Alexander* immediately. *St. Athanasius* says as much expressly in his 2d. Apology.

Or rather *Melitanis*. Their Leader is call'd by all the Ancients *Melitus*, and never *Melitanis*.

For having sacrific'd to Idols. *St. Athanasius* testifies, that this was the Occasion of the Schism of *Melitanis*, which is much more credible than what *St. Epiphanius* reports to be the Origin of this Schism, after a fabulous manner, being deceiv'd by the Memoirs of some *Melitanis*.

Thus the Bishops that favour'd *Arins*, not being able to persuade *St. Athanasius* to receive him into his Communion, no more than his followers, the *Eusebians* had written him a threatening Letter to that purpose, did for that reason accuse him of laying a New Tax upon all the Linen or Woollen Vests that the *Egyptians*, for the use of the Church of *Alexandria*, and depur'd *Ipsos*, *Endemon*, and *Calinicus*, *Melitanis* Bishops, to carry this Accusation to the Emperor. But *Abisus* and *Macarius*, Priests of *Alexandria*, being then at Court when this Accusation was brought against *St. Athanasius*, defended him, and demonstrat'd his Innocence to the Emperor *Constantine*, who thereupon wrote to *Athanasius* to come and appear before him. At that time *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, being resolv'd at any rate to ruin *St. Athanasius* at Court, caus'd these three Informers to stay there, who invented new Accusations, alleging that the Priest *Macarius* had broken a Sacred Chalice by *Athanasius's* Order, and that *Athanasius* himself had conspir'd against the Emperor, by sending a Chest full of Gold to *Philumenus* who design'd to usurp the Empire. But the Emperor himself having examin'd this Accusation in one of their Suburbs of *Nicomedia*, call'd *Psammathie*, declar'd *St. Athanasius* Innocent of those Crimes, and sent him back to *Alexandria* with a very obliging Letter in his favour. This was done in the Year 331. The Enemies of *St. Athanasius* not resting satisfied with this Judgment, the next Year renew'd the Accusation of the Chalice broken by *Macarius*, founded upon the Deposition of one *Ishyras* who call'd himself a Priest, altho' he was ordain'd by *Celsus*, who was not truly a Bishop, and therefore had not Power to give him a valid Ordination. *Ishyras* had dwelt at *Mareotis*, a Country of *Egypt*, where there was neither Bishop nor Suffragan, but only a great many *Parishes* govern'd by Priests. He had one of these Churches, which *Athanasius* understanding, sent *Macarius* to forbid him when he visited his Diocesis, to Celebrate the Divine Mysteries, and to execute any part of the Sacerdotal Function. This gave the occasion of accusing *Macarius*, that he had broken one of the Sacred Chalice, altho' he found *Ishyras* out of the Church and in his Bed. But to render *St. Athanasius* more odious, they accuse him of having put *Arsenius* to Death, who was Bishop of *Hisphe* in *Thebais*, and of the Faction of the *Melitanis*. The Emperor who had already examin'd the first Accusation, (which was likewise confounded by the Letter of *Ishyras*, who acknowledg'd, that he was forc'd to invent this Calumny,) did not take any further notice of that Article, but wrote to *Dalmatius*, to enquire into the second Accusation, concerning the Murder of *Arsenius*. This oblig'd *St. Athanasius* to search every where for this Bishop whom the *Melitanis* had hid in the Monasteries at their Devotion. And at last, he was found at *Tyre* where he was made known before *Paul* the Bishop. Then, *St. Athanasius* having given notice to *Constantine*, that his Accusers were convicted of an Impotence, the Emperor wrote to *Dalmatius*, to stop all further Process, and sent a very obliging Letter to *St. Athanasius*, wherein he exhorts him to moderation, condemns the Rage of the *Melitanis*, and promises him Protection. But for all this, the *Arian* Faction lost not their Courage, nor did they cease to contrive still new Accusations against him: Whereupon the Emperor being tormented with their continual Importunity, thought fit to call a Council, to put an end to all these Differences; which he order'd to meet at *Casarea*, in *Palestine*, where *St. Athanasius* was Summon'd to appear. But this Saint, perceiving that the Council was compos'd of his Enemies, would not appear there. His Absence, irritated the Emperor against him, who call'd another Council to meet at *Tyre*, in the year 335, and wrote to *St. Athanasius*, that he should not fail to come there, which he did in such Terms, as might make him sensible, that he was not satisfi'd with his Conduct. *St. Athanasius* was forc'd to appear there in the quality of a Criminal; but he answer'd the Accusation of the Murder of *Arsenius*, by producing him before the Council. *Ruffinus*, says, That they still went on to accuse *St. Athanasius*, by a Woman of an ill Life, who was presently convicted of being a Cheat, because she took for him a Deacon call'd *Timotheus*, who feign'd himself to be *Athanasius*. But this History which is supported by no other Authority, but that of *Ruffinus*, appears very doubtful, because neither *St. Athanasius* nor the Council of *Alexandria*, which relates exactly all the Calumnies and Forgeries which were invented against *St. Athanasius*, say any thing of it, which they had never omitted, if it had been propos'd. There were some other wandering Reports alleg'd against him, but wanting Proof, they insist'd upon that of the Chalice, which was suppos'd to be broken by *Macarius*; and to inquire into this Crime, they sent Six Bishops to *Mareotis*, who were very resolute against *St. Athanasius*, who heard many Witnesses to this purpose, in spite of all the Protections of the Clergy of *Mareotis* and *Alexandria*. In the mean time, *St. Athanasius* retires, and appeals to the Emperor; but the Synod condemns and deposes him upon the Information at *Mareotis*. This was no sooner done, but a Letter was brought from the Emperor, directed to the Bishops of the Council, to come presently to *Jerusalem*, to Celebrate the Dedication of a Church. In the mean time, *St. Athanasius* arrives at *Constantinople*, and desires Audience of the Emperor to justify himself: But this was not granted, and all that he could obtain, was an Order, wherein the Emperor lends for the Bishops that had condemn'd him, to come to Court, and give an Account to him of their Proceedings. But instead of coming in a Body, they sent only *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* with Five other Deputies, who without saying any thing of the former Accusations fram'd against *St. Athanasius*, accus'd him now of having threaten'd to hinder the Exportation of Corn from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*. The Emperor was so provok'd by this Accusation, that without hearing *St. Athanasius*, he banish'd him presently to *Triers*, a City in *Gaul*; but would not suffer his Bishoprick to be fill'd.

After the Death of *Constantine the Great*, the Three *Cæsars* his Sons, *Constantine*, *Constantius* and *Coffianus*, permitted all the Banish'd Bishops to return to their Churches. *St. Athanasius* was sent back to *Alexandria* with Letters from *Constantine*, after he had been a Year and some Months in



Exile. This Emperor praises St. Athanasius in his Letter, and says, That his Father would not have Banished him, but that the *Eusebians* had a design upon his Life, and that he had intended to recall him before his Death. He was no sooner return'd to Alexandria, but his ancient Enemies attack him anew: They say, That since his Return, he had stir'd up Sedition in the City, and caus'd some Persons to be put in Prison, and others to be us'd harshly: but they chiefly insisted upon his Deposition by the Synod, alleging that he was incapable, according to the Canons, of returning to his Church, or performing his Episcopal Function, till he was restor'd by another Synod. They insinuated themselves into the favour of *Constantius*, and moreover accuse St. Athanasius of Selling and taking Money for the Corn, which the Emperor had given to be distributed among the Poor, and the Widows of Alexandria. This Accusation drew upon St. Athanasius a very sharp Letter from the Emperor. And the *Eusebians* not contented to have *Constantius* on their side, would also have gain'd the other two *Cæsars*, and therefore wrote to them against St. Athanasius, but they fail'd of their aim, and were refus'd. They endeavour'd also to render Pope Julius favourable to them, by offering him the Arbitration of all their differences with St. Athanasius. But this Pope having accepted their offer, and Summon'd them to come to a Council, they refus'd it. In the mean time, St. Athanasius was absolv'd by a Synod of almost a Hundred Egyptian Bishops in the Year 339, who gave an Authentic Testimony of his Innocence in all the Heads of his Accusation. On the other side, the *Eusebians* assembled a Council at Antioch in 341, where after they had made a new Creed different from that of Nice, they resolv'd to send a Bishop to Alexandria: for which end, they first pitched upon *Eusebius of Emesa*; but he refusing, they chose one Gregory, and went to find out the Emperor, and pray'd that this Gregory might be sent to Alexandria. St. Athanasius having only heard of this Choice, withdrew to Rome in the Year 341; where he was kindly receiv'd by Pope Julius, who admitted him to Communion, and sent presently Legates with Letters to *Eusebius*, and the other Bishops, to cite them to Rome. But the *Eusebians* did not come at the day which Julius had appointed them, detain'd his Legates till the Month of January 342, and sent Gregory to Alexandria, who made himself Master of that Church by force, and us'd those of Athanasius's Party very ill. While the *Eusebians* thus desolated the Church of Alexandria, the Pope held a Council at Rome in the Church of Vito the Presbyter towards the end of the Year 341. There all the Accusations of the *Eusebians* against St. Athanasius were examin'd, he himself was justify'd, declar'd Innocent by all the Bishops of the Council, and continued in Ecclesiastical Communion: but they determin'd nothing particularly about his Restauration to the See of Alexandria. The Eastern Bishops after a long delay at last made answer, towards the Beginning of the Year 342, by the Pope's Legates whom they sent back, excusing themselves because of the War of the Persians, that they could not come to Rome at the Day that he had appointed, and blaming Julius for receiving Athanasius into Communion after he was condemn'd, and for hearing a Cause after it had been already determin'd. This Letter was written by a Synod of Antioch, held almost a Year after that which we have mention'd: And that which perplexes this Part of History to this Day, is the want of distinguishing these two Councils of Antioch, or the placing them at different times. Julius having received this Letter, took some time before he answer'd it, thinking that somebody at least would come from the Eastern Bishops, but nobody coming, he wrote them a long Letter*, which is set down by St. Athanasius; wherein he gives an account of all his Proceedings, and reprehends theirs with great sharpness.

The Cause of St. Athanasius continued in this State till the Council of Sardica, Summon'd by the Emperours in the Year 347. The Bishops of the East and the West met there; but those of the East

would not assist at the Council, unless St. Athanasius, Marcellus of Ancyra, and the other Bishops depos'd by them, would appear as Criminals and Persons Excommunicated, and those of the West St. Athanasius would not agree to this Condition: Whereupon the former withdrew, and the latter being left alone to the number of a Hundred, or thereabouts, pronounc'd the Sentence of Absolution of Athanasius, of Marcellus of Ancyra, and the other Bishops that had been condemn'd, restor'd them to their Dignities, and condemn'd their Principal Adversaries: while the Bishops of the East on the other side, being Assembled at Philippopolis, wrote against those Bishops whom they condemn'd, and Excommunicated Julius, Hosius, and the other Zealous Partisans of St. Athanasius. Things being at this pass, there was no Security for St. Athanasius to return to the East, without the Authority of the Emperor *Constantius*, who was Lord of that Part of the World, and therefore he stay'd then at Naisse, a City of Dacia, till *Constantius* commanded him to come to Aquileia, and granted him his Restoration.

The Death of Gregory, which happen'd in the Year 348, came very seasonably to remove the chief Obstacle of Athanasius's Return: For then, either because *Constantius* knew his Innocence, and the Malice of his Accusers, or because he was desir'd to do so by his Brother, he would not suffer any to be ordain'd Bishop of Alexandria, and recall'd St. Athanasius who was gone from Aquileia to Rome, to take his Farewell, of the Church of that City and its Bishop, and was come from thence to find out *Constantius*, and pray him to call his Enemies before him, that he might convict them in his Presence. The Emperor would do no such thing, but only sent him back to Alexandria, with Letters directed to the Bishops of Egypt, to the Clergy and the People of Alexandria, to which he adjoynd two Edicts to abrogate and annul all that had been done against this holy Bishop. St. Athanasius returning triumphantly with these Letters, was receiv'd even by the Bishops that had been less favourable to him: and two of his greatest Enemies, *Orsacius* and *Valens*, seem'd to be outwardly reconcil'd to him. The Emperor *Constantius*, Athanasius's Patron, dying in the Month of February, 350, he had some jealousie left *Constantius* should renew that Persecution which he had already made him suffer. But the Emperor sent him word, that he should not trouble himself on that account; That he design'd to keep him always in his See, and forbade his Enemies to attack him. Thus Athanasius, who was not yet enter'd within his Diocese, arriv'd there at last in the Month of March, 350, where he was receiv'd with the Publick Rejoicing of the Bishops of Egypt, his Clergy, and all the People. But he enjoy'd this Repose but a few Years, which seem'd to be granted him for ever; for after the Year 354, the Emperor *Constantius* sent a Courier of his to the City of Alexandria with Letters to him, wherein he gives him leave to retire from Alexandria, supposing that he had desir'd it. St. Athanasius feeling that this Order was founded upon a False Supposition, was of opinion, that he ought not for this to go out of Alexandria. Twenty six Months after, *Diogenes* comes to Alexandria, and spreads a Report that the Emperor had given Order to drive away St. Athanasius from this City; but since *Diogenes* brought no Letters from the Emperor, St. Athanasius made Answer, that he should either show him a Letter from the Emperor, commanding him to depart from Alexandria, or at least, that the Governour of Egypt, or General of the Army, should deliver him an Order in writing to this purpose. Twenty three Days after, *Syrrianus*, General of the Army in Egypt, enter'd with his Souldiers into the Church, on the 27th of January, 356, abus'd the Clergy, the People and the Virgins that were there assembled. During this Tumult, St. Athanasius being carried out by some Monks, sav'd himself and retir'd into a Desert. *Constantius*, understanding what had pass'd, sent an Edict to those of Alexandria, wherein he approves what was done against St. Athanasius, and exhorts the Youth to pursue him. The Count *Heraclius* publish'd this Edict, and encouraged some lewd young Men of Alexandria, who enter'd into the Churches, beat all those they met with, tore the Veils, the Seats and the Ornaments, and broke the Episcopal Chair in pieces, with such Violence, that none could check those Disorders: which were yet further heighten'd upon the Arrival of *George*, who was ordain'd Bishop of Alexandria by the Enemies of St. Athanasius. For this Man being come into the City of Alexandria some Days before Easter, enter'd forcibly into the Church, and caus'd all those that were for St. Athanasius to be driven away. Who meeting together in the Coemeterie and the desert Places, for the Celebration of the Divine Mysteries on Easter Day, and the following Sunday, were driven from thence and beaten by the Souldiers; nay, and some of them lost their Lives. In short, because the Bishops of Egypt and Libya, were all for St. Athanasius, they drove away Eighty of them, and sent Six into banishment. These outrages were Authoriz'd by the Letter which *Constantius* wrote to the Alexandrians, in which he declares against St. Athanasius, and enjoins them to obey *George*. Thus it was impossible for St. Athanasius to return into the City of Alexandria, and therefore he was forc'd to lie hid in the Desert, where he compos'd many Books.

After the Death of *Constantius*, Julian the Apostate became Master of the Empire, who taking no side in the Disputes of Religion that were among the Christians, permitted all the exil'd Bishops to return to their Country. It happen'd at the same time, that *George*, who had intruded himself into the Church of Alexandria, was kill'd in a popular Sedition in the Year 362. His Death facilitated the Return of St. Athanasius to the City of Alexandria, and his Restauration to his See in that City. When he was return'd, he assembled a Council to regulate the manner of receiving the *Arians*, who had a desire to return into the bosom of the Church, and to compose some Differences which had happen'd in the Church of Antioch. But he could not long employ himself for the good of the Church, for the Pagans having render'd him odious to the Emperor *Julian*, he sent an Order, directed to those of Alexandria, importing that Athanasius should depart from their City, because he had only permitted the

* Retir'd into a Desert. Sozomen and Rufinus says, that he retir'd into a Desert, and continued in it, where he was hid in a Cistern, but Athanasius there ever after.

Exil'd

^b A Year and some Months in Exile. Theodoret B. II. Ch. 1. says, that he was there two Years and four Months, but he is mistaken; for he was sent into Banishment at the End of the Year 336, and was restor'd again June 15, 337, before the Sons of *Constantine* had taken upon them the Title of Emperors.

^c Withdrew to Rome in the Year 341. Baronius makes him go in the Year 339, and supposes he was twice there; but *Valesius* has very well prov'd, that he was but once there, since he mentions but one Voyage. When he withdrew, he had only heard of the Ordination of Gregory, and the Persecution which was preparing against him and his Church, as he himself says in these Words, *παύειν αὐτόν*.

^d Till the Month of January 342. For so it must be read in the Letter of Julius, and not as Baronius thought.

^e In the Church of Vito the Presbyter. So the Words of Julius must be understood, *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ βίτου* ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ βίτου, which are ill-translated in these Words: In the Church where Vito the Presbyter assembled them: For he did not assemble the Bishops but the People, according to the common Phrase, *colligere Populum*, to hold a publick Assembly of the People in the Church. St. Irenæus says, *qui præterquam quod oportet colligunt*, which is spoken of Schismaticks; who made Assemblies out of the true Church.

^m Towards the end of the Year 341. Valesius thinks that the Council of Rome was not held till the Year 342, after the Return of the Legates: But Julius says plainly, that the Bishops of Italy met at the Day appointed, and that the Legates were detain'd a long time after till the Month of January, in the Year 342.

ⁿ They determin'd nothing particularly about his Restauration. Julius and St. Athanasius say expressly, that he was only assur'd of that at Communion which had been granted him, and that his Enemies complain'd of nothing else.

^o He wrote them a long Letter. Valesius thinks that this Letter was written by the Council, but that cannot be; for the Pope's Legates were return'd when it was written, and they were detain'd in the East after the Day appointed for the Council, as we have already noted. It does not at all appear by this Letter, whatever Valesius says, that the Legates were return'd when it was written: On the contrary it is evident that the Council was held on the Day prefix'd, and that the Legates were then in the East. And therefore to reconcile these things, it must be said, that the Letter was written after the Council, although by Order of the Council, which had charg'd Julius to write his Decision, and to answer the 151. Letter from the Eastern Bishops, but not the 2d, which was not yet arriv'd.

would

Exil'd Bishops to return into their Country, but not to re-enter upon their Sees. The People of Alexandria, who lov'd St. Athanasius extremely, sent Deputies to the Emperor, to pray him, that he would not force him out of Alexandria: But this Message only provoked the Emperor against him, who thereupon presently banish'd him, not only from Alexandria, but also from all Egypt. It is said also, That he gave Secret Orders to put him to Death. St. Athanasius having heard this News, fled beyond the River Nile: And 'tis reported, That he was follow'd by those that were sent to stop him, and he returning the same way that they pursu'd him, met them on the Road, but when they enquir'd if he had seen Athanasius, one of his Company answer'd, That he was not far off, and if they would make haste, they might overtake him; and to having deluded them, he return'd to Alexandria. But be this as it will, 'tis certain, That he lay conceal'd till the Reign of Julian a Christian Prince, who succeeded Julian.

In the Year 363, this Emperor came and found him with some other Bishops of Egypt, at the City of Antioch, where they held a kind of a Synod; and there they drew up a Letter which was address'd to the Emperor, wherein they propos'd to him the Nicene Creed, as the Rule of Orthodox Faith, and condemn'd those that denied the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

St. Athanasius was also persecuted under the Reign of Valens, who being baptiz'd in 367, by Eudoxus, an Arian Bishop of Constantinople, made an Edict, wherein he ordains, That all the Bishops that had been depos'd under Constantius, should be forc'd away from their Sees. The Governour of Egypt having receiv'd this Edict, prepar'd to put it in Execution against St. Athanasius, but was hinder'd by the People. In the mean time, this Saint fearing lest he should be seiz'd, (as they really intended to do afterwards) and seeing the Commotions of the People appeas'd, retir'd to the Country into the Sepulchre of his Fathers, and lay there conceal'd for the space of Four Months; but Valens was oblig'd to recall him. We are inform'd by the 47th Letter of St. Basil, That at this time St. Athanasius had some Difference with the Governour of Libya, whom he Excommunicated; but we know nothing of the occasion of this Quarrel. At last, St. Athanasius, after so many Revolutions and Persecutions, did happily end the course of this troublesome Life, in the Year 373 of Jesus Christ, after he had been Bishop of Alexandria more than 48 Years. And thus I have given you in a few words the History of this Saint, taken out of his own Works, and the Authors that wrote either his Life, or the History of his time: Let us now give an Account of his Writings.

St. Athanasius was one of those Authors who were forc'd to write, and were engag'd to take Pen in hand, rather by an Obligation to defend themselves, than upon any design to make Books; and therefore the greatest Part of his Books, are either Apologies to justify himself, or Invectives against his Enemies, or Treatises of Controversy against the Errors of the Arians. They are all written in the form of Letters, a way of Writing which is most simple in the Composure, and at the same time most natural, and most proper for one that is in a place of Retirement.

There is great probability, that his Two Treatises against the Gentiles, were the first which he compos'd, because he does not there attack the Arians, as he does in all the other Books which he made, after he had any personal Differences with them. The last of these Two Books, is entituled at present, Concerning the Incarnation, and Theodoret cites it under that Name; but St. Jerom gives them both the Title of, *Treatises against the Gentiles*, and indeed, they are both written rather to Convert Pagans, than to Instruct Christians.

The next Work of St. Athanasius, after these Two Treatises, is his Apologeticus to the Emperor Constantius, which he wrote sometime after he was forc'd away from Alexandria, in the Year 356. He wrote also the same Year, Two Letters upon the Persecution which the Christians of

Alexandria suffer'd, when George took Possession of that Episcopate See. The First which was address'd to the Bishops of Egypt, is improperly call'd *The first Discourse against the Arians*. The Second is written to all the Orthodox Bishops. A little time after, he compos'd his Two Apologies in the place of his Retirement: 'Tis likewise very probable, that he wrote at that time his Four Treatises against the Arians, which he address'd to the Monks, as we learn from the beginning of his Letter to Serapion, concerning the Death of Arius. His Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life, is made up of two different Pieces: The first is a Letter written to the Monks, which is a kind of Preface to some Treatise against the Arians, and may be so to that which follows; it contains about a Page and a half, and ends at these words in Page 810. *Gratia Domini Jesu Christi sit vobiscum. Amen.* The following Treatise which was address'd to those that lead a Monastick Life, is a History of all that pass'd from the beginning of Arius's time, to the fall of Hosius and Liberius, i. e. to the Year 358. There are some Periods in the beginning, which are lost, that not only this Treatise has no Connexion with the Letter that precedes it, but also there is no Sense in the beginning of it. And I am astonish'd, to think that so many able Men should read this Book without perceiving, or at least without observing it. The Letter to Serapion, concerning the Death of Arius, was written after the Treatise which is directed to those that lead a Monastick Life, as appears by the beginning of it. The Book of Synods was compos'd in 359, before the Councils of Seleucia and Ariminum, were ended: He afterwards added in this Book, what concerns the Council of Constantinople in 360, and what is there said concerning the Death of Constantius. The two Latin Letters which are at the End of the Works of Lucifer Calaritanus, were also written under Constantius. The Letter of the Council of Alexandria, to those of Antioch, was written after the Death of that Emperor, in 362; the Letter of the Council of Antioch, under Julian, was written in 363: That which is directed to all the Bishops of Egypt and Arabia, Syria and Phoenicia, was written in 368, under the Reign of Valens; as well as that which is directed to the Africans. And the Letter to Epiphanius was written last.

There are besides, many other Works of St. Athanasius, of which the Chronology is not known, which it concerns us to distinguish well from those that are doubtful or supposititious. These Works are in the first Volume. The Homily upon these Words, *My Father hath given me all things*, p. 149. The Epistle to Adelphius, p. 155. That to Maximus, p. 162. Two Letters to Serapion, to prove, that deon and the Holy Spirit are not Creatures, p. 166, and 173. An Exposition of the Faith, p. 240. A Letter concerning the History of the Decision of the Council of Nice, p. 248. A Letter of the Judgment of Dionysius of Alexandria upon the Trinity, p. 548. A Treatise of the Union of the

de Arians, was ordain'd by Eusebius; and Eusebius was crucifix'd dead in George's time: But 'tis easy to answer this Difficulty, for 'tis not in the Greek Editions, but in the Latin Editions, which is the Name that St. Athanasius commonly gives to his Persecutors. St. Athanasius seems to say, that he was at Alexandria when this Trouble happen'd; but 'tis well known, that he was out of the City when George came thither, since he with-drew before Easter, and George did not thrust himself into those Churches till that time. To which I answer, That Athanasius does not say, that he was at Alexandria, when George arriv'd there, but only when Philagius publish'd the Edict against him. Lastly, 'tis observ'd, that 'tis said towards the end of this Letter, that they would have a Council assembled at Rome in the preceding Year; but the Roman Church, say they, was not then in a Condition to have assembled in the Year 356, because Liberius was then in Exile. As to this Objection is easily destroy'd, for Liberius and the other Bishops of Italy had many times desired the assembling of a Council. 1. By their Legates sent to Milan in 354. 2. In 355, before Liberius went from Rome. And, 3. When he was come to Court: St. Athanasius therefore might say truly in 356, that those of Rome had desired a Council the Year before. The Letter to the Egyptians was written before George arriv'd at Alexandria, for there he is mention'd as one ready to be sent thither, p. 250, and he is describ'd as one that was not yet known to the Egyptians. There George is mention'd as a Bishop alive; but he was swallow'd up by an Earthquake which destroy'd Nicomedia in 358. Thre Liberius and Hosius are mention'd with Commendation, who fell away in 357. Baronius objects Two Things to prove that it was not written till 360. 1st Because it is said there, that it was now 36 Years since the Arians were declar'd Heretics: 2dly, because mention is made in it of a Creed which they would have sign'd; but we read of none, that there was at this time. In Answer, to the 1st Objection it may be said, that the Figures are wrong, or rather

that we must count the 36 Years from the 1st Synod held by Alexander against the Arians. 'Tis more easy to answer the 2d, by saying, That the Arian Bishops might make a Creed when they sent George; besides that, Athanasius says only that he heard say, they had made one, and not that they had done it. Be it as it will, this 1st Treatise against the Arians is a Letter to the Bishops of Egypt, which has nothing of Affinity with the Subject and Matter of the other Four: The Oration that follows begins as a new Discourse, and St. Cyril cites a Passage out of the 3d Book of Athanasius concerning the Trinity, which is found in that which is now call'd the 4th, and Theodoret cites one taken out of the Second, which is now in the 3d. [The Book of Synods was compos'd in 359.] This is evident, because he does not finish the History of the Council of Ariminum, concluding with the Nomination of the 1st Deputies which were sent to the Emperor; and at the End he adds the Letter of Constantius, and the generous Answer of the Bishops, which he had learn'd afterwards. He speaks always of that Council as a thing present, and with Commendation; and he says nothing more of what pass'd at Constantinople after the Council of Seleucia. This Book is probably that which St. Jerom says, St. Athanasius had written against Ursacius and Valens, unless we should rather say, that it was a Work subjoin'd to his Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life.

As well as that which is directed to the Africans. This is to the Bishops of the Western Africa, and not to those of Cyrenack, as Baronius thought, who says, that these Letters were written under the Pontificate of Damasus. And the Letter to Epiphanius was written last. 'Tis observed in this Letter, that Auxentius and the other Arians, were anathematiz'd by the Councils of France, Spain and Rome. St. Cyril says that it was corrupted, but that which we now have, agrees with that which is related by the Emperor.

^a At the City of Antioch, where they held a kind of a Synod. 'Tis commonly thought that this Synod was held at Alexandria: But Valens has well observ'd, that the Beginning of the Letter shows, that it was written by the Bishops, deputed from the Provinces of Egypt, who were come to Antioch, where the Emperor was at that time.

^b In the Year 373 of Jesus Christ. Proterius Bishop of Alexandria, places the Death of St. Athanasius in this Year, in a Letter to St. Leo; and St. Jerom says, that Peter of Alexandria was chosen the same Year. These Authors are more credible than Sozomen, Rufinus and St. Cyril, who place it in the Year 371.

^c The next Work of St. Athanasius, after these two Treatises, is his Apologeticus. This was compos'd immediately, after his Retiring. Which he did with a Design to speak it in the Presence of Constantius: But understanding the Mischiefs he had done to those that favour'd him, he thought it not safe to come near him. His Two Apologies and his Epistle to those that lead a Monastick Life, were written after this, where he speaks with much Sharpness and Freedom against Constantius, particularly, in his Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life.

^d He wrote also the same Year, Two Letters. I say that these Two Letters were written a little while after the Enthroning of George, though I know Baronius is of Opini-

on, that the 1st, was written a long time before, when Gregory seiz'd upon the Church of Alexandria, and that the 2d, was written in 361, but this Opinion is not defensible. As to the 1st, Baronius was deceiv'd by the Version, where he found sometimes the Name of Gregory, and sometimes that of George; but this Confusion is avoided in the Greek, where one may always find the Name of George, when mention is made of him that came to intrude into the Church of Alexandria: But that which can never be answer'd, is, That George is mention'd there as one that had been condemn'd long ago, and was no more. See the Place, p. 548. For ever all the Churches in the World had condemn'd Gregory, whom the Arians had formerly call'd George their Bishop; yet the same Arians presently call'd George their Bishop. Here you see how Gregory and George are well distinguish'd. We may add to this Authority, That the Circumstances related in this Letter agree with the Enthroning of George, and not at all with that of Gregory. It may be alleg'd for the Opinion of Baronius, 1. That 'tis said in the Letter, Philagius the Governour of Egypt introduc'd him, who is there spoken of, and 'tis very well known, that Philagius carried Gregory to Alexandria: But I cannot see why he might not as well be employ'd to conduct George thither likewise. 2. 'Tis alleg'd, that 'tis said in the Letter, that he was sent to Alexandria by Alexandria

St. Athanasius.

Humane Nature to the Word, which is cited by *Theodoret*, under the Name of, *A Book against the Arians*, p. 595. Two Books of the Incarnation, against *Apollinaris*, p. 614, 633. A Treatise against the Followers of *Sabellius*, p. 650. An Epistle to *John* and to *Antioch*, p. 951. An Epistle to *Paladius*, p. 952. An Epistle to *Dracianus*, p. 955. An Epistle to *Marcellinus*, concerning the Interpretation of the *Psalms*, p. 959. The Homily of the Sabbath and Circumcision, p. 964. A Treatise upon the Words of Jesus Christ, *Whosoever shall be guilty of blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, nor in that which is to come*, p. 970.

In the second Volume, there are few of his Genuine Works; but here follow those which we own. Two Letters to *Serapion*, concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, p. 10, and 16. A short Discourse against the *Arians*, p. 12. The Conferences of St. Athanasius with the *Arians*, in the presence of *Jovian*, from p. 27, to p. 29. An Epistle to *Ammon*, p. 35. A Fragment of one, p. 39. A Festal Epistle, p. 38. An Epistle to *Rufinian*, p. 40. A Book of the Abridgment of the Holy Scripture, p. 55. All these Works, whereof some are cited by the Ancients, agree well enough with the Style of St. Athanasius; and they contain nothing in my Opinion, which gives just cause to suspect them of Forgery.*

There is not any of the other Works, that bear the Name of St. Athanasius, besides those which we have already mention'd, that is Genuine, but they are all either manifestly Supposititious, or very doubtful.

The Treatise which has this Title, *That there is but one Jesus Christ*, altho' it be ancient, yet is not written by St. Athanasius. For, first, This Author places *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, amongst the Heretics, whereas St. Athanasius always communicated with him as a Catholic Bishop, even in the last Years of his Life, as appears by the Letters of St. Basil, which complain of St. Athanasius upon this occasion. Secondly, The Author of this Treatise, acknowledges but one only *Hypostasis* in Jesus Christ, whereas St. Athanasius always took this Word, rather to signify the Nature, than to denote the Person.**

For this last Reason we ought also to reject the little Treatise of the Incarnation against *Paulus Samosatensis*, which is in the First Volume of St. Athanasius, p. 591. because the Author of it owns three *Hypostases* in the Trinity.

The Refutation of the Hypocritise of *Meletius*, is rather the Work of *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, or some of his Party, than of St. Athanasius, who was neither so conceited of the Notion of three *Hypostases*, nor so transported with anger against *Meletius*, as the Author of this Treatise was.

* Which gives just cause to suspect them of Forgery. Yet there is some Doubt, of some of those Works which are mention'd in this Place; but the Conjectures which are alleg'd have little Solidity. Some have doubted of the Letters to *Serapion*, but these are written in the Style of St. Athanasius. The two which are in the 2d. Volume, are an Abridgment of the 2d. which is in the 1st. Volume. The Exposition of Faith which is in p. 240. of the 1st. Volume, is cited by *Facundus*, B. XI. Ch. 6. The Treatise of the Union of the humane Nature is cited by *Theodoret* in his 2d. and 3d. Dialogue; And fo it cannot be deny'd, that it is St. Athanasius's, especially since it has his Style, altho' the Author of St. Athanasius's Life affirms the contrary. The 2d. B. of the Incarnation against *Apollinaris*, no ways doubtful; but the 1st. call'd in question, which is more obscure and less methodical: Yet *Leontius* B. II. against *Eusebius*, cites the 2d. under the Name of the 2d. Treatise of St. Athanasius against *Apollinaris*. The Letter to *Marcellinus* about the Interpretation of the *Psalms*, is in all Probability that of St. Jerom and *Callistrudus* call a Treatise of the Titles of the *Psalms*, because it contains the Subject and Argument of every Psalm. The Epistle to *Serapion* of the Death of *Arius*, is cited by the Ancient Historians. The Homily of the Sabbath and of Circumcision is not wholly of St. Athanasius's Style, but the Difference is very inconsiderable. Some have doubted of the Treatise upon the Words, *Whosoever shall speak Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him*, but unjustly, for this Treatise has not only the Style of St. Athanasius, but also is prov'd to be really his, because *Goltius* in *Plinius* Cod. 222. testifies, that St. Athanasius had many times cited *Theognostus*, who is not found cited but in this Book, and in the Treatise of the Judgment of *Dionys* of *Alexandria*. And, lastly, because the Treatise which we now discourse of, is cited in the Council of *Lateran*, held under *Martin* the 1st. in the Year 549. I think we ought not to reject the Conferences of St. Athanasius with the *Arians* before *Jovian*. 'Tis certain that St. Athanasius came to find out this Emperor; and *Philorgius* says, that the *Arians* came to accuse St.

Athanasius in his Presence. Moreover, they are written with great Simplicity, and appear to be very Ancient. *Severus* doubts of the Letter to *Ammon*, because it prefers *Calixtus* to Marriage, alleging that St. Athanasius taught the contrary in his Letter to *Dracianus*: But he was mistaken. The Fragment of the 35th. Festal Epistle ought to be receiv'd as undoubtedly his, after St. Jerom's Testimony, who says, that St. Athanasius wrote those Letters which bear his Name. I say the same of the Abridgment of the Holy Scripture, which is upon the same Subject with this Festal Epistle, and has the same Opinions of the Canonical Writers. Some doubt of this last Treatise; 1. because the Author calls *Lucian*, who was a Ring-leader of the *Arians*, a holy Martyr. 2. Because he does not reckon the Book, entituled *Paulus*, among useful Books, as the 35th. Letter, and in his Book of the *Nicene Synod*. But 'tis easy to answer these Conjectures. As to the 1st. That St. Athanasius did not think that *Lucian* was of the same Opinion that *Arius* had afterwards, or that knowing he died in the Bosom of the Church, he thought that he ought not to condemn him: Or *lastly*, that he cited him as commonly he had been accusom'd to cite him. As to the 2d. That he says nothing of the Truth of the Book entituled *Paulus*, but neither does he reject it as a wicked Book, and by Consequence there can nothing be built upon this Conjecture.

** St. Athanasius always took this Word, rather to signify the Nature, than to denote the Person. The Council of *Nice* seems to have taken the Word *Hypostasis* in this Sense, when it condemns those who say, that the Word is another *Hypostasis*, or Substance. St. Athanasius says often in his 5th. Oration, that the Father and the Son are one *Hypostasis* only; and in his Letter to the *Africans*, That the *Hypostasis* is the Substance. In short, though the Synod of *Alexandria* was perswaded that this Difference concern'd not Matters of Faith, yet they approv'd more the Opinion of those who take *Hypostasis* for Nature.

The

St. Athanasius.

The Book of Virginity** has nothing of the Style of St. Athanasius, and it contains some Precepts very remote from the Genius and Discipline of his time. There is a Difference between him that wrote upon this Subject, who is cited by *Theodoret*, and him whom St. Jerom mentions.

The Treatise of Testimonies drawn from the Holy Scriptures, to prove the Essential Unity of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, is none of St. Athanasius's. 1. Because the Author there relates some Passages of the Questions to *Antiochus*, which were written a long time after St. Athanasius, as we shall see hereafter. 2. The Style of this Treatise is very different from that of St. Athanasius. 3. He uses childish Expressions, and gives impertinent Definitions of Angels and Men.

The Homily of the Annunciation, or of the Virgin, is also written by a later Author than St. Athanasius. 1. Because he expressly refutes the Error of *Nestorius*, and that of the *Monothelites*; and yet neither St. Cyril, nor any other Catholicick Author, alleges this Book against those Heretics. 2. In explaining the Doctrine of the Church, he uses such Terms, as were not in use till after the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians* time; as when he says, That he acknowledges two Natures in Jesus Christ, *without Confusion or Mixture, without Change or Division*, Terms which were not us'd till after the Council of *Ephesus*. 3. He detests the Error of those that call'd Jesus Christ, a Man-bearing God, an expression which St. Athanasius did not reject, and the Ancients sometimes made use of, and which was not condemn'd till after *Nestorius* had abus'd it. 4. He gives a ridiculous Etymology of the Greek Word *ina*, by saying, that it comes from *isa*, which is not a Greek word.

The Life of St. Syncretica***, publish'd in Latin, by *Bollandus*, and in Greek, by the Learned *Cotelerius*, in his First Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, is suspected of falshood, because nobody mentions it before *Nicephorus*; and in some Manuscripts, 'tis ascrib'd to a Monk nam'd *Polye*; besides that, it has nothing of the Style of St. Athanasius.

The Life of St. Anthony has better Authority***; for St. Jerom and St. Gregory *Nazianzen*, say positively, That St. Athanasius wrote the History of the Life of this Father of Monks; but still 'tis doubted, whether that which we now have, be not different from that which was known to these Ancients. *Euseb* and other Protestant Critics, being Enemies of all those Books which concern Monks, boldly reject this Life, as a supposititious Work. But their Reasons are not wholly convincing, and all the Circumstances of the Life of St. Anthony, related by the Ancients, are to be found in this Book, and therefore I think it very probable that this was St. Athanasius's, altho' something might be added or chang'd in it, as it often happen'd to Books of this nature.

The Creed which bears the Name of St. Athanasius***, pass'd a long time without any Contradiction, and a Work which was truly this Father's; and yet, now all the World agrees, that 'twas none of his,

the Book of Virginity.] This Book is written in a low Style, and contains Precepts about the Quality of the childlike Clothes of Virgins: There are in it Expressions unworthy of St. Athanasius, as when he calls a Virgin, the Dancer of Jesus Christ. *Theodoret*, B. II. of his Hist. Ch. 4. cites a Passage out of a Book of St. Athanasius address'd to Virgins, which is not to be found in this Treatise; which shows that this is not the genuine Treatise of St. Athanasius.

the Life of St. Syncretica.] 'Tis cited as St. Athanasius's by *Nicetas Callistus*, and there is a Manuscript of it which bears his Name; but in another 'tis ascrib'd to a Monk nam'd *Polye*, which is very likely to be true: For the Style is unworthy of St. Athanasius. It is full of childish Comparisons, which are to be met with almost in every Period, and agree much better to a Monk, than to St. Athanasius.

the Life of St. Anthony has better Authority.] 'Tis alleg'd against this Life, to prove that it is not St. Athanasius's, that this Saint relates the Death of *Balaam*, after another manner than it is related in this Life. For St. Athanasius says, in his Epistle to those that lead a Monastick Life, That the Letter of St. Athanasius was written to *Gregory*, who gave it to *Balaam*; whereas in the Life of St. Anthony, it is said, that this Letter was address'd to *Balaam* himself. 2dly, 'Tis reported in the Life of St. Anthony, that *Balaam* was killed by *Nestorius* the Governour of Egypt's Horse, who accompanied him: Whereas St. Athanasius says, that the Horse upon which *Balaam* rode, did bite him: But these Differences are of little Consequence, and the same Author may relate differently such kind of little Circumstances, either through the Fault of his Memory, or because he is better inform'd at one time than another. The Difference of Style which is to be met with, between this Letter and the other Works of St. Athanasius, gives us more Trouble. But it may be, that the proportion'd his Style in this Life, both to the Matter, and the Capacity of the Monks for whom he

wrote it. This is certain, the Ancients do testify, that St. Athanasius wrote the Life of St. Anthony, and all that they report of it, is found to agree with what is said in that Book which we now have. See St. Christof. Homil. 8. on *Matth.* St. *Austin* in his *Confessions*, *Paladius Hist. Laus*, Ch. 8. *Socrates Lib. I. c. 17.* and *Lib. IV. c. 14.* All which makes me think, that 'tis not convenient to reject it.

the Creed which bears the Name of St. Athanasius.] The Reasons that convince me that this Creed is none of St. Athanasius's, are these. 1. Because 'twas not known till the Sixth Century. 2. Because St. Athanasius never would make a Confession of Faith, nor a Creed, being persuaded he ought to keep to that of *Nice*. 3. Because this Creed rejects to plainly the Errors of the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, and *Monothelites*, that 'tis easy to perceive, 'twas made since those Heretics, on purpose to reject their Errors. 4. The Style and Terms do plainly show, that this Creed was made by a Latin, and not by a Greek, Author. 5. No Account can be given, upon what Occasion, at what Time, and for what Reason, St. Athanasius should make this Creed. See *Vossius* in his Book *De Tribus Symbolis*. 6. It appears by the Terms, that 'twas the Work of a Latin Author. 7. 'Tis not found among the ancient Manuscripts of St. Athanasius. 'Twas made since the Council of *Chalcedon*, as the Reasons we have now given do clearly prove. 'Tis cited in the Council of *Arim*, in the Year 679, and there we read in the Fourth Council of *Toledo*, in 633, some Phrases which seem to be taken out of this Creed. But it must be confess'd, that this last Council does not say, That they were taken out of the Creed of St. Athanasius, and that there is no certainty, that this Canon of the Council of *Arim*, where mention is made of St. Athanasius's Creed, is so ancient, as we have said, since it is not found among the Canons of that Council under *Leodegarius*; but there is a Collection of these Canons taken out of the Library of the Monastery of St. Benignus of *Dijon*, *Hincmar* but

but some Authors that liv'd a long time after him. 'Tis not certainly known who it is; some have attributed it to some French; others, as Father *Quessel*, think that 'tis written by *Vigilius Tapsenfus*, who liv'd towards the End of the Fifth Age of the Church. Howsoever this be, 'tis certain that 'twas compos'd after the Council of Chalcedon, because it rejects so formally the Errors of the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*, that 'tis evident it aims at these two Heresies.

St. *Cyril of Alexandria*, in his Book address'd to Queens, and his Defence of the Eighth Anathema-tism, cites a Confession of Faith under the Name of St. *Athanasius*, about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, which is still found among the Works of this Father, in the Second Vol. P. 30. St. *John de Mafceus*, B. III. Of the *Orthodox Faith*, Ch. 6. and *Theodorians*, attribute it to St. *Athanasius*. *Basil of Seleucia*, in the First Act of the Council of *Constantinople*, says, 'Twas reported that St. *Athanasius* was the Author of an Expression which is found in this Confession of Faith, viz. That the Word had but one Nature Incarnate. But *Leontius* in his Book of Sects, denies that St. *Athanasius* was the Author of this Sentence, and the Catholic Bishops at a Conference held at *Constantinople* against the *Severians* in the Year 533, have also rejected it, as being falsely attributed to St. *Athanasius*. And truly the Doctrine and Expressions of this Confession of Faith about the Incarnation, do not at all agree with those of St. *Athanasius* in his Books of the Incarnation; in which he does not only say nothing which may favour the Error of the *Eutychians*, but also he formally rejects it, and rather favours the contrary Opinion.

The other Works attributed to St. *Athanasius*, are yet more manifestly Supposititious, and no body almost has acknowledg'd them for Genuine. The Dispute against *Arius* ¹¹ which is in the First Volume, is a Dialogue compos'd under the Names of St. *Athanasius* and *Arius*, by some body that liv'd long after. This is plain, and all the World is agreed in't; but 'tis not known who is the Author of it. Some have attributed it to *Vigilius Tapsenfus*; but for my part, I rather believe that 'tis the Work of a Greek, than a Latin Author, and that it may well be attributed to *Maximus*.

The Letter of *Liberius* to St. *Athanasius*, and the Answer of this Saint to *Liberius* ²², agree not at all with the History of these two Bishops, and have no resemblance of their Style.

The Explication of these words of Jesus Christ to his Apostles, Go to the Village that is over against you, and there ye shall find a Colt tied ²³; the Homily upon the Passion ²⁴ of Jesus Christ, and that upon the Seed ²⁵, which are found at the End of the First Volume, have neither the Style nor the Air of St. *Athanasius*; and contain many things unworthy of him.

and *Abbo*, who liv'd about the Tenth Century; *Radulphus*, *Haimo*, *Hugo*, and some other Ancient Frenchmen have cited it as St. *Athanasius*'s. The Greeks also, as *Manuel Calceas*, Lib. 2. have made no scruple to ascribe it to him. *Pibius* thought that a Frenchman compos'd it, because the French Authors were the first that expressly cited it: and perhaps some Frenchman did draw this Creed, partly from the Council of *Toledo*, and put the Name of St. *Athanasius* to it. Father *Quessel* is of opinion, that 'twas the Work of *Vigilius Tapsenfus*, and it must be confess'd, that his Conjectures are very probable: For, 1st. This Author has forg'd many Books under the Names of the Fathers, and particularly under the Name of St. *Athanasius*. 2nd. In all his Writings he opposes the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*; and this Creed attributed to St. *Athanasius*, is directly against the Errors of those Heresies. 3rd. The same *Vigilius* made several Confessions of Faith under the Name of St. *Athanasius*. 4th. The First part of the Creed seems to be a Recapitulation of the Chapters of *Vigilius Tapsenfus*'s Book against *Victorinus*; and even in the Third Book, the Three first Chapters contain these Propositions, *Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus; Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus Spiritus Sanctus; Omnipotens Pater, Omnipotens Filius, Omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus*, which are word for word in the Creed. These are the Conjectures of Father *Quessel*, to which one may adhere so much the rather, while there is nothing to be had more certain about this Matter. Be it as it will, 'tis certainly the Work of a Latin Author, which has been since translated into Greek, which is the reason why the Greek Copies differ among themselves.

¹¹ The *Discourse* against *Arius*.] 'Tis evident that 'tis not a Conference-made in the Council, but only a fictitious Dialogue made by some body, under the Names of St. *Athanasius* and an *Arian*, and not of *Arius* for the Catholic says, that his Adversary is a Monster come out of the Sect of *Arius*. The Author of this Dialogue is so ignorant, that he thinks the Council of *Nice* was held in the Year 310.

²² The Letter of *Liberius* to St. *Athanasius*, and the Answer of this Saint to *Liberius*.] These Letters neither agree with St. *Athanasius*, nor with *Liberius*: The last to St. *Athanasius* is so written, as if there were some doubt of his being a Catholic: He requires him to Anathematize *Arius* and *Sabellius*; that I, says he, may obey your Commands. The Letter of *Liberius* and the Answer of St. *Athanasius*, are written as if they were Confessions of Faith, and they favour the Error of *Nestorius*. The Style of these two Letters is Childish and mean. The Letter attributed to *Liberius*, begins with a *Thema*. ²³ The Explication of these words of Jesus Christ, Go to the Village that is over against you, and there ye shall find a Colt tied.]] This Homily is a Fragment of some Commentary upon the Gospel. It is not the Style of St. *Athanasius*. He explains all the passages of Scripture in a mystical fence, and draws from thence Allegories, which have more of subtilty than solidity. It is very different from the Air of St. *Athanasius*, which is grave and serious; and besides, he generally interprets the Scripture in its natural fence.

²⁴ The Homily upon the Passion.] This also is not written in the Style of St. *Athanasius*; for though it be something more Sublime than the former, yet it comes not near the Gravity of this Father's Style. There are ridiculous things related in it of the Fear of Christ. 'Tis said, that he counterfeited the Fear of Death, lest the Devil should not withdraw, and that when the Devil heard him cry out, *Eli, Eli*, he had the boldness to attack him: But on the contrary, St. *Athanasius* in his Fourth Dialogue against the *Arians*, does expressly say that Jesus Christ counterfeited any Fear, and assures us, that as Man he was really afraid. The Author of this Homily disallows all Oaths, whereas St. *Athanasius* approves them upon several occasions.

²⁵ And that upon the Seed.] Or rather upon the Action of the Disciples, who ate the Ears of Corn upon the Sabbath-Day. 'Tis found only in one Manuscript, and it has nothing excellent, nor is it written in the Style of St. *Athanasius*.

The *Discourse* against *All Heresies*, which is the last Work of the First Volume of St. *Athanasius*, is confus'd, and the Style mean, as is observ'd in an Ancient Manuscript. He opposes in a few words all St. *Athanasius*. Heresies, contrary to the Custom of St. *Athanasius*, who refutes very largely all those he takes in hand. The Oration upon the Ascension of Jesus Christ, is of a Style more florid than that of St. *Athanasius*, the Phrases are forc'd and tumid, whereas St. *Athanasius* writes in a Simple and Natural Style. The Oration of *Melchisedeck* cannot be St. *Athanasius*'s, since the Author mentions the Fathers of the Council of *Nice* as dead long before.

The Letter of *Jovian* to St. *Athanasius*, and that of St. *Athanasius* to *Jovian*, which are in the Second Volume, are much to be suspected. That of St. *Athanasius* discovers the Forgery, because it contains a Confession of Faith different from that of the Council of *Nice*, and 'tis certain that he sent no other to this Emperour. The Author of this Letter writes in such terms, as plainly discover that he was not St. *Athanasius*, but rather *Apollinaris*, since he acknowledges but one Nature in Jesus Christ; and indeed, *Leontius* testifies that *Apollinaris* had infer'd this Doctrine in a Letter to the Emperour *Jovian*. The Book of Definitions, which are pretended to be Collections out of St. *Clement*, and other holy Fathers, cannot be St. *Athanasius*'s, since the Author cites in it *Gregory Nyssen*, in the Chapter of the *Alt*. Moreover, he speaks of two Natures and one Person in Jesus Christ, as if he had written after the Birth of the Heresies of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*. A good part of the Book is taken out of a Book of *Anastasius Sinaita*, entituled, *Ὀμολογία, a Guide*; and in some Manuscripts, the Definitions are ascrib'd to *Maximus*, under whose Name Father *Combesis* has Publish'd them.

All the Learned agree, that the Seven Dialogues of the Trinity, are not St. *Athanasius*'s ¹¹; the difference of the Style, the Terms, and the Doctrine, are convincing Proofs of it; and 'tis plain, that the Author of this Treatise liv'd since the Council of *Constantinople*, at the time when the Disputes about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ were about in the Church. Father *Combesis* has restor'd them to *Maximus* ²², upon the Authority of some Manuscripts, and the Testimony of the modern Greeks, who die them often under the Name of this Author. *Garnerius* a very learned Jesuit, ascribes them to *Theodoret*, and has printed them under his Name, in a pretended Supplement to the Works of this Father. But he has nothing to support this Opinion but some slight Conjectures ²³; and he does not sufficiently refute the Assertion of Father *Combesis*.

The following Book, entituled, *A Tragedy*, is falsely attributed to St. *Athanasius*. *Photius* in Cod. 46. sets down all the Titles of the Questions which are handled in this Book, with some others that are not found there, and ascribes them to *Theodoret*. *Garnerius* upon the Credit of *Marius Mercator*, attributes them to *Eutherius Tyaneus* a Disciple of *Theodoret*.

The Questions to *Antiochus*, and those that follow them, are yet later ²⁴ than those Books of which we have already spoken: These were made by some Modern Greeks, and seem to be all written

¹¹ The Seven Dialogues of the Trinity, are not St. *Athanasius*'s.] 1. The Author speaks there of an Addition made by the Council of *Constantinople* to the Nicene Creed. *Annon ego vos fidei Nicene adjectis?* says the Heretic, and the Catholic answers, *Sed non isti pagani.* 2. He explains the Six Epithets given to the Holy Spirit by the Council. 3. He treats there of subtle Questions about the Trinity, which were not started in the Time of St. *Athanasius*. 4. He opposes *Eunomius* and *Macedonius*, whom St. *Athanasius* did never particularly attack. 5. The Author of the Dialogue acknowledges Three *Hypostases* in Jesus Christ. 6. The Style is wholly different from that of St. *Athanasius*. There are cited indeed in the Lateran Council under *Marin* the 1st. Secret 6. Three Testimonies of St. *Athanasius* and the 3^d. under this Title, *In sermone Athanasii qui per modum Interrogantium Responsiones omni Apollinaris*; which Title agrees well enough with these Dialogues: But what is here related, is no where to be found.

²² Father *Combesis* has restor'd them to *Maximus*.] In the Greek Manuscript which *Bega* us'd, 'tis observ'd on the Margin, *This Dialogue is not St. Athanasius's, he same say 'tis Maximus's*. Two other Manuscripts of *Rome* and *Venice*, and that of *Dijfneke*, attribute it to *Maximus*. *Gregorius Protosynellus*, *Veccas*, *Acydinus*, *Demerius*, and some other modern Greeks, cite it often under the Name of *Maximus*, and seldom under that of St. *Athanasius*. It appears by the Style and by all the Arguments in that Author, that these Seven Dialogues are by one and the same Hand; and the Authorities which we have alleg'd, do plainly show that they ought to be attributed to *Maximus*.

²³ Garnerius has nothing to support this Opinion but some slight Conjectures.] He has no Manuscripts, nor Citations from the Ancients. All that he says to prove it is, 1st. That *Theodoret* writ against the *Arians*, the

Eunomians, the *Macedonians*, and the *Apollinarists*, as he testifies in many Places of his Works. 2. That the Doctrine, the Expressions, and the Reasons of this Author resemble those of *Theodoret*, and this Author denies as well as he, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son. These Conjectures are very light, when there are no Manuscripts for him; for it may so happen that two Authors, writing upon the same Principles, may agree very near in these Things; besides the Resemblance of the Style is not so great as *Garnerius* would have us believe. The Proofs which he brings to show that this Treatise is none of *Maximus*'s are not of any greater Weight: He says this Book was written before the Creed of *Ephebus*, because there is no Mention in it of the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*: That from *Maximus*'s Time the Question was no longer treated of *De Genitō et Ingento*: That there is no Probability, that *Maximus* should dispute against the *Antiochians*, without opposing the *Eutychians*, and *Monothelites*. 'Tis easy to confute these Conjectures, by saying, that *Maximus* in these Books disputed against the ancient Heresies, and that he sufficiently oppos'd those of his own Time in his other Books.

²⁴ The Questions to *Antiochus*, and those that follow them, are yet later.] In these Questions to *Antiochus*, the Author cites many Writers more modern than St. *Athanasius*, as *Gregory Nyssen* in his 8th. The Author of the Book ascrib'd to St. *Densy*, *Did. St. Ephraim* Question 3. And many others in other Places. They have nothing of the Style of St. *Athanasius*, and the Author in many Places is of a contrary Opinion: In short, in *Athanasius*'s Time, those kind of Questions that were more Curious than useful, were not suffer'd. The Questions that follow about the Explication of some Doubts upon Places of Holy Scripture, and the other anonymous Questions are by the same Author as the preceding, and are only a Collection of Passages,

by the same Author. The Homily of the *Vigils of Easter*, has nothing of the Stile of St. Athanasius, but is dry and barren, and full of affected Figures. The Fragments of the Commentary upon the *Psalms*, retained by *Nicetas* in his *Catenæ*, are very dubious, and so much the more, because we have no account in the *Antients* that St. Athanasius ever compos'd a Commentary upon the *Psalms*. The same must be said of the Passages taken out of the *Catenæ* upon *Job*; for there is not much Credit to be given to these *Catenæ* made by the Modern Greeks. But the Passages cited by *Theodoret*, are more valuable, for they are almost all found in some of the Works of St. Athanasius which we have mention'd; excepting only those which he cites as taken out of a large Discourse of this Father about Faith. We must also acknowledge for Genuine the Fragment of a Treatise of St. Athanasius upon the words of Jesus Christ, *My Soul is troubled*, which is recited in the Sixth Council, Art. 14. for besides the Authority of this Council, which cites it as St. Athanasius's, 'tis easy to perceive, that it has the Stile and Air of this Father. 'Tis also very probable, that the Passages cited by *Gelasius* and St. *John Damascene*, and let down at the end of the Second Volume, P. 547, and 548, are St. Athanasius's. The Passage of a Letter to *Euphrosinus**, recited in Latin in the Sixth Council, is not so certainly his, for it is not written in his Stile, and we read no where else that St. Athanasius ever wrote to *Euphrosinus*. *Phorius* mentions a Commentary of St. Athanasius upon *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Cantic*; we have nothing of it at present and I doubt very much, whether it was St. Athanasius's, since *Phorius* himself confesses, that it had not the Stile of his other Works, and that none of the *Antients*, mention it. The Eleven Books of the Unity of the Godhead in the Trinity, belong to *Vigilius*†, a Deacon of *Africa*, and afterwards Bishop of *Tapsa*, as well as the Dialogue, or Conference of *Arius* and St. Athanasius, which follows these Eleven Books.

The Exhortation to the Monks, and to the Spouse of Jesus Christ, which is in the Collection of *Hilferius*, has nothing of the Stile of St. Athanasius, no more than the Book entituled, *Instructio adrida* for Monks and Christians, publish'd not long ago in Greek and Latin, by *Arnoldus*, and printed at *Paris* by the Widow *Martin*, in the Year 1685. These Books are written in a mean Stile, and contain such Rules and Precepts, as neither agree with the Person, nor the Genius of St. Athanasius.

The Letters of St. Athanasius to the Bishops of Egypt, to the Popes *Marcus* and *Felix*‡, and those of these Popes to these Bishops, are notoriously False and Supposititious.

The Relation of the Passion of the Image of Jesus Christ in the City of Berytus §, cannot be St. Ath.

taken, out of St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Gregory Nyssen, St. Chrysostom, St. Maximus, which are sometimes recited under their Names. The Author of these Questions calls the *Occidentalists* by the Name of *Franky*, and says that the *Romans* are a Nation of the *Franky*, *ἡ δὲ ὁμοιοῦν ἡρώων τῶν ἑσθλῶν τοῦ γένους* : Which plainly discovers that they were compos'd by the Modern Greeks, after the Empire of the West came to the *Franky*. The modern Greeks have made many such Collections, which they have put forth under the Name of ancient and famous Fathers.

* The Passage of a Letter to *Euphrosinus*. *Theodoret* and the Council of Chalcedon cite a Letter of *Athanasius* of Constantinople Successor to St. Chrysostom, directed to *Euphrosinus*. St. Athanasius mentions one *Euphrosinus* Bishop of Cappadocia, Orat. 1. against *Arian*. But the Sixth Council says, that the *Euphrosinus* mention'd by him was a Priest of *Cæsarea*.

† The Eleven Books and the Conference of *Arius* and St. Athanasius, belong to *Vigilius* Tapsensis. It has been observ'd long since that these were the Works of a Latin Author, who wrote long after St. Athanasius. *Sirmondus* first discover'd that they were written by *Vigilius* Tapsensis. This he observ'd in his Notes upon *Theodoretus* of Orleans, where he says, that these Two Books are found in an ancient Manuscript, together with the Books of this African Bishop against *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, in which he testifies himself that he compos'd these Dialogues under the Name of St. Athanasius.

‡ To the Popes *Marcus* and *Felix*. The Author of this Letter to *Marcus*, uses the Words of the Epistle to *Felix*.

2. The Author of this Letter places the Persecution against St. Athanasius, which happen'd in 355, under *Libertius*, Nineteen Years after the Death of Pope *Marcus*. 3. This Letter is compos'd of Passages of Authors who liv'd since St. Athanasius, as St. *Leo*, *Africanus*, St. *Cyril*, St. *Celsinus*, &c. 4. He says, that there were Eighty Canons of the *Nicene* Council, Forty Greek and Forty Latin, which is a manifest Falshood. 5. He adds, that he reduc'd them to Seventy, that there might be as many Canons as there were Disciples of Jesus Christ, and Languages in the World; which is the Height of Impertinence. 6. The Stile is very

different from that of St. Athanasius, and is of a Latin Author. 7. In 336, when this Letter is suppos'd to be written, St. Athanasius was in *Gaul*, and consequently could not write from *Alexandria*. In a Word, the Letter is dated the 1st. of December, and *Marcus* died the same Year, in the Beginning of November. The same Reasons, prove that the Answer could not be written by *Marcus*, for 'tis dated about a Month after his Death. The Letter written to *Felix* has as many Marks of Falshood. 1. St. Athanasius never communicated with this false Pope. 2. It has not the Stile of St. Athanasius, but of a Latin Author. 3. 'Tis compos'd of Passages taken out of St. *Innocent*, *Celsinus*, the Roman Council, &c. 4. When *Felix* was chosen, St. Athanasius lay conceal'd, and could not then assemble a Synod. The Answer of *Felix* is compos'd of Passages out of the decretal Epistles forg'd by *Isidore*, and of Testimonies out of the Fathers; and the Date of the Council is false.

§ The Relation of the Passion of the Image of Jesus Christ in the City of Berytus. Sigbert in his Chronicle, relates this Story at the Year 765, and to the Treatise which he cites cannot be St. Athanasius's. I shall give a short Account of the Story; and leave the Reader to judge whether it be fabulous or no. 'Tis said, that a Christian having over-against his Bed an Image of Jesus Christ which was of his natural Bigness, removing out of his Lodging, forgot it in the Lodging where it was, though he knew that Jesus Christ gave it to *Nicodemus*, who left it to *Gamaliel*, and that from *Gamaliel* it pass'd to St. *James*, and from St. *James* to *Simon*, and from him to *Zacharias*, and so it pass'd from Hand to Hand till the Destruction of *Jerusalem*: That a Jew having hir'd the House where this Image was, for some time did not perceive it; but having invited some of his Friends to eat with him, they discover'd it, and after that, all the Jews assembled together to beat it, and one of them having pierc'd it with a Lance, there came forth Blood and Water, which wrought Abundance of Miracles. The Title of this Story says, that it happen'd under *Constantine* and *Irene*. It is related also in the 2d. Council of *Nice*, and 'tis said, that it made the Difference of the Council to weep.

nasius's;

nasius's; since the History which is there related, happen'd not, as is pretended, till the Year 765, and moreover, it is full of Fables, and unworthy of St. Athanasius.

The Fragment upon the *Incarnation*, against the Disciples of *Paulus Samosatenus*, is done by an ancient Author; but we have it not in Greek, and there is no proof that it was St. Athanasius's.

The other Fragment of the Sabbath, is an Extract from part of the Homily upon the same Subject, which is in Greek, Vol. I. of St. Athanasius's Works.

The Seven Homilies publish'd by *Holfstienius*, have nothing of the Stile of St. Athanasius, but are written by some late Greek Declaimer. There is nothing in them that is useful or sublime; and they come not near the Noble Simplicity of St. Athanasius's Writings, as those who have any relish of such things, are all agreed.

The Four other Discourses publish'd by *Father Combes*, tho' they are more useful than the former, yet they are not St. Athanasius's. The First rejects so expressly the Errors of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, that 'tis plain, 'twas compos'd after these Two Heretics had publish'd their Doctrine.

The Two Last about *Easter* and *Ascension*, are attributed in some Manuscripts to St. Basil of *Seleucia*, and 'tis probable that they are all Four written by him. St. *John Damascene*, or the Author of a Discourse upon the Dead, cites a Discourse of St. Athanasius, upon the same Subject; but we have none that bears this Title; and 'tis probable that this which is cited by this Author, is supposititious. I say nothing of the Commentary upon the *Psalms*, which in its First Edition, bore the Name of St. Athanasius, because now 'tis certainly known, that 'twas written by *Theophylact*.

When we consider the Works of St. Athanasius, with respect to the Subject on which they treat, they may be distinguish'd into four sorts: The First, are Historical, and relate to the History of his own time; the Second, are purely Dogmatical; the Third concern Morality; and the Last, are upon the Holy Scriptures. His *Apologies* ought to be rank'd under the First Head. The First *Apology* was written immediately after he was driven out of *Alexandria*, and is address'd to the Emperor *Constantine*. There he refutes the Calumnies which his Enemies had made use of, to render him odious to *Constantine*. And the better to insinuate himself into the Emperor's Favour; he begins his Discourse with saying, That he made his Defence with much assurance before an Emperor, who had been long a Christian, and whose Ancestors had embrac'd the true Religion: That having made use of the Words of St. Paul, for his own Defence, he took him for his Intercessor with the Emperor, to whom, no doubt, he would give a favourable Hearing. Then he adds, That 'twas not necessary for him to purge himself from the Accusation relating to Ecclesiastical Matters, which his Enemies had formerly fram'd against him, since as to them he was sufficiently justified by the Testimony of an infinite Number of Bishops, and by the Retraction of *Orsacius* and *Valens*, who had acknowledged, that all those Accusations were pure Calumnies invented by them to destroy him; and that tho' these things were not so, yet he ought not to have any regard to an Information made in his absence by his Enemies, which should be of no weight, according to all Laws both Divine and Humane. And therefore without insisting upon those former Accusations in this *Apology*, he refutes those which were made use of since his Return, to blacken his Reputation with the Emperor. First of all, he is accus'd of having spoken ill of this Emperor to his Brother *Constantine*. But he takes God to Witness, that he never did it, and says, That it had been a madness in him, to have attempted so bold a thing: That *Constantine* would never have suffer'd it: That he had not so great an Interest in him, as to dare say anything against his Brother: That he never spoke to him, but in the presence of many Persons who were Witnesses of what he said. But to prove the falseness of this Accusation beyond exception, he makes a faithful Relation of all that pass'd in his Voyage to *Italy*; wherein he says, That he parted from *Alexandria*, to put his Person and Reputation under the Protection of the Church of *Rome*; That he assist'd at the Assemblies of the Faithful there; That he wrote but twice to *Constantine*, while he was at *Alexandria*: The First time to defend himself against some Letters full of Calumnies, which his Enemies had wrote to him; And the Second time, to send him some Copies of the Holy Scriptures; and that he never went to wait on him but twice, and both times by his own Order. At Last, he says, That the Emperor may judge by the manner of his speaking of his greatest Enemies, whether he was capable of speaking ill of him to his own Brother. The Second Accusation was no less kinous, for they accus'd him of having written a Letter to the Tyrant *Magentius*, and they said, That they had the Original of his Letter. To which St. Athanasius answers, That this Accusation had no appearance of Truth; That he had never seen nor known *Magentius*; That he never had occasion to write to him; That he had all the reason in the World, to detest him, and to hold no Correspondence with him; That the first Calumny destroy'd this, since 'twas incredible, that one who was so much for the Interest of *Constantine*, should be of this Tyrant's Faction, who had revolted from him, and cruelly kill'd him. And as to their pretending to have this Letter, he says, 'Twas not to be wonder'd at, that they had found out an Impostor, since 'twas very well known, that they had counterfeited the Emperor's Letters. But he prays *Constantine*, to enquire from whence they had this Letter, and who gave it them; and to Summon before him the Secretaries of *Magentius*, and inform himself, if they had ever receiv'd it: He conjures him to examine this Cause, as if Truth it self were present at his Decision; for, says he, If they had accus'd me before any other Judge, I might have appeal'd to the Emperor; but being accus'd before the Emperor, to whom can I appeal, but to the Father of him who is call'd the Truth, that is, to God? Then he addresses to him in a lively and elegant Prayer, That he might enlighten the mind of the Emperor, to judge in a Cause which concern'd the whole Church. The third Accusation is concerning his Celebration of the Holy Mysteries in the Great Church before it was Consecrated: To which he answers, That he did not Celebrate the Dedication of this Church, which he could not do, without the Order of the Emperor; but he con-

cesses,

fees, that he did Celebrate there the Divine Mysteries before its Consecration. He excuses himself upon the account of the great Concourse of People that came to *Alexandria* on *Easter-Day*; and says, That the old Churches were small and few in Number, and that the People demanding earnestly to Assemble in the *Great Church*, there to make Prayers for the Safety of the Emperor, he us'd much entreaty, but in vain, that they would delay it, and rather Assemble, tho' with some inconvenience, in the other Churches; and they would not obey him, but on the contrary, were ready to go out of *Alexandria*, to keep their Assembly in the Fields: That this was the reason which oblig'd him to Celebrate in the *Great Church* before it was Consecrated, which he did so much the rather, because during the Fast of *Lent*, many Persons had been hurt in the press of the People. That 'twas not a thing without Example, that he had Celebrated Divine Offices in a Church, before its Dedication. That his Predecessor had done the like in the Church of *St. Theonas*, which he had built, and he had seen the same done at *Aquileia*: That 'twas much more convenient to Celebrate in a place that was intended for the Assemblies of the Faithful, tho' it was not yet Consecrated, than to do it in the Fields, or in those Churches, where the People were in danger of being stifled. He observes, That tho' there had been no such fear of Danger, yet 'twas more expedient, that all the Faithful should offer up their Prayers together in one and the same Place, (tho' 'twas not yet Consecrated,) than that they should do it apart in several Places. He was also accus'd of disobeying the Emperor's Orders, when he commanded him to depart from *Alexandria*. To which he answers, That he was not disobedient to his Orders, but that *Montanus* having brought him the Letter in which the Emperor permits him to depart from *Alexandria*, and go for *Italy*, as if he had ask'd leave; he did not think 'twas the Emperor's Intention that he should withdraw, but that his Enemies had inform'd the Emperor, that he desir'd to retire. That afterwards *Digenes* came to *Alexandria*, without bringing any Letter or Order from the Emperor, and at his Arrival, 'twas sufficiently publish'd, that he must withdraw, but still there was no Order for it to him from the Emperor, either by Word of Mouth, or in Writing: That he always said, He was ready to depart, whenever the Emperor should Write to him, or Command him to do so; but 'twas agreed not to trouble the Church, till such time as he should receive his Orders: That Twenty Three Days after, *Syrinnus*, General of the Army in *Egypt*, entered into the Church with his Soldiers, the People being there at Prayers, on the *Vigil* when we ought to Celebrate Divine Mysteries; that there he committed great Outrages, and oblig'd him to retire into a Desert; and so he was neither Guilty for Flying, nor for Disobeying the Orders of the Emperor. He says, That if he had retir'd sooner, he had been Guilty both before God and Men, for 'tis a great Crime in a Bishop, to abandon his Flock, when he is not absolutely forc'd to do it. He adds, That he intended to go and wait upon the Emperor, and was come out of the Desert upon this Design, and tho' he knew very well the ill treatment those Bishops had met with that refus'd to Sign against him, and the Violence that had been us'd against those of *Alexandria*, who took his part; yet he did not give over his intended Voyage upon that Account, but having seen an Order to seize him, sent to the Magistrates of *Alexandria*, he apprehended the Rage of his Enemies, and therefore return'd again to hide himself in his Solitude.

In the First Apology for his Flying, he justifies himself against the *Arians*, who accus'd him of timorofulness: He describes the Deadly Effects of their Fury, and the Mischiefs they had done to the greatest Bishops of the World, *Hosius*, *Liberius*, *Paul* of *Constantinople*, and many others. He shows by the Examples of *Jacob*, *Moses*, *David*, *Elias*, *St. Paul* and *Jesus Christ*; and by the Command of Christ in *Matt. 10*. That 'tis lawful to fly from Persecution, and that 'tis oftentimes of greater life than to expose ourselves to danger: He observes, That the Saints who deliver'd themselves up to their Persecutors, did it by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He demands of his Adversaries, where they had learn'd, that 'tis permitted to Persecute, and not permitted to Fly: He objects to them, that the Devil is the cause of Persecution, and that Jesus Christ has advis'd Flight. At last, he complains of the Violence they us'd against himself, and the Mischiefs they still do to the Church.

In the Second Apology, he justifies himself from the former Accusations made against him, by setting down the Judgments given in his Favour, in the Councils of *Egypt*, *Rome* and *Sardica*, whose Letters he produces at full length. These Monuments are very considerable for the History of that Time, because there are particular Remarks in them about the Discipline of the Church: As, for instance, we learn from the Letter of the Synod of *Alexandria*, that the Bishop of *Alexandria* was chosen by the People, and ordain'd by the Bishops of the whole Province of *Egypt*: That the Ecclesiastical Laws forbid the Translations of Bishops; that the Mystery of the Eucharist was carefully conceal'd from those that were no Christians; That 'twas an Impiety to break a Chalice, and to spill the Blood of Jesus Christ; That the Eucharist was given to the Laicks in both kinds; That 'twas Consecrated on Sunday, and that 'twas kept for some time; That none but Priests lawfully ordain'd could consecrate and distribute it; That the Bishop had a Throne, or a Seat, that was rais'd higher than other Seats. *Julius* the Bishop of *Rome*, maintains in his Letter, That he could examine anew in one Synod what had been ordain'd in another, and alleges the Example, rather than the Authority of the Council of *Nice*. He lays claim to this Power, and complains that *St. Athanasius* was condemn'd without sending him notice: He blames the *Encheiridion* for sending a Stranger, that liv'd almost 60 Leagues off from *Alexandria*, to take Possession of the Episcopal See of that City. After this, he recites two Letters from the Council of *Sardica*, one address'd to the Church of *Alexandria*, and the other to all the Bishops of the World, which contain an ample Justification of *St. Athanasius*; and the last contains the Subscriptions of many Bishops who Subscribed in this Council afterwards. And after these Letters, there follow three Letters of *Constantine* to *St. Athanasius*, commanding him to return; one

Letter

Letter of *Julius* to the Church of *Alexandria*, wherein he congratulates the *Alexandrines* upon the Return of their Bishop; the Letters of Recommendation which *Constantine* gave him to return to *St. Athanasius*, the Letter of the Synod of *Jerusalem* to the Church of *Alexandria* in favour of *St. Athanasius*, and last of all, the Retraction of *Orsacius* and *Valens* address'd to *Julius*, wherein they declare, That all which was said against *Athanasius* was false, that they acknowledg'd *Arius* for an Heretic, and anathematiz'd his Error; and one Letter from the same Bishops address'd to *St. Athanasius*, wherein they declare, that they are of his Communion. After *St. Athanasius* has thus produc'd the Instruments of his Absolution, being desirous to show that he had done nothing partially, out of favour to himself, goes back again as far as the Beginning of the Schism of *Meletius* and the Heresie of *Arius*, and gives an account of all that pass'd upon this occasion until his Exile, reciting the Authentic Acts to justify all that he Asserts: So that for the future, to read the History of that time, one should begin at the Second Part of this Apology, which begins towards the middle of *P. 777*. of the Greek and Latin Edition at *Paris*, and then resume the Beginning of the History, when he shall have finish'd this Second Part.

He wrote all this History long before with more order, and deduces it higher in his Book which is call'd, *A Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life*. After he has there related all that pass'd about the Cause of *Arianism* till the Council of *Sardica*, he insists upon the Circumstances of the Banishment of *Pope Liberius*. He says, That the *Arians* did not at all spare him, that they had not any respect for the City of *Rome*, the Metropolis of the whole *Roman Empire*, nor for the holy Apostolical See; that by their Intigation, the Emperor had sent a Bishop to *Rome*, to persuade the Bishop there to Condemn *St. Athanasius*. But *Liberius* refusing him, answer'd, That it was against the Canons to condemn a Man that is absent, who had been judg'd worthy of Communion while he was present at *Rome*; That if the Emperor would determine the Controversies of the Church, he should assemble a Free Council, where there was neither Prince, nor Courtier, and where all things might be decided in the Fear of God, and according to the Doctrine of the Apostles; and where every one should follow the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and from whence those should be excluded that would not profess to follow it; and afterwards the Council might Examine the Matters now in Debate. He adds, That the Bishop having enter'd into the Church of *St. Peter* to consecrate the Presents that were brought to *Liberius*, as soon as he understood that they were intended to procure his Subscription against *St. Athanasius*, he reproved the *Sacerdotes* for receiving them, and threw them out of the Church as Sacrilegious Offerings: That when these things were told to the Emperor, he caus'd him to be brought to *Constantinople*, and that the Pope spoke to him more sharply than he had done at *Rome*, whereupon he was sent into Banishment; and there he was forc'd at last to subscribe for fear of Death, after he had resist'd for the space of two Years. After this, he describes the Fall of *Hosius*; and tells us, that *Constantine* being sollicitous by the *Arians*, who would fain engage to their Party a Bishop of so great Authority, exhorted him to Subscribe; and that the Holy Man not only could not endure the Proposal, but perswaded the Emperor to let him alone, and retir'd into his own Country: And that the *Arians* still continuing to sollicit the Emperor, he wrote many Letters, fill'd sometimes with fair Promises, sometimes with Threats, to oblige him to Condemn *Athanasius*. But the Generous Old-man answer'd him in a Letter which *St. Athanasius* produces, wherein he declares to him that he had suffer'd under the Reign of *Maximian* for the Faith, and that he was still ready to suffer, and to shed his Blood for the defence of Innocence and Truth; he advises him not to hearken to those Eas'tlings, any more than he would do to *Orsacius* and *Valens*. He tells him, That he was Mortal, and that he ought to be afraid of the Day of Judgment; That he ought to meddle no more in Ecclesiastical Matters, than the Bishops should in Temporal. His words are excellent, which are these; *[Remember, says he, that you are Mortal, fear the Day of Judgment, keep your self in Purity, that you may appear there amongst the number of the Elect: Do not meddle at all in Ecclesiastical Affairs, and Command us nothing about those Matters; but learn them of us. God has given the Power of the Empire into your hands, and has entrusted with us that which concerns the Church; and as he who invades your Empire, acts against the Order of God, so take heed that you render not your self Guilty of a very heinous Crime, by assuming to your self a Power in those things which are of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. To wit: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's; Since we are not permitted to govern the Empire of the World, and you, Sir, have no Power at all in things that are Sacred.]* After this, *St. Athanasius* relates the Violence that was done to *Hosius* to make him Subscribe, and how the Emperor caus'd him to go to *Sirmium*, where he detain'd him till he had communicated with *Orsacius* and *Valens*. The rest of this Letter is a very vehement Declaration, against the Outrages and Persecutions of *Constantine* and the *Arians*; to which is added, a Protection of the People of *Alexandria*, concerning the Violences that were us'd against *St. Athanasius*.

The Book of the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, contains not only the History of these two Councils, but also of the Principal Creeds made by the Bishops of *Arius's* Faction after that which was made by the Council of *Nice*, which he sets down in its full length. From thence he takes occasion to treat of the word, *Consubstantial*, which he maintains against the *Arians*; and yet he acknowledges, that they are not to be treated as Heretics, who scruple to make use of this word, though they confess the Faith of the Divinity of the Son: He explains in what sense this word was condemn'd in the Council of *Antioch*, held against *Pantus Samosatensis*, and alleges for his sense the Testimony of the two *Dionysii*, who made use of this word.

Besides these Works of *St. Athanasius*, which contain the Deduction of the History of that time, there are some others which concern particular Facts.

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The First is the Book of the Definitions of the Council of *Nice*, wherein he defends the Decisions of this Council, and takes notice of the considerable Circumstances of it. He says, That the Bishops of the Council, who were about 300 in number, desir'd the *Arians* with great meekness, to justify themselves, but scarce had they begun to speak, when all the Bishops disapproved them; That the Hereticks could not agree among themselves, but were oblig'd to keep silence, and then the Bishops made the Creed, which was sign'd by the *Eusebians*; That *Eusebius of Caesarea* in *Palestine*, who had refus'd to sign the day before, approv'd of it next day, and wrote to those of his Church about it. After this, he Disputes against the Impiety of the *Arians*, who had relaps'd into their former Error, and proves that the Son of God was from all Eternity. He justifies the Terms which are us'd by the *Nicene* Council in their Creed, and says, The word *Consubstantial*, has a very good sense; and that there is none more proper to express a formal Communion of the Error of the *Arians*: And he adds moreover, that this word is not new, since *Theognostus*, *Dionys of Alexandria*, *Dionys of Rome*, and *Origen* have us'd it long before the Council of *Nice*; that this Synod had not establish'd any new Doctrine, but confirm'd that which was approv'd by Scripture and Tradition. He observes, that in Matters of Faith, its Decisions did not run in the same manner as those that were made about the Celebration of *Easter*, when this Phrase was us'd, *It pleases us, we will have it so*; for now they only say, *This is the Catholick Faith*; Ita credit Catholica Ecclesia.

The Second Book of this Nature, is a Letter to the Bishops of *Egypt*, which is improperly call'd, *The First Discourse against the Arians*. There he describes the Outrages which the *Arians* committed against the Catholics, and exhorts his Brethren to shun their Snares: He warns them by no means to Subscribe their Confession of Faith, how Catholic soever it may appear to them, but to adhere to that of the Council of *Nice*, in which the Impiety of *Arius* was condemn'd. Then he recites the principal Heads of his Error, and refutes them by the Testimonies of Holy Scripture. He describes the miserable End of this Heretick; and concludes with an Exhortation to the Catholics to maintain the Faith unto Death; representing unto them, that he is not only a Martyr who suffers Death for refusing to offer unto Idols, but also he that dies rather than betray the Truth.

The Letter to all the Orthodox Bishops was written about the same Time, and upon the same Subject: There he gives an Account of the violent manner of introducing *George* into the Church of *Alexandria*, and describes the Fury of the *Arians*, and the Damage the Church has suffer'd by them very particularly.

In the two Letters to *Lucifer*, he describes the Persecutions which the *Arians* set on foot against the Catholics, and represents the lamentable State of the Church.

In the Letter to *Serapion* concerning the Death of *Arius*, he relates the Unhappy End of this Heretick, who perish'd in a Jakes very Night before he was to be received into the Church. *St. Athanasius* says, That he learn'd this Story from the Relation of *Macarius*, a Presbyter.

The Letter written by *St. Athanasius* concerning the Opinion of *Dionysius of Alexandria*, concerning the Trinity, may be number'd amongst his Historical Books, because it teaches us a very considerable Point of Ecclesiastical History, which we should not have known if *St. Athanasius* had not reported it there; namely, That *Dionys of Alexandria* wrote against the *Sabellians of Pentapolis*, and that in Disputing against them, he made use of such Expressions, as would make one believe that he favour'd the contrary Error; That he was accus'd of this in a Synod held at *Rome*; That he wrote a Treatise to the Pope, entitul'd, *A Refutation and Apology*, wherein he defends himself and confutes his Adversaries; and that he taught in this Book a Doctrine perfectly contrary to that of the *Arians*: All which *St. Athanasius* proves in this Treatise, by citing several Passages out of the Book of *Dionys of Alexandria*.

The Letter of the Council of *Alexandria*, to those of *Antioch*, concerns the State of the Church of *Antioch* after the Death of *Constantine*, *St. Athanasius* and the other Bishops of this Council, advise the Church of *Antioch* to receive the *Arians* who expressly condemn their Error, to join themselves to *Paulinus* and those of his Party, to admit into their Communion those that held their Assemblies in the Old City, that is to say, those of *Meletius's* Party, without requiring any other Profession of Faith, but that of the Council of *Nice*. They give them notice, That there was no Creed made in the true Council of *Sardica*; they advise them to have no Disputes among themselves about the *Hypostases*, since those who acknowledg'd Three in the Trinity, and those who own'd but One, were both of the same Judgment, and only differ'd in the manner of Expression.

St. Athanasius speaks after the same manner of the Reception of the *Arians*, in a Letter to *Rufinus*, where he mentions the Decision of this Synod.

In a Letter to the Emperor *Jovian*, *St. Athanasius* and the other Bishops of *Egypt*, propose to him the *Nicene* Creed as the only true one: They say, That this contains the Faith which was maintain'd by many holy Martyrs, who are now with Jesus Christ, that it had never had any Adversaries, if the Malice of the Hereticks had not endeavour'd to corrupt it; but that *Arius* and his Followers intending to introduce a New Doctrine contrary to the Truth, the Council of *Nice* condemn'd it, and made a Confession of Faith to establish the Truth, and extinguish the Flame that was kindled by his Partizans: That this Creed was prais'd and sincerely believ'd in all the Churches of Christ, till some Bishops, having a mind to revive the Error of the *Arians*, began to despise it; and yet they did not openly declare themselves against it, but only in their Explications of it they reflected obliquely upon the *Consubstantiality*, and spoke Blasphemies against the Holy Spirit. After they have thus explain'd the *Nicene* Creed, they set it down, and tell the Emperor, That this is the only Creed to which we must adhere.

I say nothing of the Conferences of the *Arians* and *St. Athanasius*, because they contain little remarkable.

The Catholick Epistle to the Bishops of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Phoenicia*, was written, as well as the preceding Letters, in the Name of the Synod of *Egyptian* Bishops, in which *St. Athanasius* presided. They Exhort the Bishops to whom they write, to separate themselves from the *Arians*, not act unanimously in the Defence of the Faith, and not to disseminate the Truth for Fear or Ambition; and to acknowledge the Divinity of the Holy Spirit: and at last they propose to them as a Badge and Tell of the true Faith, these words, *The Consubstantial Trinity*.

The Letter to the *Africans* was written upon the same Subject in the Name of *St. Athanasius*, and 82 *Egyptian* Bishops; wherein they recommend the Faith of the *Nicene* Council establish'd by 318 Bishops, publish'd and receiv'd by all the World, because this Synod had follow'd the Doctrine, and manner of Expression us'd by the Holy Scriptures, and the Fathers.

In the Letter to *John* and *Antiochus* Presbyters, *St. Athanasius* rejoices because he understood by their Letters written from *Jerusalem*, that a great number of Brethren were re-united in one the same Communion; he reproves those that would trouble the Church by their Disputes about words, and wonders that any should dare to reprehend the Doctrine of *St. Basil*.

In the following Letter to *Palladius*, he commends him for being Orthodox, and approves of his saying with *Innocent*. He rebukes those Monks that would not obey *St. Basil*, but praises this Bishop, saying he wasteth the Glory of the Church, for he contended for the Truth, and taught those that needed Instruction, and none could be good Catholics that had any Dispute with him. He adds, That he had written to his Monks to obey him as their Father, and that they were to blame for complaining of him. Probably 'twas about the Question of the *Hypostases*, that the Monks had some Dispute with *St. Basil*.

After we have spoken of his Historical Works, let us now come to the Dogmatical.

The First of these, are the two Treatises against the *Gentiles*, whereof the Second is now entitul'd, *Of the Incarnation*. In the First of these two Books he Opposes Idolatry, and Establishes the Worship of the true God: he discovers the source of Idolatry, that it comes from the Corruption of Man's Heart, who being created after the Image of God, fell under the guilt of *Adam's* Sin, and inherited from him an unhappy Inclination to Sin, which the Will does very often follow, though it be free to resist it. From this Principle he concludes, in the first place, against the Hereticks, That 'tis not necessary there should be two Principles, or two Gods, one Good, the Author of Good; and another Evil, the Author of Evil. He refutes this Impious Opinion by Reason and Authority, and concludes that Sin is not a Substance, but that it entered into the World by the Fall of the First Man. He observes that this is the source of all Idolatry, that Men being fallen from their first Estate do no longer use their Heart and Spirit to things Spiritual, but fix them on things Terrestrial and Sensible. He refutes afterwards the different kinds of Idolatry, and shows that we ought not to Worship, nor Acknowledge for Divinities, either the Gods of the Poets, or the World, or any part of it. After he has thus overthrow'd all kinds of Idolatry, he establishes the Existence and Worship of the true God: He demonstrates, that God may be known by the Light of Nature, 1. From our selves, that's to say, by Reflexion upon our own Thoughts, that he is neither Corporeal, nor Mortal. 2. From the Beauty of the Universe, which discovers the Existence of him as the Cause of it: Then he shows that this God is the Father of Jesus Christ, and that he created all things, and governs them by his Word.

The Second Treatise against the *Gentiles*, is that which is entitul'd, *Of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ*; because there he treats of that Mytery. For explaining the Causes of it, he goes back as far as the Beginning of the World; and proves that it was not made by chance, nor fram'd of an Eternal Matter, but that God the Father created it by his Word. After this, he speaks of the Fall of Man, who being created after the Image of God, addic'ted himself to things corruptible and perishing, and so became the Cause of his own Misery and Corruption. He says, that the Fall of Man was the cause of the Incarnation of the Word; because God pitying Man, resolv'd to send his Son to save him, and to give him the means of obtaining that Immortality which he had lost. Upon this Principle he founds the Necessity of the Incarnation of the Word; which he proves, First, Because the Son being the Effential Image of his Father, there was none but he that could render Man like to God, as he was before his Fall: 2. Because as the Word is the Reason and Wildom of his Father, there is none but he can teach Men and undeceive them of their Errors. From the Causes of the Incarnation, he passes to its Effects, and after he has described the Graces which the Word has merited for Mankind by his Incarnation, he speaks of his Death; and shows, that he was to die as he did, by the Torments of the Cross, that by his Death he might conquer Death both in himself and us. Lastly, He proves the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by the wonderful Effects that follow'd his Death, and by the contempt of Death wherewith it inspir'd his Disciples. After he has thus explain'd the Doctrine of Christians, he refutes the Jews and Pagans, the former by proving from the Prophets that Jesus is the *Messias* promis'd in the Old Testament; and the latter, from the Miracles of Jesus Christ, from the destruction of Idolatry, and the Establishment of the Doctrine of the Gospel; which, though contrary to the Lusts and Passions of Men, was entertain'd without difficulty, and in a little time by the greatest part of the World. He concludes these Discourses with an Advertisement to his Friend *Macarius*, to whom they are directed, That he should have recourse to the Holy Scripture, which is the Fountain from whence these things are drawn; to which he adds this Remark, that for the better understanding of it, we should lead a Life like to that of the Authors of these holy Books.

St. Athanasius wrote but two Treatises against the *Gentiles*, for his other Dogmatical Treatises are either about the Trinity, or the Incarnation. The Four Discourses against the *Arians* are the chief of his

his Dogmatical Works. In the First, which is call'd the Second, he convicts the Sect of the *Arians* of Heresie; for which end, he first makes use of an Argument which he employs against all Hereticks, which is the Novelty of their Sect, and the Name which it bears; Then he explains their Doctrine, and proves, that 'tis Impious, full of Blasphemies, and comes near to that of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*. Lastly, He refutes their Reasons, and clears up a great many difficulties which they propole against the Doctrine of the Church.

In the Second Treatise, which is the Third in the common Editions, he explains some of the Passages which the *Arians* allege, to prove that the Son is a Creature, and insists chiefly upon that in *Chap. 8. of the Proverbs*. *The Lord hath created me in the beginning of his ways, &c.* He says towards the end, "That the *Arians* run a hazard of having no true Baptism; because to make this Sacrament valid, 'tis not sufficient to pronounce the words, but we must also have a right understanding of them, and a right Faith. He adds, That if the Baptism of other Hereticks who pronounce the same words, be null and void, because they have not a true Faith, 'tis to be thought, that we ought to give the same Judgment of the Baptism of the *Arians*, who are become the worst of all Hereticks. These words of St. Athanasius shew, That in his time, those that had been Baptiz'd by Hereticks, were Rebaptiz'd in the Church of *Alexandria*, though they had been Baptiz'd in the Name of the Trinity.

In the Third Discourse, which is reckon'd for the Fourth, he proves, That the Father and the Son have but one and the same Substance, and one and the same Nature, and that they are one God only, though they be two distinct Persons. Afterwards he shows that all that is said of Jesus Christ in the Scriptures, which seems unworthy of his Divinity, should be applied to his Humane Nature, because Christ being a Person composed of the Divine and Humane Nature, the Properties of both these Natures may be attributed unto him. At last, he examines a Question propos'd by the *Arians*, viz. Whether the Father begot his Word voluntarily or necessarily: To which he answers, That he begot him naturally and not by constraint, and so in this sense he begot him voluntarily, because he would beget him, though he could not but beget him.

In the last Discourse he refutes the *Arians*, proving that the Word is Eternal and Consubstantial to the Father, and the *Sabellians*, who deny'd that the Son was a Person distinct from the Person of the Father; and the *Paulianists*, who distinguish'd the Word from the Son of God, and the Paraclete from the Holy Spirit.

The Discourse upon the words of the Gospel of St. *Matth. Ch. 11. My Father has given me all things, &c.* contains a Refutation of that false Conclusion which the *Arians* drew from those words, by saying, That if the Father had given all things to his Son in time, so that there was a time when he had not all things, and by consequence he had not always a Supreme Empire over the Creatures, from whence it would follow, that he was not equal to the Father: To which St. Athanasius answers, That this Passage does not treat of the Absolute Power of God over his Creatures, but concerns the Mystery of the Incarnation. That the Father has given Mankind to Jesus Christ, as a Sick Person is left to a Physician for his Cure: That Man having sinn'd, and Death being the Punishment of his Sin, the Word became Man, and God gave all Mankind unto him, that he might heal them, and restore to them that Life and Light which they had lost.

In the Letter to *Adelphius*, St. Athanasius proves against the *Arians*, that we must worship the Word in the Person of Jesus Christ.

In the following Letter to *Maximus*, he shows, That Jesus Christ is truly God, and truly Man. The Titles of the Letters to *Serapion*, sufficiently shew what they treat about: *Against those that say, that the Son and the Holy Spirit are Creatures.* The Treatise against the *Sabellians*, is a Collection of passages out of Holy Scripture, which prove the Trinity of Persons and the Divinity of the Word. The design of the Treatise about the Union of the Humane Nature with the Word, is rather to prove the Divinity of the Son of God, than to explain the Incarnation. The Exposition of Faith, which is in the First Volume, P. 240. is an Explication of the *Nicene Creed*, concerning the Unity and the Incarnation. The short Discourse against the *Arians*, is a Writing of the same Nature. The Letter to *Epiphanius*, is the principal Treatise of St. Athanasius, concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, where he refutes the Error and the Arguments of those that maintain that the Flesh of Jesus Christ was of the same Substance with his Divinity; That the Divinity was chang'd into the Humanity, or the Humanity into the Divinity; That the Word had adopted a Body without being naturally united to it; That the Body was not assum'd in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*; That the Divinity did suffer; or in a word, That the Word was a Person different from the Man. In short, He there refutes the foundations of the Error of the *Apollinarians* and *Eutychians*, and the principle of the Error of the *Nestorians*, by shewing, That Jesus Christ is one Person compos'd of a Divine and Humane Nature, wherein all the Properties of those two Natures are found. He refutes the same Errors in the Books of the Incarnation against *Apollinarians*, in which he proves particularly against this Heretic, That Jesus Christ took one Humane Nature entire and perfect, That it was not destitute of a Soul, nor of Understanding and Will.

There are few Moral Treatises amongst the Works of St. Athanasius. The Epistle to *Dracontius* is one of the Chief. [This is rather concerning Discipline, tho' urg'd with Moral Arguments.] *Dracontius* was a Monk that had been chosen Bishop: But, either because he was afraid of Persecution, or else because he thought himself unworthy to Govern a Bishoprick, he fled and hid himself, lest he should be oblig'd to take care of the People, of whom he had been ordain'd Bishop. St. Athanasius in this Letter, reproves his Puffillanimity, and exhorts him to return to his Bishoprick. He represents to him, That his Conduct scandaliz'd many Persons; That being ordain'd Bishop, he was

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no longer at his own disposal, but ow'd himself to those for whom he was ordain'd; That, he was oblig'd to take Care of them, and that he should be answerable for the Salvation of those that should perish for want of Instruction; That he should improve the Talent that God had given him, and take Care of the Flock that God had entrusted him with; That if the Fear of Persecution made him flee from a Bishoprick, it was a great weakness in him; but if it was from any dislike of the Episcopal Function, 'twas an injurious Contempt of the Authority and Mystery of Jesus Christ; That he could not excuse himself, by saying, That he had Sworn or Vow'd to the contrary, since *Jeremy* and *Jonah* were oblig'd to do contrary to what they had resolv'd; and besides, That many Monks whom he names, had accepted of a Bishoprick, and that this Profession was no hindrance to their Ordination; That a Bishoprick was so far from being an occasion of Sin, as some would persuade *Dracontius*, that it would be rather a means to Sanctify him by his imitating the Apostles; That this State did not hinder, but he might still observe the Customs of the Cloyster: [You will be permitted, says he, being a Bishop, to fast, or to abstain from Wine: We have known Monks great Eaters, and Bishops great Fasters: We have seen Monks that drink Wine, and Bishops that drink none: Bishops for the most part live in Celibacy, and we have seen Monks married: In a word, 'tis permitted to every one, in whatsoever State he is, to use such abstinences as he pleases.] He concludes, with exhorting him to return to his Bishoprick before *Easter*, that his People might not be abandon'd, and oblig'd to Celebrate that Feast without him; and with earnest Entreaties, that he would not hearken to their Counsels, that would hinder his Return: They would, says he, have Priests among themselves, Why then are they unwilling that the People should have Bishops?

meaning from that which was at first designed by St. Athanasius. He makes his Comparison between those that professed, and those that omitted the Austerities there mentioned, in such a manner as shews that he thought them absolutely indifferent; and besides, there is a great difference between many and the most part. Yet I should not have taken notice of it, if in his account of St. Athanasius's Doctrine, Mr. du Pin had not repeated what he had before observed in this place, and with some Additions; for there he says, That there were few Priests and Bishops married, tho' but few. Here is a double mistake; for neither does St. Athanasius say, that there were but few Priests or Bishops married, nor does he speak a word of *Priests*. Monks were not constantly ordain'd in those days. St. Anthony, their great Master, was a Lay-man, and in this very Letter to *Dracontius*, St. Athanasius, amongst other Arguments to persuade him to accept the Bishoprick to which he was Canonically Elected, tells him, That if the Monks desired to have *Presbyters* among them, to Instruct them in their Duty, they ought not to envy others, who for the same Reason were earnest to have *Dracontius* for their Bishop.]

In the Letter to *Ammon* the Monk, he refutes the Error of some Monks, who condemn'd the use of Marriage; and shows by the Scripture, that 'tis permitted, and that 'tis an Impiety to condemn it, tho' Virginity is a more perfect State, and deserves greater Rewards.

The Life of St. Anthony may be reckon'd among his Moral Writings, for it contains excellent Instructions for all Monks.

We must also place among the Moral Works of St. Athanasius his Homily of *Circumcision* and the *Sabbath*. There he treats of the Institution of the Sabbath, and thinks that the principal end of its Celebration was not merely to rest, but that it was instituted to make known the Creator; that the Reason why 'tis abrogated in the New Law, and the Feast of *Sunday* establish'd in its room, is, because the first Day was the end of the first Creation, and the second was the beginning of the New: For the same Reason he believes that Circumcision was appointed on the eighth Day, to be a figure of that Regeneration which is made by Baptism.

Lastly, That I may say something of the Treatises of St. Athanasius upon the Holy Scriptures, the Abridgment of the Scriptures, is the most useful of them. There you may see in one view, an Enumeration of all the Canonical Books of the Old Testament according to the Catalogue of the Hebrews, which contains but 22; and he adds those that are not Canonical, but yet are read in the Church to the *Catechumens*, which according to him, are the Books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiastical*, *Ezher*, *Judith* and *Tobit*; with this Observation, That some plac'd the Books of *Ezher* and *Ruth* amongst those which they esteem'd Canonical. In the Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the New Testament, he places all those which we acknowledge at present. After he has given us these Catalogues, he makes a very faithful Abridgment of what is contain'd in every Book, and gives the Reason, why 'tis call'd by such a Name, and Discourses of the Author that wrote it. Afterwards, he gives a Catalogue of those Apocryphal Books which are of little or no use at all. He speaks particularly of the Four Gospels, their Authors, and the Places where they were compos'd; he treats in a few Words of the Greek Versions of the Old Testament, and at last, gives a Catalogue of some Books cited in Scripture that are lost. The Fragment of the 39th. Festival Letter is upon the same Subject, and it contains also a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, and of those that are useful, tho' they be not Canonical, which he distinguishes from these Apocryphal Books, that have been forg'd by Hereticks; and here he follows the same Catalogue which is in the Abridgment: But, he adds to the number of these Books, that may be read to the *Catechumens*, *The Doctrine of the Apostles*, and the Book, entitul'd *Marcellinus*.

The Book to *Marcellinus* upon the *Psalms* is also of the same Nature. St. Athanasius, shows there the Excellency of the Book of *Psalms*, and relates the Subject of many of them, those that are Historical, and those that are Moral. He observes there, That the Book of *Psalms*, refers to all the Histories of the Old Testament; That it includes all the Prophecies of Jesus Christ; That it expresses

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St. Athanasius.

all the Opinions which we ought to have. That it contains the Prayers that should be made, and commends all the Precepts of Morality: He observes, That there are some Psalms Historical, some Moral, some Prophetical, besides those that consist of Prayers and Praises; all which he distinguishes, and places in their proper Rank and Order. He shews, that the *Psalms* represent to every one of the Faithful, the State of his own Soul, that every one may see himself there represented, and may observe from the different Passions there express'd, what he feels in his own Heart, and that in whatever State any one is, there he may find Words suitable to his present Disposition, Rules for his Conduct, and Remedies for his Troubles. Wherefore he divides the *Psalms* according to the different Matters of which they treat, that every one may make use of them according to his Necessities, and according to the different States that he falls into. He adds, That those who Sing, should be of a free and quiet Spirit, that the Melody of their Song, may agree with the Harmony of their Spirit. And last of all, He would not have any Words of the *Psalms*, which may appear simple, chang'd, under pretence of making them more Elegant.

The Treatise upon these Words of Jesus Christ, *Whoever shall speak a word against the Holy Spirit, his sin shall not be forgiven him, neither in this World, nor in the other*, is an Explication of this difficult place of Scripture, wherein he first observes, that *Origen* and *Theognostus* thought, That the Sin against the Holy Ghost, was the Sin of those who after they were baptiz'd, lost the Grace of Baptism by their Crimes. But *St. Athanasius* maintains, That this Explication is not Natural, because those that violate their Vows of Baptism, sin no more against the Holy Spirit, than against the Father and the Son, in whose Name Baptism is administered. And to shew that this Opinion of the Ancients, is not defensible, he observes, That these Words of Jesus Christ were address'd to the *Pharisees* who were never baptiz'd, and yet sinned against the Holy Spirit, by saying, That Jesus Christ cast out Devils in the name of *Beelzebub*: He adds, That if this Explication were admitted, it would give up the Cause to *Novatus*. He explains the Passage of *St. Paul* to the *Hebrews*, where the Apostle says, *'Tis impossible that those who were once baptiz'd should be renew'd again, which does not exclude*, says *St. Athanasius*, *Repentance after Baptism, but only a second Baptism*. After he has reject'd this Explication, he advances a New one of his own; and is of Opinion, That to sin against the Holy Ghost, is to deny the Divinity of Jesus Christ, by attributing to the Devil, as the *Pharisees* did, his most Divine Actions. Thus he explains himself: Those, says he, who observing the Humane Actions of Jesus Christ, consider'd him as a Man only, were in some measure excusable; Those also who observing his Divine Actions, doubted if he was a Man, were not so much to be blam'd: But those who seeing his most Divine Actions, deny'd his Divinity, by attributing his Actions to the Devil, as the *Pharisees* and the *Arians* do, commit to enormous a Crime, that they cannot hope for Pardon. The former sin against the Son of Man, *i. e.* against the Humanity of Jesus Christ; and the latter fin against the Spirit, *i. e.* his Divinity. This in short, is the sum of the Explication that *St. Athanasius* has given of these Words of the Gospel, whereof he treats, and I leave it to the Judgment of the Reader, if he can find another more probable than this of the Ancients.

We may add likewise to these Treatises of *St. Athanasius*, upon the Holy Scripture, the Fragments that are found at the end of his Second Volume, and particularly, that which is taken out of the Sixth Council, upon these Words of Jesus Christ, *My Soul is exceeding sorrowful*.

I shall make no Extracts out of those Books which I have reject'd, as being none of *St. Athanasius*'s, tho' there be some things in them which may be useful, because I would make no Confusion, by mixing the Doctrine of another Author with that of this Saint, and therefore without staying to speak of these Books, I proceed to his Character.

His Style cannot be better describ'd than 'tis already by the Learned *Photius*, in Vol. 140 of his *Bibliotheca*. "The Discourses of *St. Athanasius*, says he, are clear, simple and natural, and yet they have much strength and gravity: He places the Reasons which he uses in a wonderful Light; He shews great copiousness of Invention, and a wonderful easiness of Thought. There is in his Works a Depth of Logic, I do mean of that barren Logic which propooses Reasonings and Syllogisms, without any Ornament, and makes use of dialectical Terms as School-Boys do, who would make a show of Wit; but of a Logic like that of the ancient Philosophers, who propos'd their Idea's and Reasonings in an excellent manner, accompanied with great Ornaments of Eloquence. He makes use also of Testimonies of the Holy Scripture, and draws from thence convincing Proofs of what he advances. In a word, His Books alone are sufficient for the Refutation of *Arianism*, and he that should say, That *St. Gregory* and *St. Basil* drew from this Fountain those great Torrents of Learning, which they employ'd against this Error, would not be much mistaken." The same *Photius* says also in another place, speaking of the Letters and Apologies of this Father, "That they are written with Clearness, Elegance and Grandeur; that he has given a turn at once persuasive and agreeable to all that he says." This Character appears chiefly in his *Apology* to the Emperor *Constantine*, which is a Master-piece in its kind, for never any Book had a greater Air of Candor and Simplicity than this, never was any Discourse more Elegant, more beautified with Figures, or more persuasive: Here was *St. Athanasius*'s great Excellency in all his Works; they appear simple and open, and yet being closely consider'd, one may perceive, that they are compos'd with wonderful Artifice: He observes all along an admirable fitness of Expression, and always adapts his Style to the Subject of which he treats, and to the Persons to whom he speaks. He insinuates himself to dextrously into the mind by his manner of expressing things, that one entertains his Reasons, and feels himself often persuaded by them, before he is aware. How soft soever his Discourse appears, it wants nothing of sharpness; for when he attacks his Enemies, he spares them not in the least, but on the contrary, uses the most firm and emphatical Words that can be found to cover them with Confusion; and to render them Odious, he makes no scruple to load them with

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the reproachful Names which they have deserv'd, and to represent the Crimes they have committed, in the most lively Colours that can be drawn with a Masterly Hand: And yet he does it after such a manner, that it seems rather to proceed from a Zeal for the Truths of Religion, than from any personal hatred which he bears to the Men themselves. The Conduct of this Saint is no less admirable than his manner of Writing. *St. Basil* gives this Character of him in his 48 Letter, address'd to himself. "Who can be found, says he, That has more Prudence than you? Who has a clearer Inspection into the Affairs of the Church, and who has a greater Facility in executing his Designs: Is there any that has more Charity and Compassion for his Brethren? Are not you the Bishop in all the World, that is in most Veneration with those of the West?" And in the following Letter he has these Words; "The more the Miseries of the Church encrease, the more are we oblig'd, says he, to have recourse unto you; we have no hopes of any Consolation under our Afflictions but by your means, since you can do much, both by your Prayers which are very Effectual, and also by the sharpness of your Wit, whereby you understand at the same time what is most advantageous to the Church." And again in another Letter, "When we consider our Calamities, and the State to which we are reduc'd, we do almost Despair of Safety; but when we cast our Eyes upon you, we take Courage, and consider you as a Physician whom God has given to heal all our Maladies. Who can be a fitter Pilot in this Tempest, than he who has all his Life time endur'd the like Persecutions for the Faith?" And truly, 'Tis hard to say, which of the two is most to be admir'd in *St. Athanasius*, his unmoveable Constancy and Firmness, which he always shew'd, or the Prudence that appear'd in his Conduct under all his Persecutions. I say nothing of his Humility, his Charity, Pastoral Vigilance, and his other Virtues, because they don't fall directly within the Compass of that Design which I have propos'd to my self in this Book.

His Doctrine is very pure, and his Opinions are not only very Orthodox, but his Expressions are very just and exact. He proves the Existence of a God, the Creation of the World, and Providence, in his Books against the Gentiles. He establishes the Trinity of Three Divine Persons, and the Unity of the Nature and Substance, almost in all his Works; but he explains this Mystery with much simplicity; for he would not amuse the Reader with Disputes about Words, nor search too profoundly into this Matter. He confesses, That he cannot comprehend it, and he will not employ humane Reasonings to Prove or to Explain the Mystery of the Trinity and the Generation of the Word: In short, He shuns as much as he can, to enter upon any of those subtle Questions, which have since unprofitably exercis'd the Wit of so many School Divines. He speaks admirably of the Fall of the first Man, of the Punishments of Sin, of the Necessity and Effects of the Incarnation of the Son of God. He explains this Mystery in such a manner as is equally contrary to all the Errors of the Hereticks of either side; for he teaches against the *Pelagians*, That the Word is united to the Humanity; against the *Valentinians*, That it took a Body like ours in the Womb of the Virgin; against the *Arians* and *Apollinarians*, That it took a Soul and Spirit; against the *Nestorians*, That the Divinity is united in the same Person with the Humanity, so that the Virgin may be called the Mother of God; against the *Eutychians*, That these two Natures subsist in the same Person with their Properties, without Confusion, without Mixture, without Change. He believes, That the Soul is Spiritual and Immortal, and makes no scruple to affirm it as a thing certain, That the Saints are happy and with Jesus Christ. He speaks of the Efficacy of Baptism, and rejects that of the Hereticks: He acknowledges not only in his *Apology*, but also in his

Treatise of the Faith, cited by *Theodoret*; He acknowledges, I say, in both places, That the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ*. He praises Virginity, and presses to Marriage, tho' he thinks, that 'tis not forbidden. He condemns the Error of the *Novatians*; He acknowledges the Holy Scripture to be the Rule of Faith, and joys

* [That is to say, *St. Athanasius* calls the Bread the Body, and the Wine the Blood of Christ. He had no occasion to Dispute the Question, nor to determine of either side, concerning the Real Presence. This is plain from his Second *Apology* to the Emperor *Constantine*, for his Flight, wherein he clears himself from the Crime that was laid to his Charge in the Synod of Tyre, That he abett'd one *Macarius* a Presbyter in *Mareotis*, who broke the Cup in which the Wine was usually Consecrated: The Council of *Alexandria*, that was call'd to examine the Cause of *St. Athanasius*, in their General Epistle, always call the Cup, *ἡ θεία κύπελος*, the *divine Cup*: and speaking of Presbyters, (*ἡ 72. ap. St. Athanas. Vol. 1.*) by, *αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἔαν σπείρουν τὸ αἶμα τοῦ κυρίου*; *it belongs to you alone first to drink of the Blood of Christ*; that is, *active before the Congregation*: This determines nothing as to the Nature of the Presence; and our Saviour had sufficiently warranted such Expressions by his Discourse in the sixth Chapter of *St. John*.

If *St. Athanasius* had said any thing to declare his Opinion, upon a Question at that time not started in the World, his Arguments could have been considered, and his Notions might have then been known: But since all his Writings bend to one scope, from which he hardly ever wanders any occasional Expressions relating to other Disputes, can be urg'd any further than as they do in all probability shew what was the State of that Age, and 'tis certain, That the Elements were after Consecration, call'd the Body and Blood of Christ, at that time; and as well, they might, since the Church then believ'd, what our Church likewise professes, That worthy Communicants do Spiritually eat the Body, and drink the Blood of Jesus Christ, when they eat the Bread and drink the Wine in the Lord's Supper. *Mr. Du Pin*, takes a great deal of pains in his First Volume, to vindicate the Fathers who lived before the Council of *Nice*, from the Imputation of *Arianism*: And he observes all along, That before those Questions were professedly Examined and Determined by the Church, Men did not speak so exactly as they did afterwards: His Observation is certainly right, and it has always been receiv'd Excuse, whenever the Opinions of these earliest Fathers have been urg'd on the behalf of the *Arian* or *Socinian* Doctrines. If therefore this Excuse be just in one Cause, it is equally so in another; and an occasional Expression can no more be urg'd in Favour of *Transubstantiation*, than in Favour of *Arianism*, when we otherways know, what was the Opinion of that Age, in which the Question was never put concerning it. There will be no necessity therefore to take notice in every place, where our Author assures, that the Ancients favour'd his Cause, of the particular Reasons, why they spoke in such a manner, or of the Sense in which their Words are to be understood; since it has been so often prov'd by those who have examined all the contested Passages in the Writings of these more Ancient Fathers, that either they favour our Opinions, or that they speak nothing to the purpose of the Dispute that has so long been managed between us and the Church of Rome.]

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with it Tradition and the Authority of the Holy Fathers. He observes that the Faith is always the same, and that it does not change, and that the Councils do nothing but declare what is the Doctrine of the Church. He attributes much to Free Will, and yet he confesses, that since the Sin of Adam Man is inclin'd to Evil, and fix'd upon fensible things. He teaches, That the Soul of Jesus Christ, without dissolving the Union to his Divinity, descended into Hell, to fetch thence the Souls of the just, and also of those who had liv'd well under the Law of Nature, who were there in sorrow waiting for their Deliverance. As to what concerns Discipline in his time, one may observe in his Works, That the Communion in both kinds was then given to the Laicks; That the Priests only Consecrated; That the Eucharist was offer'd upon an Altar of Wood; That the Mysteries were hid from the Catechumens and Gentiles; That the Faithful assembled in Churches, where they were a long time at Prayers; That there were then a Multitude of Monks that were subject to their Bishop as their Father, and that some of them were made Bishops; That there were also Virgins who religiously kept their Virginity; That they were not shut up, but assist'd at the Divine Mysteries in the Church; That there were Priests and Bishops married, though but few; That Eunuchs could not then be ordain'd; That the Translation of Bishops was condemn'd; That the People and Clergy chose them, and other Bishops ordain'd them; That they must be chosen out of those that were born in the place, rather than Strangers; That they had a Reverence for Churches and Sacred Vessels; That Churches were dedicated with Ceremonies, and that 'twas not permitted to celebrate Divine Mysteries in them before their Dedication, without some kind of Necessity; That there were Fonts in Churches, and that the Bishop had a Chair rais'd on high, call'd the *Episcopal Throne*; That Oyl and Wine, and Bread for Offerings were kept in the Font; That they had Cemeteries where they assembled in case of Necessity; That the Churches there were govern'd by Priests, who kept there the Assemblies of the People; That the Bishops made their Visitations in their Dioceses; That the Church of Rome was consider'd as the First; That the Church of Alexandria had much Authority over all Egypt; That they us'd to make the sign of the Crois, and believ'd that it drove away Devils; That they receiv'd not the Offerings of the Impious, but only those of the just; That a Bishop was not allow'd to abdicate his Church; That they Fast'd in Lent; That they celebrated the Feast of Easter with great Solemnity; That they us'd the Prayers of the Church, and read the Gospel in the Vulgar tongue, which was understood by the People. I shall not stay to relate the Principles of Morality which are to be found in his Writings, because they are but few, and those few are not handled in their full extent, excepting only what concerns flight from Persecution, and from a Bishoprick, and the Defence of the Truth.

The First Editions of St. Athanasius's Works are very imperfect, and the Last are confus'd. The most ancient that we have found, is a Latin Edition of some Books, which one *Barnabas Cellanus* printed at *Vicenza* in the Year 1482, and which he Dedicated to *Peter Brutus* a Bishop. This Edition is entituled, *Treatises of St. Athanasius against the Hereticks*, and it contains the Four Treatises against the *Arians*, that of the Union of the Humane Nature, together with the Dispute against *Arius*, which was also printed in 1500.

This Edition was follow'd by that of *Paris* in 1520, which contains a good part of the Works of St. Athanasius in Latin, translated by different Authors, together with the Commentaries of *Theophylact* upon the Psalms, which were also publish'd under the Name of St. Athanasius, by *Christopher Perleona*, who caus'd them to be printed at *Rome* in the Year 1477; [in fol. and afterwards in 1496 in fol.] and by *Reuchlin* at *Tubing*, in the Year 1518.

These Discourses were reprint'd at *Frankfort* by *Knoebichus* in 1522, and at *Basle* by *Proben* in 1527. *Eustachius Cornaeus* Printer at *Cologne*, printed them in 1532, without the Commentary of *Theophylact* upon the Psalms, and they were also printed the same Year at *Lyons* by the *Treschels*.

After these, *Episcopius* and *Proben* undertook a new Edition of the Works of this Father: They were assist'd by *Nannius* Professor at *Louvain*, who made a new Version of the most part of the Books which bear the Name of St. Athanasius, and compar'd the Greek with three Manuscripts. They divide the whole into Four Tomes, and place in the last some Discourses attributed to St. Athanasius, which had not been translated by *Nannius*: This Edition was finish'd at *Basle* in 1558, and reprint'd in 1564.

Nivelle added a Fifth Tome, wherein he put the Life of St. Anthony, the Five Dialogues of the Trinity publish'd by *Beza* at *Basle* in 1570. This Edition was printed twice at *Paris*, and the Letter to *Ammon*, in the Year 1572, and in the Year 1581.

Hitherto we have said nothing of publishing the Greek Text of the Works of St. Athanasius. *Commelinus*, a famous Printer at *Heidelberg*, first undertook it, which he happily finish'd in the Year 1600; and the same Year he publish'd in Greek and Latin, over against one another, all the Works of St. Athanasius in two Volumes, whereof the First contains those that were translated by *Nannius*, and the Second all that could be found besides. The Greek Text is revis'd by many Manuscripts, and printed very exactly. He took care also to add at the End, the different Readings collected by *Fleminius*; but these are only in some Copies. This Edition, though very large, is very confus'd; for the Books are without any order, without any Observations, and many times the Version is very faulty.

It was a little while after correct'd by *Fronto Ducanus*, and printed at *Paris* without the Greek in 1612, but he has left many Faults.

At last in the Year 1627, the Booksellers of *Paris* made a New Edition Greek and Latin of the Works of St. Athanasius. They follow'd *Commelinus*'s for the Greek, and that of 1612, for the Latin; and though they say in their Advertisement that they have exactly revis'd the Greek Text by the Manuscripts in the Royal Library, and have correct'd an infinite number of places in it, yet they have still left a good number of Faults behind. They have added in this Edition the Greek of the Life of

St. Anthony,

St. Anthony, which was publish'd before by *Hoschelius* in 1611, a Homily upon Easter, publish'd by *Planin* at *Antwerp*, in 1508, the Homilies of *Hoselinius*, and some other Fragments: But they have neither chang'd the Order of the Books, nor distinguish'd the Genuine from the Supposititious.

What I have now said, sufficiently discovers the Necessity that some very Skilful Person, or rather, some Religious Society, should undertake to publish a New Edition of the Works of St. Athanasius. And to make it perfect, they must compare the Greek Text exactly with Manuscripts, make a new Version of all the Books, distinguish the Genuine from the Supposititious, and make a separate Volume of these Last, dividing the First, as we have done, into Four Parts: The First should comprehend the Historical Books; the Second, the Dogmatical; the Third, the Moral; and the Last, those upon the Scriptures. In the Historical, they must observe the Order and Thread of the History; in the Dogmatical, they must keep the Order of the Subject Matters; and in those upon the Scripture, they must first place those that are more general, following very near the Order which we have observ'd in our Abridgment. As to the Supposititious Books, 'twere good to distinguish them into three Ranks: The First, should contain the Books of ancient Authors unknown; the Second, those of Modern Authors; and the Third, those whereof the Authors are known, unless you would rather pass by the Last, and remit the Reader to the Books where they are printed, [with the other Works of those Authors to whom they do of right belong.]

JACOBUS NISIBENUS.

ST. JAMES, a Native of *Nisibis* a City of *Mesopotamia*, which was anciently the Boundary of the Empire between the *Persians* and *Romans*, having led a very austere life in the Desert, and becoming famous by his Confession under *Maximian*, and by the great number of Miracles which he wrought, was chosen Bishop of that City, where he was born: though he did not for that forsake his manner of life, nor work fewer Miracles than before; nay, 'tis said, that he even rais'd up the Dead. He assist'd at the Council of *Nice*, where he condemn'd the Heresie of *Arius*; and *Theodoret* says, that being at *Constantinople*, when they would oblige *Alexander* Bishop of that Church to receive *Arius* into Communion, he advis'd the Catholics to have recourse to God by Fasting and Prayer, and to Pray all together for the space of Seven Days, that they might agree among themselves what was best to be done. The *Persians* coming about the Year 338, to Besiege the City of *Nisibis*, St. James upon this occasion did the Office both of a Governor and a Bishop; for he not only made fervent Prayers for his People, but encourag'd them by his Exhortations to Rebuild a Wall in the room of that which the Besiegers had beat down; he mounted upon the Walls of the City, and appear'd Miraculously clothed with Purple, as if he had been an Emperour. 'Tis said also, That at his Prayer God rain'd an infinite Multitude of Gnats, which so annoy'd the Besiegers, that they were forc'd to retire in disorder. This Story is related not only by *Theodoret*, who has written the Life of this Saint, in his Book entituled, *Philothheus* [which is an Historical Account of Thirty eminent Ascetics] and who speaks also of this Circumstance in his *Hist. Ch. 30.* of his Second Book; but also by *Philoforgius*, who cannot be suspected of too much favour to so great an Enemy of the *Arians*.

St. Athanasius speaks of this Saint, as of a Bishop who had written for the Church: And if St. Jerome has not plac'd him among the number of Ecclesiastical Writers, it is because, as *Gennadius* has observ'd, that this Father understood not the Syriack Tongue, having never read those Syriack Writers, [This, with *Gennadius*'s leave, is something strange: for it is not credible that a Man who liv'd so long in *Palatine*, where Syriack was the Mother Tongue, and who understood Hebrew so well as St. Jerome did, should not understand Syriack, which is but a different Dialect.] whom he mentions but in their Version; so that we must not wonder, that he says nothing of his Works, because they were never translated into Greek. *Gennadius* has made a Catalogue, wherein he says, That the Work of this Author contain'd 26 Books, but he names but 23. The 1st. is concerning Faith; The 2d. against all Heresies; The 3d. of Charity in general; The 4th. of Charity towards our Neighbours; The 5th. of Fasting; The 6th. of Prayer; The 7th. of the Resurrection; The 8th. of the Life after Death; The 9th. of Annihilation; The 10th. of Patience; The 11th. of Penance; The 12th. of Satisfaction; The 13th. of Virginitie; The 14th. of the Life of the Soul; The 15th. concerning Circumcision; The 16th. concerning the Benediction of the Grape, which is the cause that the Bunch of Grapes is preserv'd, which is mention'd by the Prophet *Isaiah*, Ch. 65; The 17th. of Jesus Christ, to prove that he is the Son of God and Consistent to his Father; The 18th. of Chastity; The 19th. against the Gentiles; The 20th. of the Building of the Tabernacle; The 21st. of the Conversion of the Gentiles; The 22d. of the Empire of the Persians; The 23th. of the Persecution of the Christians. *Gennadius*, says also, That this Father made a Chronicle, less studied indeed than that of the Greeks, but more bold; for by using the words of Scripture, he stops the mouth of all those that question the Coming of Jesus Christ upon vain Conjectures. "This holy Man, as *Gennadius* goes on, died under *Constantian*, and was buried by *Constantine*'s Order in the City of *Nisibis*, to be a kind of a Defender of it after his Death; but some time after, *Julian* entering into this City, either because he could not endure the Glory of this Saint, or because he would reproach the Memory of *Constantine*, commanded, that the Relicks of his holy Body should be thrown out of the City; wherefore in a few Months after the Emperour *Jovian* was forc'd, to save his Empire, to Surrender it to the *Persians*, under whose Dominion it still remains. [Theodoret gives us another Account of the removal of St. James's Body: He says, That when *Jovian* Surrender'd up *Nisibis* to the *Persians*, the Inhabitants who left the Town, carried the

Jacobus Nisibenus.

Martyr's

Martyrs Bones along with them: His Testimony is the more valuable because he lived near the place, and also, because, as he tells us himself in his *Ecclesiastical History*, he took a great deal of pains to collect and write down the Wonderful Things which were related of this Saint.]

MARCELLUS of Ancyra.

Marcellus
of Ancyra.

MARCELLUS Bishop of Ancyra, assisted at the Council of Nice, where he defended the Faith and oppos'd the *Arians*, as Pope *Julius* affirms, upon the Report of St. *Sylveſter* the Pope. After that Council he wrote a Book against *Arianus* and other Bishops of the *Arian* Faction, entituled, *Concerning the Submission of Jesus Christ*; wherein he advances many Propositions favouring the Error of the *Subellians*. The *Eusebians* immediately accus'd him of this Heresy, and 'tis said, that he promis'd in the Council of Jerusalem to burn his Book; but refusing to do it when he was at Constantinople, he was condemn'd and depos'd in a Council held in that City by the *Eusebians* in the Year 336. There is some probability that he was restor'd again to his See after the Death of *Constantine*; but he was driven away at the same time that St. *Athanasius* was forc'd out of Alexandria, and oblig'd to fly for Refuge into the West, where he was Abolv'd in the Councils of Rome and Sardica. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* say, That after this last Council, he was restor'd to his Bishoprick as well as St. *Athanasius*, but that he could not live there in quiet, because *Basil*, who was Ordain'd in his room in the Year 336, was in Possession of his See; and what became of him afterwards is not known. St. *Hilary* and *Sulpitius Severus* affirm, That St. *Athanasius* having discover'd that he favour'd the Error of *Photinus*, depriv'd him of his Communion; and this Bishop seeing himself condemn'd by his Judgment, refrain'd from coming to the Church-Gate. But this Relation is not true; for St. *Athanasius* does always speak of him in his Writings as a Catholick Bishop, and we understand by the Letters which St. *Basil* wrote to St. *Athanasius* a little before his Death, that this Father continued always in Communion with him. St. *Jerom* places *Marcellus of Ancyra* among the number of Ecclesiastical Writers; and says that he compos'd many Volumes upon different Subjects, but chiefly against the *Arians*. We have nothing of his Works remaining, but some Fragments recited by *Eusebius* in the Books which he wrote against this Author: These passages are very intricate, and favour the Error of the *Subellians*. Some have accus'd *Eusebius*, that he took for a positive Assertion what *Marcellus* had only propos'd by way of Doubt or Objection; but the contrary appears sufficiently from *Eusebius*'s Books, where 'tis plain, that in the greatest part of the passages which he recites, *Marcellus of Ancyra* proposes his true Sentiment, which 'tis very difficult to explain in a Catholick Sense. It appears by these Fragments, that *Marcellus* was a Man that talked much, who had little Wit, or Knowledge, or Eloquence, and was altogether void of good Sense. St. *Epiphanius* in *Heret.* 72. recites a Letter of *Marcellus of Ancyra*.

HOSIUS.

Hosius.

HOSIUS Bishop of Corduba, a City of Spain, did generously confess the Faith of Christ, in the Persecution of the Emperor *Diocletian*. The *Donatists* affirm, That he was condemn'd for his Crimes by the Bishops of Spain, and was afterwards Abolv'd by those of France: But this is a Notorious Calumny, of which they have no Proof, and which is sufficiently confuted by the great Reputation that *Hosius* had all his Life-time; besides, that his Enemies never charg'd him with any such thing. His Name is found amongst the Names of those Bishops that Subscrib'd to the Canons, which are believ'd to be made in the Council of Elvira. He was known to *Constantine*, while this Emperor was in the West, and follow'd him into the East; where he was so much esteem'd by him, that he was chosen to be sent into Egypt, to settle the Controversies that were risen there about the Heresy of *Arian*, and the Celebration of *Easter*. There he assembled a Council, to which the Egyptians have not scrupled to give the Name of *Oecumenical*, and us'd his utmost endeavours to reduce *Arian* to the Communion of his Bishop *Alexander*, and to establish Peace: But all was in vain, for was necessary to have recourse to a more Powerful Remedy; which was the General Council of Nice. There he was chosen President, either because of his eminent Vertues, and Rare Qualities, or because he had a perfect Knowledge of the Matter, which was to be handled in that Council. He presided also at the Council of Sardica, and maintain'd for a long time with great Constancy the Faith of the Nice Council, and the Innocence of St. *Athanasius*, under the Reign of *Constantinus*. This Emperor did in vain solicit him with Promises and Threatenings, for he answer'd and wrote to him with unshaken Firmness; but at last, he was so far overcome by the Mollities which he us'd in Banishment, as not only to Communicate with *Ursacius* and *Valens*, in the Year 337; as St. *Athanasius* confesses, but also to Subscribe to the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, which is *Arian*, as St. *Hilary* and *Rhebasius*, who liv'd at the same time, do clearly Testify. Yet 'tis true, that St. *Athanasius* who endeavours to excuse the Fault of his Friend, as much as he can, says, That he did not Subscribe to his Condemnation, and that his Friend at his Death, protected by his Last Will and Testament, against what he had done, and expressly condemn'd the Heresy of *Arian*. These two Authors, whom we cited before, do not speak at this Rate of him; but on the contrary, St. *Hilary*, says, That his Subscription discover'd what he was formerly, i. e. an Hypocrite, who had no other Religion, but that of the Court.

But it will be better to spare his Memory with St. *Athanasius*, than to blacken it by Declamations without Ground. His Fault indeed was very great, but then his great Age, and the Violence that was us'd towards him, do render him the less culpable; and I think we ought to believe upon the Testimony of St. *Athanasius*, that he repented of what he had done before his Death. 'Tis true, that the two *Luciferians* tell us a Story which would prove the contrary if it were certain; but it looks like a Fable. They say in their Petition to the Emperor *Valentinian*, that *Hosius* being return'd into Spain with a Declaration of the Emperor, wherein 'twas ordain'd, That all those that would not Communicate with him, should be cast out of their Sees; One *Gregory*, Bishop of the Province of *Betica*, a dull Man, but a zealous Defender of the Faith, refus'd to Communicate with him; and being forcibly carried away to Cordoba by the Governor's Guards, he continued firm in his Opinion, and boldly reprov'd *Hosius*. That *Hosius* being mov'd with a violent Passion, desired of the Governor to send that Bishop into Banishment: But the Governor answer'd him, That he must first be Condemn'd. And that *Hosius* being ready to pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation against him, he appeal'd to the Tribunal of Jesus Christ, and when *Hosius* was just beginning to Pronounce the Sentence, he fell into Convulsions, and was cast down Dead upon the Ground, or at least lost his Speech. This is what these two *Luciferian* Priests say of *Hosius*'s End: But besides that this Relation is refuted by the Positive Testimony of St. *Athanasius*, which is much more credible than theirs; it has all over the Air of a Fable feign'd by *Lucifer*'s Party, who please themselves, as is usual for the most part with those Devoto's that are too aukere, with such kind of Tragical Stories that happen for the Punishment of some Crime. He liv'd almost 100 Years, and died in the Year 338. St. *Athanasius* in his Letter to the Egyptians, which is call'd his First Discourse against the *Arians*, places *Hosius* in the number of those who had written against the *Arians*; but we have no more of him but that excellent Letter to *Constantinus*, recited by St. *Athanasius* in his Letter to those that liv'd a Monastick Life; of which we have made an Extract, when we discours'd of the Works of St. *Athanasius*. *Isidore of Sevil* attributes also to *Hosius* a Letter to his Sister, in praise of Virginitie; which was written, as he says, in a stile very Eloquent and Polite; and moreover, he says, That he was the Author of a Part of the Canons of the Council of Sardica: Some also have said that he made the *Nicene Creed*, but without Ground.

We may join with *Hosius*, some Authors whereof St. *Athanasius* makes mention in his Letter to the Egyptians, who compos'd very Orthodox Books, which we have not at present, and whereof we have not so much as the Titles. These Authors are *Maximinus* of France, Bishop of Trier, and his Successor *Prologus*; *Philogonius* of Antioch; *Cyrillus* of Mytila; *Pisus* and *Arifetus*, of Greece; *Sylveſter* and *Protogenes*, of Dacia; *Leontius* and *Euphychius*, of Cappadocia; *Cecilian*, of Africk; *Enforgius*, of Italy; *Capito*, of Sicily; *Mucarius*, of Jerusalem; *Alexander*, of Constantinople; *Pedaronius*, of Hircania; *Meletius*, *Basil* and *Longinus*, of Pontus and Armenia; *Lupus* and *Appianus*, of Cilicia. All these Bishops, and many others, compos'd Letters or Books, which were extant in St. *Athanasius*'s time, but now we know nothing of them.

JULIUS.

JULIUS, was ordain'd Bishop of Rome, in the Year 334, or 335. He call'd a Council at Rome, in which St. *Athanasius* was declar'd Innocent; and wrote a Letter to the Bishops of the East, of which we have given an Extract, when we gave an Account of the Works of St. *Athanasius*. He sent his Legates to the Council of Sardica, and wrote a Letter to those of Alexandria, wherein he Congratulates the return of St. *Athanasius* to them. These two Letters are genuine, and are to be found in the Works of St. *Athanasius*. The *Eutychians* have attributed to Pope *Julius*, a Letter concerning the Incarnation, address'd to one *Dioscorys*, which *Gennadius* believ'd to be truly his; tho' he observes, That tho' it might be useful in the time of this Pope, against those that admitted Two Persons in Jesus Christ; yet it prov'd pernicious after the Heresy of *Eutyches* and *Timotheus*, which it very much favour'd. But this Letter has been rejected by *Hypatius*, in a Conference at Constantinople, with the *Acephali*; by *Facundus*, B. VII. Ch. 1. By *Enulgius*, in his Third Discourse; and by *Leontius* of Constantinople, Book of *Sells*, Ch. 8. who have all affirmed, That 'twas written by *Apollinaris*, and by the *Eutychians*, and fallily attributed to Pope *Julius*. There is another Letter of *Julius*, about the Incarnation, to *Docus*, which is also cited in the Council of Ephesus, Art. 1. *Facundus* has acknowledg'd it for Genuine; and *Vincentius Lirinensis*, says, that in that Council, the Faith of the Church, was confirm'd by the Testimony of Pope *Julius*. *Ephrem* has also acknowledg'd it for Genuine, as appears by an Extract out of his Third Book of Laws, related by *Photinus*. *Anasthasius*, has cited it in his Collections about the Incarnation, as written by *Acacius*. *Leontius* only has reject'd it in his Treatise of *Sells*, where he affirms, That 'tis the Work of *Timotheus*, a Disciple of *Apollinaris*, as was prov'd then by many Copies. He adds, nevertheless, That 'tis not at all contrary to the Faith, and that 'is no great matter whose it is. In short, the same *Leontius*, affirms, That there were no Writings of *Julius* in his time (which must be understood with an exception to those that are extant in St. *Athanasius*), and that the Seven Epistles which bear his Name, were *Apollinaris*'s. And truly, there is no probability, that *Julius* wrote Letters about the Incarnation at a time when there was no Question, but about the Trinity: Besides, 'tis known, that the *Eutychians*, were wont to attribute the Works of *Apollinaris*, to the Fathers, who had the Reputation of Catholicks, as St. *Athanasius*, St. *Gregory*, and St. *Cyril*, that so they might deceive the People, and engage them unto their Heresy.

I say nothing of the two Decretal Epistles attributed to Pope *Julius*, because they are plainly supposititious. This Pope died in the Year 352, and was succeeded by *Liberius*. The Author of *Damasus's* Pontifical, *Ursardus*, *Ado*, and some others, relate, That he was Banish'd for the space of Ten Months, till the Death of *Constantius*: But this cannot be maintain'd, for *Julius* never suffer'd any Persecution, nor any Banishment, for the Defence of *St. Athanasius*, since this Father says not one word of it in his Books, who would never have fail'd to charge the *Arians* with the Banishment of *Julius*, as well as with that of *Liberius*, and other Bishops of his Party.

ASTERIUS.

ST. JEROM places this *Arian* Philosopher among the Number of Ecclesiastical Writers, not because he wrote a Book against the Faith of the Church about the Trinity, but because of his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, upon the *Gospels*, upon the *Psalms*, and many other Books; which shews, That a Heretic may be plac'd amongst Ecclesiastical Authors, when he writes such Learned Books as may be serviceable to the Church. *St. Athanasius* gives a very different Character of this *Asterius* from that which *Eusebius* had given of him in his Book against *Marcellus*. "One *Asterius*, says he, in his Book of the Two Synods, a Sophist of *Cappadocia*, is a Partizan of the *Eusebians*; and when he could not enter into the Order of the Clergy, because he had Sacrific'd to Idols, during the Persecution of *Maximian*, he was advis'd to write a Book for the Opinions of *Eusebius*, the Impiety of which is equal to that of his Idolatry: For there he compares Jesus Christ to a Locust, and a Worm of the Earth; nay, and seems to prefer these Insects before him. He affirms, That the Word which is in Jesus Christ, is different from the Word which created the World: He runs through all *Syria*, and enters into all the Churches by the Favour of *Eusebius's* Recommendation, to teach others to deny Jesus Christ. He insolently opposes the Truth, and goes into those places which are appointed only for the Clergy, and there he rehearses very loudly his impious Book. Thus *St. Athanasius* describes the Man and his Work. There are some Fragments preserved in his Writings, which expressly contain the impious Opinions of the *Arians*: I am only now to tell you, That this *Asterius*, is different from the Bishop of *Amasea*.

THEODORUS.

THEODORUS, Bishop of *Perinthus*, a City of *Thrace*, who was also call'd *Heraclius*, was a Bishop of the *Eusebian* Party. *St. Athanasius* in his Letter to the Bishops of *Egypt*, places him among the Number of those that were condemned, being Priests, and afterwards promoted to Episcopal Dignity by the Intrigues of the *Arians*. He assist'd at the Council of *Tyre*, and was one of the Deputies that were sent to *Mareotis*, to Inform against *St. Athanasius*. He assist'd also at the Council of *Antioch*, and came to that of *Sardica*, and having retir'd from thence with the Bishops of the *East*; he was Depos'd and Excommunicated in a Synod of the *Western* Bishops. *St. Jerom* and *Theodoret*, Testify, that he was very Learned, and compos'd in the Reign of the Emperor *Constantius*, very Elegant and Clear Commentaries upon the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, and *St. John*, upon the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and the *Psalms*, in which he endeavours, particularly to explain the Historical Sense of them. We have in the *Catena* upon *St. Matthew*, publish'd by *Corderius*, and printed at *Amwerp*, in the Year 1642, some Fragments attributed to this *Theodorus*: But one cannot be certain upon the Credit of this *Catena*, that they are truly his.

TRYPHILIUS.

TRYPHILIUS, Bishop of a City in the Isle of *Cyprus*, call'd *Ledra*, was, according to *St. Jerom*, one of the most Eloquent Writers of his Age; and was in great Reputation under the Reign of *Constantius*. *St. Jerom* had read his Commentary upon the *Canticles*, and says, That he wrote many other Books that never came to his Hands.

HELIO-

HELIODORUS.

GENNADIUS informs us of this Author, in this manner. "*Heliodorus* a Priest, has written a Book of the nature of Principles, wherein he shews, That there is but one Principle only; That there is nothing Eternal, but God; That God is not the Author of Evil; That all he does, is Good; That he created the Matter which the Malice of Men makes use of to do Evil; That nothing was created without him, and that he having foreseen that Nature would become subject to Corruption by Sin, he forewarn'd Man of this Punishment. I have read nothing else that concerns this Author. *Gennadius*, places him among those Writers that liv'd in the time of *Constantius*.

DONATUS, and Vitellius and Macrobius his Disciples.

ST. JEROM places among the Number of Ecclesiastical Writers, *Donatus*, Head of the Party of the *Donatists* in *Africa*; which in all probability is to be understood of the Bishop of *Carthage*. He says, That he wrote many Books concerning his own Sect; and a Book of the Holy Spirit, whose Doctrine was agreeable to that of the *Arians*. *St. Augustin* has wrote a Book against a Letter of this *Donatus*, and he assures us in his Book of Heresies, That he was an Eloquent Writer. *Gennadius*, mentions two other Authors of the same Party: The First is *Vitellius*, Who wrote, says he, a Book to Defend his Party, upon this Argument, That the Servants of God are hated of the World. This Book adds he, contain'd Excellent Doctrine, if he had not treated the Catholics as Persecutors. He has written also against the Gentiles, and against the Catholics, who, as he pretends, sately betray'd the Holy Books in the time of Persecution. There are some other Writings of his, which concern the Discipline of the Church. He flourish'd under *Constantius*, the Son of *Constantine*.

The Second is *Macrobius*, a *Donatist* Priest, who is mention'd in the Writings of *Optatus*, who was afterwards sent to *Rome*, to be Bishop there of those of his Party. He wrote before his Separation, a Book directed to Confessors and Virgins; which is a Book of Morality, and contains very useful Instructions, chiefly, to teach one to live in Inviolable Chastity. He flourish'd in *Africa*, among the Catholics, and at *Rome* among the *Donatists*.

* Which is to be understood of the Bishop of *Carthage*.
There were Two *Donati* of the same Party, as *St. Austin* observes, B. 1. *Revvat*, ch. 12. The First was *Donatus* Bishop of *Casae nigrae*, or *Calane*, who never was Bishop of *Carthage*, whatever *Albassineus* says, and the Second *Donatus* was Successor to *Adygnus*, against whom *St. Austin* wrote a Book, call'd a *Dyscolie* against the Epistle of *Donatus*; which was written the last by *Donatus*, for he compos'd that Epistle which *St. Austin* refutes; and confirm'd the Faction of the *Donatists* by his Eloquence.

* *St. Augustin* has wrote a Book against a Letter of this *Donatus*.
[Lib. 1. *Revvat*, ch. 21. I have written, says he, a Book against the Epistle of *Donatus*, who was

Bishop of *Carthage*, next after *Majorinus*, wherein he pretends, that the Baptism of Jesus Christ is invalid out of his own Communion.

* Who is mention'd in the Writings of *Optatus*.
[B. II. p. 37. He says, speaking to the *Donatists*, That ye have many of your Party in the City of *Rome*; This is a Branch of your Error, which proceeds from a Lye, and can't come from the Root of Truth: And if it be demand'd of *Macrobius*, what See he belongs to, he may say that he belongs to the Chair of *St. Peter*, which perhaps he never saw. How can he enter into the Church where the Sepulchers of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* are? Did he ever offer to do it?

ST. ANTHONY.

ST. ANTHONY, who was the First Institutor of a Monastick Life, was born towards the Year 250, in *Egypt*: His Parents who were Christians, and very considerable for their Nobility, took great Care to Educate him in Piety: He was not Instructed in humane Learning, neither had he any Commerce with the World. His Father and Mother dying when he was but Eighteen Years old, left great Riches to him and his Sister: But a little after, he took up a Resolution of forsaking the World entirely; and then he distributed his Inheritance to his Neighbours, Sold his Moveables, and gave the Price of them to the Poor, and retir'd into a solitary Place towards the Year 270. The first place of his Retreat, was a Cell near his own Village, and after that, he shut himself up in a Sepulchre that was more remote; but at last, he pass'd over the *Nile*, and retir'd into the Ruins of an Old Castle, where he stay'd near 20 Years. But he was forc'd to come forth from thence, towards the Year 305, to govern those that came to put themselves under his Conduct. About this time, the number of those that follow'd him, encreasing daily, several Monasteries were begun to be built in the Deserts, to which *St. Anthony* was as a Father. His Charity oblig'd him to go out of his Solitude, during the Persecution of *Maximinus*, and to come to the City of *Alexandria*, that he might assist the Christians which suffer'd for Jesus Christ. But the Persecution was no longer ended, but he return'd to his Monastery, where he betook himself to his former Exercises, and wrought many Miracles, for Delivering those that were posses'd, and Curing those that were sick. But these Extraordinary Actions drawing after him a great Multitude of Persons, who troubled his Retirement,

he withdrew to the remotest Part of the Mountains, and there built a Cell, or a little Monastery upon Mount *Colezim*, about a Day's Journey from the *Red-Sea*. He liv'd long in this Solitude, out of which he went nevertheless from time to time to visit his former Disciples, who look'd upon him always as their Father. In a word, After he had acquir'd an Immortal Fame here on Earth, he went to receive the Reward of his Labours in Heaven, in the 151th. Year of the Reign of *Constantinus*, i. e. in the Year 356, being the 1051th. Year of his Age.

These are the principal Circumstances of the Life of *St. Anthony*, taken out of the History of his Life, attributed to *St. Athanasius*, which one may read if he has a mind to know those things more particularly. But this is not the place to insist upon them, for we consider him neither as a Monk, nor as a Saint, but only as a Writer. And one may say with all the respect that is due to him, That in this Capacity, he was much less Famous, and less known; for as he had not studied at all, so he could not undertake to write any Great Books; but the quickness of his Wit, might furnish him with Pieces of less Consequence, such as Letters, Exhortations and Answers, to that no Writings but of these sorts are attributed to him.

St. Jerome, says, That he wrote in the Egyptian Tongue, Seven Letters to several Monasteries, which come near, says he, to the Opinions of the Apostles, and their manner of Writing; and these have been translated into Greek, but we have nothing of them at present, but a Latin Version, which is attributed to one *Surausus*. The First of these Letters is, concerning Vocation; the Second, concerning the Snare of the Devil, and the means of avoiding them; the Third is, concerning the Blessings of God towards Mankind; the Fourth, concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; the Fifth, concerning Christian Vigilance; the Sixth, concerning the Knowledge of one's self, and the Necessity of the Incarnation; the Seventh and Last, is also concerning the Knowledge of our selves; and he Concludes with an Advertisment against *Arians*. Of these Letters, there are six address'd to the *Armenians*, (i. e. to the Monks of one of his Monasteries, which was at *Arzene*) tho' *St. Jerome* speaks but of one that was directed to them. These are all written with much Candor; the Thoughts and Expressions indeed are something elevated, but the Air is simple and without Ornament. There a Man may find a great deal of Piety, and many Excellent Counsels, especially for those Persons that make profession of a Monastick Life. In short, 'Tis obvious to every one that reads them, That the Writer was a much better Christian, than a Scribe, one that understood better the Maxims of Christianity, than the Precepts of Eloquence, and was much more fill'd with the Union of the Holy One, than with Humane Science and Learning.

St. Athanasius, or the Author of the Life of *St. Anthony*, which is attributed to this Father, sets down a long Exhortation to *St. Anthony's* Monks, which contains many Instructions very useful for them, and whole/some Advices about the Temptations of the Devil. There are also found in this Writing, ingenious Answers of the same Saint to the Philosophers, and some other Persons, and a Letter to the Emperour.

There is moreover a short Rule attributed to *St. Anthony*, set down in the Collection of Rules made by *St. Benedictus Anianensis* who liv'd towards the Year 820, from the birth of Christ, which contains many Moral Precepts, and prescribes some Monastick Observations. Besides these, *Gerard Vossius* has given us under the Name of *St. Anthony*, a Sermon, which is a Declaration against the Vices and Excesses of the Men of the World, at the End of which he Exhorts Men to do Penance, by representing unto them the Judgment of God, and the Pains which the damned suffer after the Resurrection. 'Tis hard to say, whether this Discourse be truly *St. Anthony's*, or whether it be only put out under his Name, as a Discourse that would agree exactly to one so retir'd from the World as he was. Be that as it will, it has much of the Style of this Saint's Letters, though more Elegant and Sublime.

Lastly, There were two Books of Latin Sermons, attributed to *St. Anthony* in the time of *Trithemius*; but now all the Critics agree, that they are none of his, neither can be, since they cite *St. Basil*, *St. Gregory Nyssen*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Nilus* and *Phoebus*, Authors that liv'd and wrote after *St. Anthony*. The Letters of *St. Anthony* were printed apart, and are since inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. His Rule is in *Benedictus Anianensis's* Code, publish'd by *Holstenius*, from the Copy of a Manuscript; (which was in the Monastery of *St. Maximin*, near *Triers*;) [at Rome in 1661.] and reprinted in *Quarto* at Paris, by *Billaine* in 1663.

St. PACHOMIUS.

Though *St. Anthony* was the Infitutor of a Monastick Life, yet *St. Pachomius* ought to be considered as the Author of a Cenobitick Life, because he was the first that appointed regulated Societies. He was Born in *Thebais*, of Gentle Parents, and did for some time bear Arms in the War of *Constantine* against *Maxentius*. When this War was ended, he, who had been always a Christian in his Heart, was baptiz'd, and retir'd with an Hermit nam'd *Palemon*, under whose Conduct he led a very austere Life. He stay'd afterward in *Tabenna*, a Country of Egypt, situated on the Brink of the Nile in the Diocese of *Tentyra*, where he Founded a Monastery, in obedience, as is believ'd, to the Admonition of an Angel, and in Conformity to a Rule, which he is thought to have received from him. Be this as it will, (for though this Story be related by many Authors, I do not think that any Man is absolutely oblig'd to believe it.) Be this as it will, I say, the Monastery which he Founded in *Tabenna*, was fill'd in a very little time, and he was oblig'd to build many more of them; so that he peopl'd all the *Upper Thebais* with Monasteries of his Order. 'Tis reported in the Greek Acts of his Life, pub-

lish'd not long since in the great Collection of the Lives of the Saints by *Bollandus* and *Papebrochius*, that he was accus'd at a Synod of *Diospolis*, because he Divin'd the most secret Thoughts of Men; but he was Absolv'd by the same Synod, where were two of his Disciples, after he declar'd that God of his Grace reveal'd to him the most hidden things. He died about the Year 400. We have in the Life of *St. Pachomius* a Rule which is thought to have been given him by the Angels; but there is another also which bears the Name of this holy Abbot, in the Collection of the *Oriental Rules*, in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and at the End of some Editions of *Cassian*, which is much larger, and seems to have been drawn up at different times. It contains many Rules concerning the Habits, the Diet, the Employments and the Discipline of Monks: 'Tis thought to have been translated by *St. Jerome*, and there is at the beginning, a Letter which imitates the Style of this Father well enough. There are also some Moral Precepts publish'd under his Name by *Gerard Vossius*, printed at *Mentz* in the Year 1604. and in *Benedictus Anianensis's* Collection, there are Eleven Letters* of the same Author, written with much Simplicity, which are cited by *Gennadius*; and a Letter of *Theodorus* his Disciple, concerning *Easter*. *Gennadius* calls *St. Pachomius* a Man truly Apostolical in his Discourses and Actions: His Rule is very Judicious, and comes down to all the Particulars necessary for the Government of a Monastery.

* Eleven Letters.] These were written, as *Gennadius* observes, to the Superiors of the Monasteries of his Community, who are design'd by the Letters of the Alphabet; there is One to the Abbot *Hysus*, One to the Abbot *Conelius*, One to all the Superiors, to advertise them to come and Celebrate the Feast of *Easter*, at a Monastery call'd in the Egyptian Tongue *Baim*, and this is cited by *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, in a Letter cited by *Bucherius*: There is another to the same persons, giving them notice to meet on the Day of Remission, i. e. at the General Chapter, which was held in the Month of *August*; and another to the Brethren, who were gone out of the Monastery to Work.

ORSIESIS.

ORSIESIS was Successor to *Pachomius* after *Petronius*, who govern'd the Monastery of *Tabenna* but a few days. He has written a Spiritual Treatise of the Doctrine or Institution of *Orsiesis*, which he left when he was a Dying to the Religious of his Monastery. 'Tis an Exhortation that he made to them to Watch over themselves, and to discharge their Duties exactly, and is fill'd with many Passages of Scripture, which he applies to his Subjects very properly. Upon this account 'twas that *Gennadius* said that this Treatise was season'd with Divine Salt, *Divino sale conditus*. 'Twas printed apart by *Gymnicus* at *Cologne* in the Year 1536. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. This found also in *Benedictus Anianensis's* Code, that was publish'd by *Holstenius*.

THEODORUS.

THEODORUS a Presbyter, one of the Principal Disciples of *St. Pachomius*, and his Successor in the Government of the Abby of *Tabenna*, if we believe *Gennadius*, wrote Letters to other Monasteries, which are almost wholly made up of Passages of Scripture: and yet there he often mentions his Master *St. Pachomius*, and proposes his Example and Doctrine for their Instruction. He admonishes also some Religious to continue with Zeal in their Vocation, and exhorts those that were separated from the Society of others to a Re-Union. *Gennadius* says, that there were Three Letters on this Subject, but we have only one Extant, which concerns the Assembly of Monks at *Easter*, and that, as we have already said, is in the Abbot of *Anio's* Code.

The MACARII.

There are several Hermits of this Name, that liv'd much about the same time, and who are easily confounded, if one does not take heed. The First is he that dwelt in the Desert of *Sceta*, and liv'd in the time of *St. Pachomius* and *Orsiesis*, and was *Evagrius's* Master: He was an Abbot in Egypt, and his Feast is kept on the 15th. of January: He was call'd the Young Old-man, *maurocygus*, because he had in his Youth the Judgment and Gravity of an Old-man. The Second *Macarius*, Abbot in *Thebais*, was the Disciple of *St. Pachomius* and his Feast is kept on the 12th. of January. 'Tis commonly believ'd, That the First of these *Macarii* was the Disciple and Interpreter of *St. Anthony*, mention'd by *St. Jerome* in the Life of *Paul* the Hermit: But *Possinus* the Jesuit maintains with great probability, that the Disciple of *St. Anthony* was different from both these two; and he proves it, because he was one of these two Disciples, who stay'd with *St. Anthony* in his Solitude Fifteen Years, and interr'd him; which cannot be said of the First *Macarius*, who died in 390, after he had been 60 Years a Monk of *Sceta*.

The Macarii.

There is yet a 4th. *Macarius*, a Monk as well as the other three, but Younger than they, who wrote at Rome about the beginning of the 5th. Century, a Treatise against the Mathematicians. This is he to whom *Ruffinus* address'd his Apology for *Origen*, and of whom *St. Jerom* says to *Ruffinus* in his ad. Apology, *If you had not come from the East, this able Man had been still among the number of Mathematicians*; And in his 16th. Letter, *He had been Truly Macarius, that's to say, Blessed, if he had met with such a Master*. There are many Books which bear the Name of *Macarius*, and tis not known to which of the three they belong. These are, First, Fifty Greek Homilies, translated by *Picus*, printed at Paris in *Ottavo* in the Year 1559, and printed since in *Folio* in the Year 1623, with *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*. There is also an Edition in *Ottavo*, printed at *Frankfort* in 1594, with the Translation of *Zacharias Pithenius*, and they are inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. Secondly, Seven Tracts, publish'd in Greek and Latin by the Jesuit *Possinus*, in his Book, entitled, *Theſaurus Aſceticus*, or the *Ascetical Treasure*, printed at *Tholose* in the Year 1684. Thirdly, A Rule publish'd by *Roverius* from a Manuscript of the Abby of *Becco*, and in the Collection of the Abbot of *Anian*, where there is also another Rule written by way of Dialogue between *Serapion*, *Paphnutius*, and the two *Macarii*, which had been publish'd at the End of *Cassian*, in the Antwerp Edition of the Year 1578.

Gennadius assures us, That *Macarius* the Egyptian, i.e. the Elder, who was a Monk of *Sera*, wrote only one Letter to the young Monks, wherein he teaches that Man can perfectly serve God, when knowing his Nature, he does voluntarily embrace all sorts of Labour, and resists all that is most Charming in this Life, to try the Aids that God has given him; and in short, when by keeping himself pure, he arrives to that degree of Continenence, that it becomes as it were natural to him. The Subject of this Letter comes near to those Principles which are found in the Tracts & Greek Sermons that bear the Name of *Macarius*, which would make me believe that they were his, if *Gennadius* had not assur'd us, that *Macarius* the Egyptian wrote but one Letter only, which he mentions. We must therefore say, either that *Gennadius* was mistaken, or that he intended another *Macarius*; or lastly, That the Author of these Works, was that *Macarius*, who was the Disciple and Interpreter of *St. Anthony*, supposing with *Possinus*, that he was not *Macarius* the Egyptian.

However, The 50 Homilies appear to me to be very Ancient; they are Exhortations to the Religious, and not Sermons to the People. The First contains an Allegorical Explication of the Vision of the Cherubims related by *Ezekiel*, which he applies to the state of Man's Soul in this Life. The 2d. is of the Kingdom of Darkness; that is to say, of Sin; from which he maintains, That Man could not be deliver'd but by the Grace of Jesus Christ, and by the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. In the 3d. He recommends to the Brethren to live in Peace, not to condemn one another; to pray continually, and to purify their outward Man by fighting against the Temptations of the Flesh and the Devil. He says in this Homily, That 'tis in our power to resist and fight, but God only can pluck up Sin by the Roots; And that as a Man cannot see without Light, Speak without a Tongue, Hear without Ears, Walk without Feet, Labour without Hands; no more can a Man be Sav'd without Jesus Christ. In the 4th. he shows, That in order to Improvement in Virtue, we must renounce the World, that we may obtain the Love of the Holy Spirit, which is absolutely necessary for the Sanctification of Mankind. He teaches in this Homily, That Angels and Souls are very thin and subtile Bodies, which was an Error very common among the Ancient Monks. In the 5th. he describes the difference between the Life of this World and that of Christians. The 6th. is of Prayer, where he says, That it should be made in silence, with Peace and Tranquillity; That we must not throw forth confused Cries, but having God before our Eyes, we must pray with Attention, and with a Mind full of holy Thoughts. At the end of this Exhortation, there are two Questions and Answers touching some passages concerning the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. The 7th. and 8th. are Questions and Answers about many Difficulties. All which shew, That these are not Homilies to the People, but the Exhortations of an Abbot to his Regulars, who had propos'd to him the Difficulties they might meet with, to be resolv'd in them. There are some of these Questions more curious than solid, and the Answers are often very Mystical. Those of the 8th. are about Prayer. In the 9th. he shows, That none can deliver himself from Temptations, but by fixing his Mind entirely upon God. In the 10th. he says, That though a Man be improv'd in Virtue, yet he ought to consider himself as one that has done nothing, and then he ought to reach forth after God with greater fervour, lest he lose the Holy Spirit by Pride or Laziness. The 11th. and 12th. contain very obscure Reflexions concerning the Fall of Mankind, and the Mercies of Jesus Christ; and in the latter part there are Questions and Answers of very little use. In the 13th. he says, That since the coming of Jesus Christ, God requires of Men greater Holiness than before. In the 14th. he discourses of the Reward of Christians. The 15th. has no particular Subject. It begins with a Reflexion upon the Obligation that lies upon Christians to honour Jesus Christ with Purity and Faithfulness; and after this it contains many Questions, whereof the First is concerning the Resurrection; viz. If a Man shall rise with all his Members; and the rest concerning Concupiscence, and the Inclination to Sin, that is found in all Men. He is of opinion, That 'tis a kind of Fire kindled in a Man, which inflames, as one may say, all his Parts; That a Man may resist it, but that to do it aright, he must watch continually over himself, and always fight against it. He says, That those who resist their Passions, receive the Holy Spirit, and the Grace which Jesus Christ has merited for them; but they ought to take good heed, that they be not lifted up with Pride, and that they continue in Humility and Contempt of themselves, as being accountable to Jesus Christ for the Grace they have received; and capable of falling from that State of Holiness in which they are, unless they preserve themselves in it, by the virtue of Humility, which he calls the Sign and infallible Mark of a Christian. In the 16th. he says, That a Man ought always to live in Fear, because he is

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always expos'd to Temptations; That even those that have not yet received Grace, ought so to be have themselves, as to do Good and forsake Evil by Natural Motives; but those who have receiv'd it, need not such kind of Motives, because this Grace producing Love in their Hearts, makes that become sweet and pleasant, which appear'd rough and uneasy, and makes that appear easie which was thought before to be impossible. In the 17th. he treats of the Spiritual Union, and the state of the more Perfect Christians, and makes it appear, that notwithstanding any Holiness they have acquir'd, they ought always to fear, because they are always in a Capacity of falling away. In the 18th. he declares the marvellous Effects of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit in the Soul of a Spiritual Man. In the 19th. he explains the degrees through which a Man ought to pass to acquire Perfection; That he ought first to use his utmost natural endeavours to do Good, and then God seeing him strive after this manner, gives him the Grace of Prayer, by which means he obtains all Virtues. In the 20th. he says, That none but Jesus Christ can cure the Soul that's wounded by the Sin of *Adam*, and therefore we must address our selves to him by Prayer, that he would give us his Grace. The 21st. is of the War that Men are oblig'd to make against their Vices and their Passions. In the 22d. he describes the terrible difference between the latter End of the Just and the Wicked; and says, that at the hour of Death the Souls of the Just are received by Angels and conducted to the Lord; but those of the Wicked are encompass'd by Devils, who draw them down with themselves to Hell. The 23d. is of the Victory which a Christian ought to gain over his Passions. The 24th. is of the Necessity of the Grace and Influence of the Holy Spirit, to make us capable and worthy of Eternal Life. He continues the same Subject in the 25th. wherein, after he has prov'd, that we cannot shun all the occasions of Sin, nor resist all our Passions, without the assistance of the Grace of Jesus Christ, he makes a lively Representation of the state of the Men of this World, and describes the wonderful Effects which the Coelestial Fire of the Holy Spirit produces in our Souls. The 26th. contains many Questions and Answers, concerning the Temptations of the Devil and the Effects of Grace. The Author there teaches, That Man is restor'd to his Primitive Dignity by the Holy Spirit; That the Devil cannot tempt us any further than God permits him; That Grace changes the Affections of the Heart; That the Devil knows some part of our Thoughts, but there are others unknown to him; That Grace and Charity have no Bounds, and we ought never to say that we have arriv'd at the highest degree of Perfection; That the Soul goes immediately after Death to that place on which its Love was plac'd during this Life; That the Good which may be done by Natural Strength, can never save a Man without the Grace of Jesus Christ; That we ought always to attribute to him all the Good we do, and to say, If God had not assisted us, we should neither have Fasted, nor Prayed, nor forsaken the World: And that God seeing us attribute to him the Actions which may be done by our Natural Powers, has liberally bestow'd upon us the Spiritual, Heavenly and Divine Gifts of his Grace; That the Actions which are done without Grace, may be Good, but they are not Perfect. In the 27th. after he has first consider'd the Dignity of a Christian, he then Answers to many Questions about the Effects of Grace: He says, That no Man shall ever arrive at the top of Perfection in this World; That whatever state they are in, whatever Grace they have, they are always capable of sinning; That the strongest Grace does not hinder the Will from following after Evil, because the Nature of Man, as long as he is in this World, is changeable, and that though God has bestow'd very singular Grace upon Christians, they ought nevertheless to work out their own Salvation with Fear and Trembling. In the 28th. he deplores the state of that Soul where Jesus Christ dwells not at all, because of Sin. In the 29th. he says, That God gives his Grace after two different manners; That he prevents some with it before they have us'd their own endeavours, and bestows it upon others after they have labour'd a long time; and then he shows what Reason we have to admire the Goodness and Wisdom of the Divine Conduct both towards the one and the other. In the 30th. he shows, That if the Holy Spirit does not produce within us the Love of God, we cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. In the 31st. he Exhorts Men to Prayer, That they may obtain the change and renovation of their Heart. In the 32d. he says, That we cannot certainly know whether we be in a state of Grace as long as we are in this World, because we are always tormented with the Motions of Lust, but at the Day of Judgment, those who belong to God shall be made known. The 33d. is of the Attention and Fervour we ought to have in Prayer. The 34th. is of Eternal Glory. The 35th. is of the state of a Soul which God has deliver'd from Evil Thoughts, which he calls a New Sabbath. The 36th. is of their different degrees of Glory, who shall rise again from the Dead. In the 37th. he proves, That many who have thought themselves Just, were not really so; and that those who believ'd themselves to be arriv'd at the highest degree of Perfection, have oftentimes falln into Sin. I pass over the 38th. because that is entire among the little Tracts of *Mark* the Hermit. In the 39th. he says, 'Tis to no purpose to read the Scripture, if we do not make Improvement by it. In the 40th. he proves, That there is a concatenation of Virtues one with another, and that there is the same Vices: He answers also three Questions, and in his Answers, he says, That there are different degrees of Damnation, and that greater Sinners shall be more punish'd, than those that have not committed so great Crimes; That the quiet state of some Souls does not hinder them from exercising Charity; That Grace and an Inclination to Sin may be found together in one and the same Soul at the same time. In the 41st. he describes the Improvements of Grace in a Soul, and makes it appear, that none can preserve this Disposition of growing in Grace without Humility. In the 42d. he says, That nothing but the Actions of Men can be hurtful or useful unto them. In the 43d. he speaks of the different Improvements of those that strive against Sin, but 'tis so obscure, that hardly any thing can be understood in it. The 44th. is of the Change that Jesus Christ wrought in us, and the manner how he heals our Souls: He continues the same Subject in the following Homily, and explains by many Com-

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passions, the Union of the Soul with God. In the 46th. he says, That a sick Soul may have recourse to a Physician, to pray and request his help, and when the Heavenly Physician comes to its assistance, he joins himself to it, to enlighten and conduct it, and make it his spouse. The 47th. contains many Allegorical Explications of the Law of *Moses*, which he applies to the different states of the Soul. In the 48th. he says, That those who have a true Faith of Heavenly things, ought not to have their Affections fix'd on things of this Earth; and that those who retire from the World, ought not to be solicitous or anxious about the things thereof. In short, he would not have the Monks make use of any Medicines to help them in their Distates, but to put their whole Trust in Jesus Christ. In the 49th. he shows, That 'tis not enough to have abandon'd the World, but we must also ardently seek after Eternal Happiness. In the 50th. and last, he observes, That God was the Cause of all the Miracles which the Saints wrought, and from this Remark he draws a Moral Reflexion, that we cannot command the Devil, but by the Assistance of God and the Power of the Holy Spirit. He adds, That he that considers his Infirmary, his Weakness and Wounds, and does not wish to consider the Aids of the Holy Spirit which strengthen him, is an Indifferent Man: And on the contrary, He that so much thinks upon the Divine Aids as to forget his own Weakness, and so fancies that he can never fall, does miserably deceive himself. After this manner does this Author always reconcile these two Fundamental Doctrines of Grace and Free-Will, that we ought always to labour, as if the whole depended upon our own Endeavours, and yet to acknowledge that we can do nothing without God. And if men had always contented themselves with this Simplicity without nicer Philosophical Enquiries, How many Questions had been ended without Noise! How many Differences compos'd! What Disputes had been Abolish'd! What Arguments Superfluous! How many Books had been stifi'd! But to return to our Author; there are besides Seven Spiritual Treatises of his, which have been publish'd in Greek and Latin by *Possinus*: The 1st. is concerning *Watching over our Heart*; The 2d. *Of Persuasion of Mind*; The 3d. *Of Prayer*; The 4th. *Of Patience and Discretion*; The 5th. *Of the Elevation of the Mind*; The 6th. *Of Charity*; The 7th. *Of the Freedom of Spirit*; and some *Apophthegms of the Fathers*. 'Tis plain, That the Author of the 50 Homilies is the Author of these Treatises; for there is the same Genius in them both. He has the same Notions, and the same Style. He Discourses after the same manner of Grace and Free-Will, and he maintains in these Seven Treatises, as well as the Author of the Homilies, That Angels and Souls are Bodies. But 'tis not to certain that these are the Works of *Macarius* the Disciple of St. *Anthony*, and I think 'tis more probable, that they were made by a later Monk. Whoever was the Author, his Style is simple, and one may see that he was a Good Hermit, who speaks from his Heart without Affectation and Ornament, and oftentimes even without Order. He allegorizes all, and expresses a great many mystical Thoughts which are very hardly intelligible, and for the most part makes use of Comparisons which are not just and fit. In a word, Some things have escap'd him, which cannot altogether be reconcil'd to good sense; so difficult a thing it is in Spiritual Matters not to wander sometimes!

The Rules which bear the Name of *Macarius*, are of another Author; Those that are found under the Name of *Macarius* only, in *Benedictus Anianensis*'s Code, are attributed to *Macarius of Alexandria*, i.e. the Abbot of Nitria, Disciple of St. *Pachomius*, and Master of *Evagrius*. There is a certain passage in them which seems to be taken out of St. *Jerom*'s Letter to *Rusticus*, which makes me think, either that this was added, or that St. *Jerom* imitated St. *Macarius*. However, this Rule is ancient, and is cited by the Author of the Life of St. *Philibert*, who says, That this Saint read the Rules of St. *Macarius*, St. *Benedict* and St. *Columbanus*. The other Rule which is found in the same Code, compos'd by the two *Macarii*, St. *Serapion*, and St. *Paphnutius*, is made in the Form of a Dialogue, and probably is nothing else, but some Conferences of theirs, which some Monks had gather'd together; as the two Rules which follow in the same Code, are a Collection of the Speeches of 34 Abbots. There is also found a Rule in the same Code which bears the Name of the Abbot *Isaiah*, which is proper for Hermits, and especially younger Regulars. 'Tis full of Moral Precepts, and therefore had the Title of, *The Precepts and Advice of the Abbot Isaiah*. This Abbot is probably he whom *Rufinus* and *Palladius* mention and call the Abbot of Syria. There are also under the Name of the same *Isaiah*, some Remarks upon a Religious Life, publish'd by *Possinus*. At the same time there liv'd one *Mark*, a Hermit, who dwelt in the Desert of the Cells, and liv'd almost an Hundred Years, to whom some Books are attributed, which probably belong to another *Mark* who liv'd long after.

I shall say nothing at present of the Discourses, the Answers, and Admonitions of the other Hermits of this time, because they may be seen in *Rufinus*, *Palladius*, and other Authors who have written their Lives.

SERAPION Bishop of Thmuis.

Serapion
Bishop of
Thmuis.

WE must not confound this *Serapion*, whom we now write of, with the famous *Serapion* Abbot in the Territory of *Asinote*, though he was a Monk and Abbot as well as the other; but this *Serapion* was Ordain'd towards the Year 340. Bishop of *Thmuis* a City of *Egypt*, in the Province of *Sicra*, by St. *Abbanasius*, as we find in his Epistle to *Dracontius*. St. *Jerom* says, That this Bishop deriv'd the Name of a Scholar because of his Eloquence; That he was St. *Anthony*'s Friend, and had the honour to be a Confessor under *Constantinus*, that is to say, to Suffer for the Defence of the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and the Innocence of St. *Abbanasius*. 'Tis probable, that 'tis he, whose Name is read among the Subscriptions of the Letter from the Council of *Sardica*: 'Tis he also who

who wrote to St. *Abbanasius* about the Death of *Arianus*, as we learn by the Answer of this Father, which is directed to him. St. *Jerom*, says, That he wrote a Book against the *Manichees*, a Treatise of the Titles of the *Psalms*, and many very useful Letters: We have no more extant, but his Treatise against the *Manichees*, publish'd by *Cassianus*, wherein he proves, That Vice or Evil, is not a Substance, and that our Nature is not Evil of itself: Which he proves chiefly, because many very wicked Persons do afterwards become very pious and virtuous. This is the Subject of this little Treatise. The Arguments in it are very Solid, but the Style is very Simple and without Art.

Serapion
Bishop of
Thmuis.

EUSEBIUS EMISENUS.

THIS EUSEBIUS, was of *Edeffe*, a City of *Mesopotamia*, of a considerable Family. He had Learn'd from his Infancy the Holy Scriptures according to the Custom of his Country, and then he Studied the Greek and Humane Learning, and came to *Palestine* to perfect himself in the Knowledge of the Scripture; he was the Disciple of *Eusebius of Caesarea*, and of *Parophimus of Scythopolis*. The *Eusebius* would have chosen him Bishop of *Antioch*, after the Deposition of *Eusebius*; and afterwards would have plac'd him in the See of *Alexandria*, in the room of St. *Abbanasius*, but he would not accept of these contested Bishopricks. He was afterwards Ordain'd Bishop of *Emesa*, near Mount *Libanus*, but the People made so great Resistance against him, that he was forc'd to retire to *Laodicea*, where he was well receiv'd by *George*, Bishop of that Church, who re-establish'd him in *Emesa*. He was very dear to *Constantinus*, who carried him with him, to the *Perseus* War. He died in the Year 359, when his Successor, *Paul of Emesa*, assist'd at the Council of *Selencia*, as we learn from St. *Epiphanius*. He is plac'd in some Martyrologies, among the number of Saints. St. *Jerom*, gives this Account of the Writings of this Bishop: " *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Emesa*, " who was well skill'd in Rhetorick, and had the Air of an Orator, wrote an infinite Number of " Books; he applied himself chiefly, to give the Historical Sense of Scripture; and therefore those " who would Learn to Preach, read his Books with great Attention. " His principal Pieces were " against the *Jews*, against the *Gentiles*, against the *Novatians*. Two Books of Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, and many short Homilies upon the Gospels. *Theodoret*, has preserv'd in his Third Dialogue, Two Fragments, to prove, That the Divinity of Jesus Christ did not suffer, which are taken out of some of those Books that we have already spoken of; and there are in the Greek *Catena*'s upon the Scriptures, several Fragments which are attributed to *Eusebius of Emesa*. The Homilies which we have at present under his Name, are none of his, tho' they are cited under his Name in the *Eleventh Century*, by *Guimondus*, and in the *Twelfth*, by *Gratian*, but they were all written by some Latin Authors, much later than *Eusebius of Emesa*; some of them by St. *Eucherius*, others by *Fauslus Rhodanus*, and *Celsarius of Arles*, and many other French-men. *Petrus Diaconus*, Library-Keeper of *Mount-Cassin*, attributes these Homilies upon the Gospels, and upon the Feasts of several Seasons, and of the Saints of the Year, to *Bruno*, Bishop of *Signi*; and this is confirm'd by the Catalogues in the Manuscripts of the *Vatican*, and *Mount-Cassin*, where these Homilies are attributed to the same Author. They were Publish'd by *Gagneur*, and Printed apart, and also in the Fifth Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum* at *Cologne*.

Eusebius
Emisenus.

* But they were all written by some Latin Authors, much later than *Eusebius of Emesa*. The Style is of a Latin Author that understood no Greek: And it appears by the Homilies of St. *Elandius*, *Epiphanius*, *Sebeos*, that the Author was a Frenchman. There is a Sermon of St. *Maximus* the Second Abbot of *Lerins*, which mentions also St. *Honoratus* Abbot of *Lerins*. And afterwards Bishop of *Arles*.

who liv'd long after the Death of *Eusebius of Emesa*. There is also a Sermon of the Rogation-days insinuated by St. *Maximus*. The Author calls himself the Disciple of St. *Maximus* Abbot of *Lerins*, which makes me believe that these Sermons belong to St. *Eucherius of Lyons*, under whose Name they have been printed. The Author of the Homilies about *Easter* opposes the Heretic *Pelagius*, and cites St. *Gregory the Great*.

BASIL of Ancyra.

BASIL, was ordain'd Bishop of *Ancyra*, in the Year 336, by the Bishops of *Eusebius*'s Party, in the room of *Marcellus*, whom they had already Depos'd: He was Excommunicated, and his Ordination declar'd void in the Council of *Sardica*, but yet he continued still in the Possession of his See: He Disput'd against *Photinus* in the Council of *Sirmium*, in the Year 351, and there confounded that Heretic. He was one of the greatest Enemies to the *Arians* or *Anomeans*, that is to say, to those that openly defended the Opinion of *Arianus*, and maintain'd, that the Word was not at all like to the Father: But he was look'd upon, as the Head of that Party, which was afterwards call'd *Semi-Arians*, who refusing to acknowledge, That the Son was Confubstantial with the Father; affirm'd, That he was like him in all things, and even in Substance. *Basil* maintain'd this Opinion stoutly, and caus'd it to be Establish'd by the Authority of a Council, which was held at *Ancyra*, in the Year 358. He defend'd it at *Selencia* and *Constantinople*, against the Intrigues of the *Eudoxians* and *Acacians*, who Depos'd him in the Year 360, after they had charg'd him with many Crimes. St. *Jerom*, informs us, That *Basil of Ancyra*, wrote a Book against *Marcellus* his Predecessor, a Treatise

Basil of
Ancyra.

Basil of
Ancyra.

life of Virginity, and some other little Pieces. We have nothing of his extant, but his Conduct and Actions, discover him to have been a Man of Wit, Eloquent, and well-skill'd in Theology. Tho' he is said to be the Head of that Party, who were call'd *Semi-Arians*, yet 'tis not certain that he was a Heretic; on the contrary, St. Basil speaks of him as a Catholic Bishop, and St. Athanasius, confesses in his Book of Synods, That *Basil of Ancyra*, and those of his Party, did not differ from them that profess'd the Confutability, but only in words; and therefore St. Hilary and Philastrius, call the Bishops of the Council of *Sirmium*, that was held against *Photinus*, whereof *Basil of Ancyra* was the Chief, Orthodox and Holy Bishops.

LIBERIUS.

Liberius.

LIBERIUS Succeeded Pope *Julius* in the See of *Rome*, in the Year 352. He protests in one of his Letters, That 'twas much against his Will, that he was promoted to this Dignity. In the Fragments of St. Hilary, there is a Letter attributed to this Pope, which was written to the Bishops of the *East*, soon after his Elevation to the Pontificate, wherein he acquaints them, That he had sent to St. Athanasius, three Priests of the Church of *Rome*, *Luke*, *Paul* and *Aelianus*, to cite him to *Rome*, that Judgment might be given about his Cause, according to the Discipline of the Church; That he had also directed another Letter to him, wherein he acquaints him, That in case he did not come to *Rome*, He would declare him Excommunicated from the *Roman* Church. He adds, That these Priests being returned, and having inform'd him that *Athanasius* refus'd to come, he had follow'd the Judgment that the *Eastern* Bishops gave against him; That he would Communicate with them, and all the Bishops of the Catholic Church; That on the contrary, *Athanasius* was fain from his Communion, as well as from that of the *Roman* Church, and from all Correspondence with it by Letters.

This is the Substance of this Letter attributed to *Liberius*, which would not be much for his Advantage, if it were really his: But I think, 'tis very probable, that he never wrote any such thing, and that this Epistle was forg'd by him that made the Collection of the Fragments of St. Hilary. For First, Is it in any ways Credible, that *Liberius* should Excommunicate St. Athanasius, without any Cause, and without any Regard to the Judgment of his Predecessor, or to that of the Council of *Sardica*?

Secondly, The Author of this Letter says, That the *Eastern* Bishops had wrote to *Julius* against St. Athanasius, without mentioning the Judgment which this Pope gave in his Favour.

Thirdly, St. Athanasius never complains that *Liberius* had Excommunicated him before he was Banish'd; but on the contrary, he supposes, That he was always for him, till he Subscrib'd in the place of his Banishment.

Fourthly, The Words of St. Hilary which follow this Letter, have no connexion with the Contents of it, and plainly show, That he refers to a quite different Letter: The Words are these; [*Is not this a very Holy Letter? What does it contain in it that proceeds not from a Spirit full of the Fear of God? But Potamius and Epictetus, desiring to condemn the Bishop of Rome, as is said in the Synod of Ariminum, would not obey him; and tho' Fortunatianus sent this Letter to many Bishops, he left his Labour.*] Now is it credible, That St. Hilary should commend a Letter that contain'd the Condemnation of St. Athanasius? What he adds, does yet more clearly prove what we have said, and confirm our Opinion. [*They would rather prejudice their own Interests, and hazard all, than refuse Communion to St. Athanasius, or reflect upon the Authority of the Council of Sardica, which had absolv'd him. The Egyptians wrote to Liberius, that he should maintain Communion with St. Athanasius, as they had formerly written to Julius, to desire him, that he would restore him to it.*] These words plainly discover, that *Liberius* had not Excommunicated St. Athanasius, since the Egyptians do not desire him, as they had formerly done *Julius*, to restore him to Communion, but only to maintain Communion with him. *Qualis ad Julium pridem de reddendis exulanti Communione, talis nunc, ut de subjectis intelligitur, data sunt de tuenda.*

Fifthly, *Liberius* himself is a Witness, That he never Excommunicated St. Athanasius. For in his Letter to *Lucifer*, where he gives an Account of what happen'd about the Cause of this Saint, at the beginning of his Pontificate, he says, That the Bishops of the *East* had written Letters against him, that he had not suppress'd them, as he was accus'd, but had read them in Council, and yet gave no Credit to them: [*Quis fidem & sententiam non commodavimus nostram: [Which we did neither believe nor approve.]* because he at the same time receiv'd Letters from 75 Bishops of *Egypt*, in behalf of St. Athanasius. Does not this plainly shew, That the Letter which we now speak of, was none of *Liberius*'s, since it supposes, that he believ'd the Letter from those of the *East*, and Excommunicated St. Athanasius?

Sixthly, If *Liberius* had Excommunicated St. Athanasius at the beginning of his Pontificate, would not the Officers of *Constantinus* have alleg'd this as a Reason to make him Subscribe to his Condemnation? And how could he have maintain'd so stoutly as he did, That the Church of *Rome* had always held him Innocent?

Seventhly, Tho' *Liberius* should have conceal'd or suppress'd this Letter, while he was of St. Athanasius's Party; yet would he not have produc'd it immediately after he had Sign'd against him? For then he could have no Interest to conceal it, but on the contrary, was oblig'd to publish it: And yet even

even then he confesses, that he was always of St. Athanasius's side. [*Because Julius my Predecessor of happy Memory, receiv'd St. Athanasius into his Communion, I was afraid, lest I should have pass'd for a Prevaricator, if I should have condemn'd him; but as soon as I understood that you had justly condemn'd him, I follow'd your Judgment.*] Does not this plainly shew, that *Liberius* did not Condemn St. Athanasius at the Beginning of his Pontificate, but that on the contrary, he did always Protect him, upon the Authority of his Predecessor?

Lastly, There are some Expressions in this Letter, that were not us'd till after *Liberius*'s time.

From all which, I conclude it to be false, that *Liberius* did write this Letter, or Excommunicate St. Athanasius. On the contrary, immediately after he was exalted to the Pontificate, he wrote to him a Letter of Communion. The Bishops of the *East* wrote to him against this Saint, and those of *Egypt* for him. He read their Letters in a Synod, where 'twas decreed that Communion must be continued with St. Athanasius, as it had always been in the *West*. This happened towards the End of the Year 352, or at the Beginning of 353, before the defeat of *Magnentius*. After the Death of this Tyrant, *Constantinus* conven'd a Council at *Arles*. *Liberius* sent thither *Vincentius* of *Capua*, in his Name, together with *Marcellus* a Bishop in *Campania*, and gave them Order to entreat the Emperor, That he would call a Council at *Aquileia*. These Bishops were so far from being steadfast, that they suffer'd themselves to be impos'd upon, and Subscrib'd to the Condemnation of St. Athanasius, together with all the other Bishops of the Council, excepting only *Paulinus* the Bishop of *Trier*: *Liberius* understanding this, sent *Lucifer Calaritanus*, with *Pancratius* a Priest, and *Hilary* a Deacon, to carry a Letter to the Emperor *Constantinus*, wherein after he had given an Account of what we have already said concerning every thing that had been done since the Beginning of his Pontificate, in the Cause of St. Athanasius, he prays him to Order the Examination of this Affair in a Free Council, upon Condition that they should begin with Confirming the *Nicene* Creed. He gave to the same Deputies a Letter of Recommendation, address'd to *Eusebius Vercellenfis*, and indeed, he wrote two other Letters to him, one of Recommendation, and another of Thanks. About the same time, He wrote also to *Hosius*, and to other Bishops concerning the Lapse of *Vincentius* of *Capua*. Immediately after, the Council of *Milan*, held in the Year 355, which was not more favourable to St. Athanasius, than that of *Arles* had been before. *Liberius* wrote an Elegant Letter to *Eusebius Vercellenfis*, *Dems* and *Lucifer* then in Banishment, wherein he praises them for their Constancy, and testifies to them, That he was ready to suffer the same Persecution for the same Cause. He says, He knew not whether he should be griev'd for their Absence, or rejoice for their Glory; which he observes to be greater than that of former Martyrs, because these suffer'd only the Torments of their Pagan Persecutors, but they endur'd the Injuries of their false Brethren. He prays them to assist him with their Prayers, That God would give him Grace to bear with Patience and Constancy, the Tryals that he was threaten'd with. And indeed, a little after, *Constantinus* perceiving that there was none almost left but *Liberius*, who justified the Innocence of this Saint, and desiring to confirm his Condemnation by the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, sent an Eunuch thither, who urg'd him to Subscribe to the Condemnation of St. Athanasius to no purpose; for all the Answer he could get from him, was, That he should call a Free Council in some place, that was distant from the Court, where there should be neither Guards nor Officers; That this Council should begin with making a Profession of the Faith, as it had been explain'd in the Council of *Nice*; That it should drive away all the *Arians*, and mathematize their Error, and then afterwards should examine the Cause of St. Athanasius. The Emperor having receiv'd this Answer, sent an Order to the Governour of *Rome*, to surprize *Liberius*, and send him to Court; which Order was executed. And when he was in the Emperor's presence, he spoke to him with no less Constancy, than he had done at *Rome* to his Eunuch. We have his Answers in *Theodoret* in B. II. of his Hist. Ch. 16. wherein he discovers an unconceivable Firmness of Mind, in refusing to Subscribe to the Condemnation of St. Athanasius. *Constantinus* object'd to him, That he had been condemn'd by all the World; and says he, *You are the only Bishop in the World, that justifies an impious Disturber of the Peace; to which he answered with great Constancy, 'Tis I were done, yet the Cause of Faith is nevertheless Good; for at another time there were found but three young Men that disobey'd the Orders of the King.* After this, he pray'd him, That he would call a Synod, but withal, desir'd, That before they should proceed to examine St. Athanasius's Cause, He would make all the Bishops Subscribe the *Nicene* Creed. *Constantinus* being enrag'd against St. Athanasius, as supposing him the cause of that Enmity, which his Brother *Constantine* had against him; *Liberius*, as to this, answer'd him wisely, *You ought not, Sir, to make use of Bishops to revenge your Quarrels; for the hands of Ecclesiasticks, ought not to be employ'd, but only to Bless and to Sanctify.* At last, *Constantinus* threatening him with Banishment; I have already, says he, bid adieu to my Brethren at *Rome*, for the Ecclesiastical Laws are to be preserv'd before my Living there. Three Days time were given him to consider of it, and because he did not change his Opinion in that time, he was Banish'd two Days after to *Berea*, a City of *Thrace*. The Emperor, the Empress, and the Eunuch *Eusebius*, offer'd him Money to bear the Expence of his Journey, but he refus'd it, and went away cheerfully to the place of his Banishment. The Clergy of *Rome*, having lost their Head, took an Oath to chuse no body in the Room of *Liberius*, as long as he was alive: But *Constantinus*, by the management of *Epictetus*, Bishop of *Centumcellae* in *Italy*, procur'd one *Felix* a Deacon, to be ordain'd Bishop, who was himself also one of those that had sworn not to chuse a Bishop in the Room of *Liberius*. St. Jerom, says, That *Acacius* had a hand in this Ordination. St. Jerom and *Socrates* accuse this *Felix* of Arianism; but *Theodoret* and *Rufinus*, say, That he was not an Arian Doctrine, but only communicated with that Party. However, all the Ancients agree, That this

Ordination was not lawful^a; and some late Authors, are very much to be blamed for putting this Man in the Catalogue of Popes, and yet they have less Reason to place him among the Holy Martyrs in very many Martyrologies.

But *Liberius*, who had given proof of great Constancy in time of Peace, could not long endure the tediousness of Banishment; for before he had been two Years in it, he suffer'd himself to be overpersuaded by *Demophilus* Bishop of that City, to which he was banish'd, and did not only Subscribe the Condemnation of *St. Athanasius*; but he also consented to an Heretical Confession of Faith^b;

^a However, all the Ancients agree, that this Ordination was not lawful. St. *Athanasius*, in his Epistle to those that lead a Monastick Life; says, that he was ordain'd in the Palace without the Consent of the People, or the Election of the Clergy, by *Epiphanius*, in the Presence of Three Eunuchs, and Three Bishops, who were rather Spies than Bishops; that the People would not permit him to enter into the Church, and withdrew themselves from his Communion. St. *Jerom* says that he was an Antipope. *Optatus* and St. *Augustin* in the Catalogue of Popes, make no mention of *Felix*, but place *Damian* immediately after *Liberius*. And certainly *Liberius* being a lawful Bishop, another could not be ordain'd in his Room. And whereas 'tis suppos'd, that after his lapse he fell from his Bishoprick, this can never make the Ordination of *Felix* valid, which was null from the Beginning: Besides *Liberius* was not depos'd after his Fall, but on the contrary was always acknowledg'd as a lawful Bishop, and continued in the Possession of his See with the Consent of all the Bishops of the Catholick Church.

^b They have far less Reason to place him among the holy Martyrs in very many Martyrologies. His Festival is kept on August 14th. *Ambrosius* was the first that publish'd his Life, and after him *Balsarus* put forth a more correct Edition of it. There was a Dispute about the Sainthood of *Felix*, among the Correctors of the Roman Martyrology in the Reign of *Gregory*; and 'tis said, there was then found an old Inscription in the Church of St. *Colum* and St. *Damian*, express'd in these words: The Body of St. *Felix* Pope and Martyr, by whom Constantine was Condemn'd. But the Life of this *Felix* and these Monuments are apocryphal: For, first they suppose that *Constantine* put him to Death; but 'tis evident by the Testimony of *Marcellinus* the Presbyter, that *Felix* surviv'd *Constantine*. 2. How could it possibly be, that neither St. *Athanasius*, nor *Hilary*, nor *Lucifer*, &c. nor any other of the Ancients should ever speak one word, either of the Condemnation of *Constantine* by *Felix*, or the Martyrdom of this Pope? 3. The Acts of *Ambrosius* relate, that *Constantine* was condemn'd for being baptiz'd by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*. But 'tis manifest from the Testimonies of St. *Hilary* and *Lucifer*, that *Constantine* was a Catechumen, and was not baptiz'd till about the latter end of his Life by *Eusebius*. St. *Athanasius* relates in the Book of Synods, The Authority of these Martyrologies is of little worth, as well as that of *Anasthus* the Library-keeper. The Inscription found in the Church of St. *Colum*, and St. *Damian* is an Argument of little weight.

^c Consented to an Heretical Confession of Faith. *Baronius* and many others maintain, that he subscrib'd only the first Creed of *Sirmium* which was not heretical: But if this had been so, St. *Hilary* who approv'd this Creed, had never call'd that which was sign'd by *Liberius*, the Perfidiousness of the Arians, and anathematiz'd *Liberius* so often upon the Account of his Subscription. St. *Jerom* says also, that *Liberius* was forc'd to sign Heresy, and all the Ancients speak of the Fall of *Liberius* as the Apostacy of the Heresy of the Arians, which made *Fabius*, *Blasius*, and *Parasius* think that *Liberius* subscrib'd the Second Creed of *Sirmium*. But this Opinion has its Difficulties, for St. *Hilary* says, that the Creed sign'd by *Liberius* was compos'd by 22 Bishops, which were for the most part Eastern; and that the Second Creed was made by *Patapius* and the Western Bishops. *Basil* is reckon'd

among those that approv'd the First, and condemn'd the Second Creed of *Sirmium* as soon as it appear'd. In short, *Liberius* return'd not from his Exile, till after the Council of *Ancyra*; in which, the Eastern Bishops had already thrown out the Second Creed of *Sirmium*. What Probability is there then, that they should offer it to him to sign? To answer these Difficulties and clear up this Matter, we must observe, that *Demophilus* caus'd *Liberius* to sign or approve a Creed while he was in Exile, different from that which he sign'd after his Return to *Sirmium*; that the Creed which *Demophilus* presented to him, was made at *Sirmium* by many Bishops, says *Liberius* in his letter, *Sirmium a pluribus Fratribus, et Cæciliopsis nobis translatæ et susceptæ*: Words which can be understood of none, but the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, which begins thus; *Commun nulla putareur esse de fide discrepantia, diligenter omnia apud Sirmium tradita sunt et discussa, presentibus sanctissimis Episcopis*: And therefore we must say, that the Creed which *Liberius* approv'd in his Exile was the Second of *Sirmium*: For *Demophilus* was an Arian, and of the Party of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who maintain'd the Second Creed of *Sirmium*. 'Twas for this Reason that *Eudoxus* and *Attius* spread a Report that *Liberius* was of their Opinion, and *Liberius* himself wrote to *Ursacius* and *Valens*, that he was of their Judgment; but he belied afterwards when he sign'd where he found *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Eusebius*, and the other Semi-Arian Bishops, who a little before had condemn'd the Arians in the Council of *Ancyra*, he and those other Bishops sign'd a Book, which contain'd the Creeds of *Antioch*, the First of *Sirmium*, and those other Creeds that asserted the Son to be like unto the Father, and were oblig'd to condemn those that said he was unlike to him. See *Sozomen* lib. IV. ch. 15. of his Hist. Nevertheless it may be objected, that the Second Creed of *Sirmium* was not made by *Basil* and the other Eastern Bishops; but that which was presented to *Liberius* by *Demophilus*, was made by these Bishops as we are assured by the Fragments of *Hilary*. To this, I know of no other Answer but by saying, that the Names of the Bishops were added by the Author who made their Extracts out of St. *Hilary*, who has put in the Margin, *Inpreudentem*, i. e. we may enquire if these were the Bishops: Which plainly discovers, that he was not certain of it, but might let down those Names at a venture. This is what I thought my self oblig'd to say of this Question, which is very difficult and famous, though of no great use: [Though it is of no great Importance for us to know who precisely were the Bishops that drew up the Second *Sirmian* Creed; yet it is of great Moment to know whether that or the Creed of the First Council of *Sirmium* were signed by Pope *Liberius*: Our Author, who knew the thing was too gross to be quite omitted, shuffles it off at last as 'it had been a critical Question, only started at first to employ the learned: But when the ablest Advocates of the Church of Rome have confessed, that an Arian Creed was deliberately signed by one of its Bishops, they must also own that this Heresy is infallibly eternal. And St. *Hilary's* Carriage, who claim'd against *Liberius's* Apostasy with all the Warmth that he usually employ'd upon such Occasions, shews how the Orthodox Bishops of that Age, thought a Bishop of Rome might be treated, when guilty of a Crime which they thought equal to that of denying the Faith in the Times of Paganism.] whether

whether it was the First or Second Confession of *Sirmium*, is disputed among the Learned. Which ever 'twas, he did certainly write one Letter of Communion, to the Bishops of the East, wherein having declar'd St. *Athanasius* to be cast out of his Communion, and acknowledg'd his Approbation of that Confession of Faith which *Demophilus* presented unto him, he desires them to use their Interest and Prayers with the Emperour, to obtain his Deliverance from Banishment, and restoration to that Church which God had entrusted him with. He wrote also at the same time two Letters, which contain'd for the most part the same things, one to *Ursacius* and *Valens*, and the other to *Vincencius* of *Capua*; which are preserved amongst the Fragments of St. *Hilary*.

After these Letters, *Liberius* quickly obtain'd his Desires; for the Emperour being satisfied, sent immediately for him to come to *Sirmium*, where he found Deputies of Bishops from the East and from the West. There was held a kind of a Council, which made a Collection of all the Creeds that had been approv'd by the Semi-Arians, wherein the Son was declar'd like unto the Father in Substance. These Creeds *Liberius* was oblig'd to sign, and then was sent back to Rome, with a Letter from the Synod directed to *Felix*, importing that *Liberius* and he should govern the Church of Rome as Co-partners. But *Liberius* was no sooner return'd thither, but *Felix* was forc'd to depart, and when afterwards he endeavour'd to return by Force, he was driven away with disgrace.

Now *Liberius* seeing himself in peaceable Possession of his See, as he had subscrib'd against his will to the Condemnation of St. *Athanasius*, and the Creeds of the Arians, so he quickly repented of what he had done, made Profession of the *Nicene* Creed, and reconcil'd himself to St. *Athanasius*. He wrote one Letter to all the Bishops of the World in the Year 362, wherein he would have all those Bishops pardon'd, who through surprize, had approv'd of the Error of the Arians; but he absolutely Anathematizes the Heads of their Party, and those that would not return from their Error. This Letter is set down in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*. At last the Semi-Arians seeing themselves over-power'd by the Anomæans, who had more Interest in the Emperour *Valens*, had recourse to *Liberius*, and sent to him, in the Year 366, *Eusebius* of *Sebaste*, together with *Sylvanus* and *Theophilus* Bishops of *Cilicia*, who presented him with Letters from the Council of *Lampacius*: *Liberius* at first would not receive them, because, he said, they were of *Arius's* Faction; but they perswaded him that they would retract that Error, and profess that the Son is perfectly like his Father, and of the same Substance; yea, they made Profession of the *Nicene* Creed itself, approv'd the word *Consubstantial*, and condemn'd the Creeds of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*. *Liberius* having exacted of them these Declarations, wrote into the East in their favour; and he died within a little time after in the Year 366^a. The History which we have now given of *Liberius*, informs us of the number of Letters that were written by this Pope, as well as the time, the occasion and subject of every one of them: And therefore it will be sufficient here to give a Catalogue of them, and to mark out those that are really attributed to him; and in doing of it we shall follow the Order that is observ'd in the two Volumes of the last Edition of the Councils.

The 1st. is that which was written to *Hofius* upon the Lapse of *Vincencius* of *Capua*, publish'd by *Baronius*, and taken from a Manuscript in the Vatican. This appears to me to be Genuine, and agrees with the History of that time.

The 2d. is a Letter to *Constantius* at the End of *Lucifer's* Works, and in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*. The three following to *Eusebius* of *Vercellensis*, are taken out of the Acts of this Bishop, and appear to me to be Ancient.

The 6th. to the Confessors in Exile, is in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, and in the Acts of which we have spoken already.

The 7th. which was written to the Eastern Bishops after he had sign'd against St. *Athanasius*, is taken out of the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, and is very Genuine.

The 8th. is that which is suppos'd to have been written to those in the East, immediately after his Advancement to the Pontificate, wherein he declares St. *Athanasius* Excommunicated: But we have shewn that 'tis very doubtful, though it is in the Fragments of St. *Hilary*.

The 9th. written to *Ursacius*, to *Valens*, and *Geminianus*, and the 10th. to *Vincencius* of *Capua*, from the place of his Banishment after he had sign'd, are Genuine, and taken out of the Fragments of St. *Hilary*.

The 11th. written to the Bishops of Italy after the Council of *Ariminum*, is unquestionable, and is preserved in the same place.

The 12th. which is a Confession of Faith address'd to St. *Athanasius* is Supposititious, as we have already prov'd when we discours'd of the Works of that Father, among which it occurs.

The 13th. which is suppos'd to be that which *Eusebius* and the other Deputy-Bishops from the East, obtain'd of *Liberius*, and presented to the Synod of *Tyana*, agrees very well with the History of that time.

The 14th. and 15th. ought to be rank'd among those Letters that are forg'd by *Isidore*, and are rejected by all the Critics.

The three Decrees attributed to this Pope, have not any respect to the Discipline of his time, nor have they any Authority.

The Conference^c which he had with *Constantinus* and *Epiphanius*, is preserved by *Theodoret*, B. II. of his Hist. Ch. 6. and was by him drawn out of the Ancient Acts written in *Liberius's* time.

The Style of *Liberius* is Simple and without Ornament, but strong and clear. His Conduct unblameable; he had not suffer'd himself to be overcome by the Love which he had for the City of Rome, and his Church: But he made amends for that Fault by the Constancy which he shew'd after his Return.

^a He died in the Year 366.] St. *Jerom* and *Marcellinus* say so in their Chronicles.

^b The Conference.] 'Twas rather an Examination which *Liberius* under-went in the Emperour's Council.

ST. HILARY.

St. Hilary

ST. HILARY was born in the City of *Poitiers*; whereof he was afterwards Bishop. He was bred up in the Heathen Religion, and applied himself in his Youth to the Study of Profane Learning: He was Married, and had one Daughter nam'd *Aura*. The Reflections which he made upon the Falshood of the Gentile Doctrines, did by little and little conduct him to some Imperfect Knowledge of the Truth, which he completed by Reading the Holy Scriptures, as he himself tells us, at the Beginning of his Books concerning the Trinity. After he was perfectly instructed in the Christian Religion. He was Baptized, and probably his Wife and Daughter were converted with him. He liv'd several Years after his Baptism, before he was made Bishop^a, but we know not any one particular Circumstance of his Life during all that time. He was Ordain'd Bishop of *Poitiers* some years before his Banishment; and immediately after he was promoted to that Dignity, he labour'd with all his might to Save the Flock which Jesus Christ had entrusted him with, by Preaching the Truths of the Gospel. Afterwards, when he saw that the *Arian* Heresy began to spread in *France*, he wrote Twelve Books of the Trinity against it^b, which he finish'd about the time that he was threatn'd with Banishment. He was sent by Order of the Emperor *Constantinus* into Banishment, because he had defended *St. Athanasius* in the Council of *Bexiers*, against *Saturnius* Bishop of *Arles*, and against *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who had been a little before Excommunicated by the Bishops of *France*; for being come to this Council, which was Assembled by the intriguing of *Saturnius*, he desir'd that Matters of Faith should be handled before all other things, and offer'd to convict *Saturnius*, *Ursacius* and *Valens*, of Heresy; But they were so far from accepting this Proposition, that they condemn'd *St. Hilary*, and wrote a Letter against him to the Emperor, who was then at *Milan*; whereupon he sent immediately an Order to Banish *St. Hilary* and *Rhodanus* Bishop of *Tholose*. Nevertheless, there was no Bishops Ordain'd in their room; and so the Church of *Poitiers* enjoy'd Peace, and *St. Hilary* continued still to Govern it, and to Administer the Sacraments there by his Priests. The ordinary place of his Banishment was *Phrygia*^c; where he wrote his Treatise of Synods, which he dedicated to the Bishops of *France*, to inform them of the Opinions of the Eastern Bishops about the Trinity, and to instruct them how they should behave themselves in these two Synods, the expectation whereof held all the Church in Suspense. This Treatise was compos'd by *St. Hilary* after the Council of *Ancyra*, held in the Year 358, whose Canons he there explains, and before the Councils of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, that's to say, towards the Beginning of the Year 359. Some time after he was sent to the Council of *Seleucia* by the Lieutenant of the *Præfectus Prætorio*, and by

^a Was born in the City of *Poitiers*.] *St. Jerom* in his Preface to B. II. of his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*, says, that *St. Hilary* was a Gaul born at *Poitiers*: *Fortunatus* says also, that he was of that City. *Pitavus refidens quæ sanctus Hilarius olim Natus in Urbe Patet*. The Names of his Parents are not known; for we must not acquiesce in what *Bollandus* writes, that the Tomb of his Father and Mother were found in a Village of *Palto*, where his Father was nam'd *Franciscus*. But there is some probability that he was of a good Family. We need not now distinguish this *Hilary* from several others of that Name, of whom we shall speak afterwards.

^b *Aura*.] The Author of the Life of this Saint which is attributed to *Fortunatus*, is the only ancient Witness that we have of this Circumstance; who also observe, that *St. Hilary* having left his Daughter and Wife at *Poitiers* when he was banish'd, had a Revelation in the Place of his Banishment, that a rich and potent young Man courted his Daughter to marry her, but that as his Prayers hindered her from taking any other Spouse but Jesus Christ, and that he wrote a Letter to her which this Author writes. The same Author adds at the end of B. I. of the Life of *St. Hilary*, that returning from his Banishment, and finding that his Daughter desir'd to marry, he prayed God to take her out of the World; that his Prayer was heard, for his Daughter died, and her Mother surviv'd her but a very little time. This is reported by the Author of this Life, who liv'd soon after King *Clotus*, towards the Year 590, and who appears to be different from *Venantius Fortunatus*. *St. Gregory of Tours*, cites this Life without naming the Author of it; and so we must not wholly reject what he says, nor yet altogether build upon it.

^c He liv'd several Years after his Baptism, before he was made Bishop. In his Book of Synods, he says, that he was baptiz'd a long while before his Banishment.

ment, and but a little while before it he was made Bishop: *Regeneratus pridem, & in Episcopatu aliquantisper mansit*.

^d He wrote his Twelve Books of the Trinity against him. Some have thought that they were written in his Banishment; but the Preface alone, which is the Beginning of the First Book, discovers that these Books were written before that time: For after he has there described his Conversion he observes that soon after his Ordination the *Arian* Heresy was spread in *France*, and that immediately he took Pen in hand to confute their Impious Doctrines. What he says in the Tenth Book, does also prove that he was not banish'd, but only threatn'd with Banishment when he wrote it, *sed licet, says he, nunc à multis coacerantibus sibi sequenda desideria sua Magistris sana doctrina exulet*, (which is plainly meant of the Banishment of *Paulinus* of *Trier*, *Eusebius* of *Vercelles*, and *Lucifer* *Calaritanus* banish'd after the Council of *Milan*) *non tamen à Sanctis quibusque Prædicationis Veritas exulabit. Loquens enim exulet per hos libros, & Sermo Dei qui vinciri non potest, liber exurret*, &c. Where he speaks of his Banishment as a thing that was future and had not yet come to pass, but which was quickly to follow after the Banishment of *Paulinus* and others: From whence it appears that this Tenth Book was written between the Council of *Milan* and that of *Bexiers*.

^e The ordinary Place of his Banishment was *Phrygia*.] *St. Jerom* in his Catalogue, and *Sulpicius Severus* B. II. of his *Hist.* do testify this, as well as the Author of the Life of *St. Hilary*, *Theodoret* B. III. ch. 4. says, that *Hilary*, *Eusebius* and *Lucifer* were in *Thebais*, when *Julian* permitted the exil'd Bishops to return to their Seats. This is true of the Two last, but not of the First, for he was then in *France*. *St. Hilary* himself says, in his Book of Synods, that he was in the Provinces of *Asia*.

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the Governor of *Phrygia*. Being arriv'd at that City, he was kindly receiv'd, and gain'd the good opinion and affection of every Body. First of all, he was requir'd to give an account of the Faith of the Bishops of *France*, because of the false Reports that the *Arians* had spread Abroad against them, which render'd them suspected of *Subellinitas*, and charg'd with believing, that there was but one Person only in the God-head: But *St. Hilary* having declar'd his Faith which agreed with the *Nicene Creed*, gave an authentick Testimony of the Purity of the Faith of the Western Bishops; and so having remov'd the Jealousies they might have of his Doctrine, he was admitted to the Communion and Society of the other Bishops, and took his Place among those that were to vote in the Council. He assist'd there at the Beginning; but seeing that the greater part of the Bishops were *Arians*, they would not suffer him to stay there any longer. Yet he continued still at *Seleucia* till the End of the Council, and follow'd the Deputies of the Council to the Emperor's Court, to receive the Orders that should be given him: But when he saw that the true Faith was in extreme Danger, the Bishops of the West being over-reach'd, and those of the East over-power'd, he desir'd Audience of the Emperor in Three Petitions, (if we may believe *Sulpicius Severus*) which he publicly presented. That he might have leave to Dispute for the Faith against his Adversaries. *St. Jerom*, mentions but one Petition, and indeed, of the three Papers which *St. Hilary* presented to *Constantinus*, there is none but the Third wherein he desires Audience. This he presented towards the End of the Year 359, and the Second Paper also about the same time. The *Arians* seeing themselves attack'd by so powerful an Enemy, procur'd him to be sent back into *France*, yet without releasing him wholly from his Banishment. As he return'd, he pass'd through *Italy*, and entered *France* in the Year 360. 'Twas in his Journey, or a little after his Return, that he address'd his Third Discourse to *Constantinus*, which is commonly plac'd First. *St. Jerom*, says, that he wrote it after the Death of this Emperor: But it appears by the Discourse it self, that it was compos'd Five Years after *St. Hilary* withdrew from the Communion of *Saturnius*; and after the Banishment of *Lucifer*, *Eusebius* and *Paulinus*, which discovers that it was in 360, and so before the Death of *Constantinus*; and yet it's probable, that it was not publish'd in the East, till after the Death of this Emperor, which made *St. Jerom* believe, that it was not written till that time. 'Twas about the same time, that he compos'd his Treatise against *Ursacius* and *Valens*, which contain'd the History of the Council of *Ariminum* and of *Seleucia*, from whence part of those Fragments are taken, which have been publish'd by themselves. The whole Book consists of Two Parts; The First is taken out of a Book of *St. Hilary*, which he wrote during the time of Persecution, and before the Death of *Constantinus*, as the Preface sufficiently discovers. This First Part begins at P. 430. and ends at 466. of the *Paris* Edition in the Year 1652, and it contains the Transactions that happen'd to the end of the Councils of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*. The Second Part taken out of another Book, begins at P. 466, and contains what pass'd afterwards. When the Catholic Bishops afterwards recover'd their Liberty under *Julian* the Apostate, *St. Hilary* assembled many Councils in *France* for the Re-establishment of the Ancient Faith, and the Condemnation of the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*. In them he procur'd the Condemnation of *Saturnius* Bishop of *Arles*, who oppos'd this Design, as well as *Paternus* Bishop of *Perigueux*. As to the other Bishops who acknowledg'd their Fault, they were pardon'd; and all the World must own, says *Sulpicius Severus*, that our *France* was oblig'd to *St. Hilary* alone for its happy Deliverance from Heresy. He extended also his care as far as *Italy*, it we believe *Ruffinus*, and took a great deal of pains to re-establish the Faith there, by visiting the Churches, and causing them to reject the Errors of the Heretics. *Eusebius* of *Vercelle* found that *St. Hilary* had prevented him in this Employment, and *Ruffinus* makes no scruple to say, That *St. Hilary* labour'd with more Diligence and Success than he [because he was of a sweet and mild disposition, and withal of great Learning, and every way qualified for perswading: Nisi quod Hilarius, viz. natura lenis, placidus, simulque audax, & ad persuadendum commodissimus, rem diligentius & aptius procurabat.] An excellent Remark, which may serve for an Instruction to those who are employ'd in the Conversion of Heretics: The same Historian adds, [That *St. Hilary* compos'd Books concerning the Faith, which were nobly written, wherein he clearly discovers the Artifices and Tricks which the Heretics us'd to deceive the too Credulous and simple Catholics.] Lastly, *Ruffinus* relates in his Book concerning the Corruption of *Origen's* Works, That *St. Hilary* having wrote a Book to chastise those that had sign'd the Creed of *Ariminum*, his Book was so corrupted by the Heretics, (though he knew nothing of it, that he was accus'd in a Synod of being an Heretic, and forc'd to depart from it as an Excommunicate Person. But I do not think we ought to take this Relation for certain, because 'tis no ways probable that the Faith of *St. Hilary* about the Trinity, could be suspected by the Western Bishops. In the Year 364, an occasion offer'd it self^f, wherein *St. Hilary* shew'd his Zeal for the Truth. The Emperor *Valentinian* being come to *Milan*, publish'd an Edict, wherein he oblig'd all the Catholics to acknowledge *Auxentius* for their Bishop. *St. Hilary* being perswaded that this Bishop was in his Judgment an *Arian*, presented a Petition to the Emperor, wherein he declar'd, that *Auxentius* was a Blasphemer, whose opinions were contrary to those of the Prince and other Catholics. The Emperor being mov'd by so sharp an Accusation, appointed a Conference, in the Presence of the Treasurer, and the great Mr. of the Palace, between *St. Hilary* accompanied with Ten Bishops, and *Auxentius*.

^f In the Year 364, an occasion offer'd it self.] *Valentinus* places this Conference in 365, which is a gross mistake, since according to the Testimony of all the Ancients, *St. Hilary* was dead before. Besides the Letter of *Auxentius* which was written after this Conference, bears not the Name of *Gratian*, who was de-

clar'd Emperor in 367, but only the Names of *Valens* and *Valentinian*. It appears by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, B. XXVI. that *Valentinian* came to *Milan* about the end of the Year 364, and went away soon after: And therefore this Conference must have been held in this Year.

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Account in this Confession; after he had endeavour'd to settle the Dispute, was oblig'd, under pain of Excommunication, to sign the same. That Jesus Christ was truly God, and of the same Substance, and the same Person with the Father. The Emperor thinking this Profession sincere, embraced his Communion; and St. Hilary, because he still continued to proclaim *Antony* a Heretic, who mock'd God and Man, was driven out of *Arles* as a Disturber of the Peace of the Church. Being thus disabled to speak anywhere *Pro* or *Contra* *Aurélius*, he wrote a Tract against this Bishop the next Year, in the Year 366; he collected the Commentaries of all the Translations, that had happen'd after the Council of *Arles*, as may be seen in the Second Part of the Fragments which is taken out of this Work; whereby you will find the Labours written in 366.

At last, After he had endur'd so much Labour and Trouble for the Defence of the Faith, he finish'd his course in the Year 367.

Besides the Works of St. Hilary which we have already mention'd, because they have a respect to the History of his Life, he has also written other Books, some whereof are come to our hands.

He wrote a little Tract against *Diocorus* the Physician, and *Sallustius* the Prefect, wherein he has particularly abus'd, says St. Jerome, in his Epistle to *Adagius*, both for his Learning and Eloquence could reach. This Book is not extant, yet 'tis very probable that 'twas written in Defence of the Christian Religion against Paganism.

He wrote several Commentaries upon the Scriptures, which are almost wholly taken out of *Origen*, whose Commentaries he caus'd *Heliadorus* to explain to him, if we believe St. Jerome: But it must be confess'd, that he follow'd more the Sense than the Letter of *Origen's* Commentaries, and that he added many things of his own, as the same St. Jerome has also observ'd. We have his Commentaries upon St. Matthew, we have also more of his Commentaries upon the *Psalms* than St. Jerome had seen; for this Father mentions only the Commentaries upon the 1st. and 2d. *Psalms*, upon the 51st. and those that follow until the 62d, and upon the 118th. and those that follow until the last; and we have besides these Commentaries, the Commentaries upon the 14th. and 15th. *Psalms*, and upon the 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, *Psalms*, which bear the Name of St. Hilary, and are written in his Style. But we have none of his Commentaries upon *Job*, which are cited by St. Jerome, whereof St. Austin relates a Passage in his 2d. Book against *Julian*, to prove Original Sin.

There was also attributed to him in St. Jerome's Time, a Commentary upon the Canticles, but this Father says, that he had never seen it.

St. Jerome mentions also a Collection of Hymns, compos'd by St. Hilary; a Book Entituled *Myseries*; and many Letters.

I place not the Letter and Hymn to his Daughter *Arta*, in the Number of St. Hilary's Works, because I doubt not but these pieces were the Work of him that wrote his Life, which are not at all like this Father's way of Writing: Some have attributed to him the Hymn *Pange Lingua*, and that of St. John the Baptist, *Ut quærit lacrimis*; but without any Ground: The Books of the Unity of the Essence of the Father and the Son, were Rhapodies taken out of the Genuine Works of St. Hilary. St. Jerome in his Apology to *Pammachius*, speaks of a Book of St. Hilary address'd to *Fortunatus*, which was concerning the Number Seven. Some have confounded this Treatise with St. Cyrian's Books of Exhortation to *Martyrdom*, being address'd to a Person of the same Name. But that which St. Jerome attributes to St. Hilary, must be different from those of St. Cyrian; and therefore if there be no Mistake in this place of St. Jerome, we must say, that St. Hilary wrote a Treatise address'd to his Friend *Fortunatus*, concerning the mysterious Significations of the Number Seven. And this Work may very well be one of those Treatises of *Mysteries*, which St. Jerome mentions in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers.

The Twelve Books of the Trinity, compos'd by St. Hilary in Imitation of *Quintilian's* Books, as St. Jerome has observ'd, are an excellent Work, which contains the Explication and the Proofs of this Mystery. He has there establish'd the Faith of the Church in a demonstrative Manner; he has clearly detected the Errors of the Hereticks, refused them solidly and answer'd all their Objections: So that this is the largest and most methodical Work of any, that we have in all Antiquity upon this Subject.

The First Book is a Preface to the Whole, wherein he describes very pleasantly after what manner a Man arrives at Happiness, and the Knowledge of the Truth; and then gives an Account of the Subject of the Eleven following Books. He begins with observing, that Happiness does not consist in Abundance, nor in Repose, as common People imagine, nor yet in the bare Knowledge of the First Principles of Good and Evil, as many wise Men among the *Pagans* thought, but in the Knowledge of the true God. He adds, that Man having an ardent Desire after this Knowledge, meets with some Persons that give him low and mean Ideas, unworthy of the Divinity. Some would persuade him that there are many Gods of different Sexes: Others take the Representations of Men, of Beasts, and Birds, for Divinities: Others acknowledge no God at all; and some, in short, confess, that there is a God, but deny that he has any Knowledge, or takes any Care of things here below. But the Reason of a Man discovers these Notions to be false, and so by the Light of Nature, he comes to know, That there can be but one God Almighty, Eternal and Infinite, who is in all places,

8 He finish'd his Course in the Year 367.] St. Jerome places his Death in this Year. *Sulpitius Severus* says, that he died Six Years after his Return into Gaul, and that Gregory of Tours B. I. of his Hist. ch. 2. says, that his Death happen'd in the Fourth Year of *Valentinian*.

These Two Dates fall out just in the same Year; for the one reckons six Years after the end of the Year 350, which reaches to the Beginning of 357, and the 4th Year of *Valentinian's* Reign began in the Month of February the same Year.

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who knows all things; and Orders all things; and afterwards by reading the Books of *Moses* and the Prophets, where he found these Truths explain'd; he was fully convinc'd of them, and apply'd with the greatest Application of mind to know this Sovereign Being, who is the Fountain of all kind of Beauty and Perfection. Neither did he stop here, but upon further Enquiry, he came to understand, That 'twas unworthy of God to suppose, that Man to whom he had given so much Knowledge, should be annihilated for ever; for if this were true, to what purpose would his Knowledge serve, since Death would one Day deprive him of all Understanding? But then as on the one side, Reason discovers it to be fit, that Man should be Immortal; so on the other side, the Sense of his present Weakness, and the Apprehension of Death, which he sees is unavoidable, fill him with anxious Fears. In this State, he has recourse to the Gospel, which perfects all the Knowledge he had before, and resolves all the Doubts that yet remain with him. There he learns, That there is an Eternal Word, the Son of God, who was made Man, and came into the World to communicate to it the Fullness of Grace and Truth. This gives him hopes infinitely above all that he could have before, for now he presently perceives the Excellency and Greatness of these Gifts, by understanding, That since the Son of God was made Man, nothing can hinder, but Men may become the Sons of God; and so when a Man joyfully receives this Doctrine, he perfects the Knowledge he had of the Divinity, by the Knowledge of the Humanity of Jesus Christ. He renews his Spirit by Faith: He acknowledges the Providence of one God over him, and begins to be fully persuaded, that he who created him, will not annihilate him. In short, he understands, That Faith is the only infallible means of coming to the Knowledge of the Truth; That it rejects unprofitable Questions, and resolves the capricious Difficulties of humane Philosophy; That it judges not of the Conduct of God according to the Thoughts of Men, nor of that of Jesus Christ, according to the Maxims of this World; That 'twas by this Faith, (whereof the Law was only a Shadow and Type), that Jesus Christ having rais'd our Minds to that which is most Sublime and Divine, prescrib'd to us, instead of the Circumcision of the Flesh, the Circumcision of the Spirit, which consists in the Reformation of our Lives, and the Renovation of our Hearts: That as we die to Sin in Baptism, that we may live a Spiritual and Immortal Life, so Jesus Christ died for us, that we might rise again together with him; and so the Death of him who is Immortal, procur'd Immortality to us Mortals. Now when once the Soul is fully possess'd with these Thoughts, he rests satisfied with this Hope, without fearing Death, or being wearied of Life: For he considers Death as the beginning of Eternal Life, and looks upon this present Life, as the means of obtaining a happy Immortality.

These are the Steps by which St. Hilary guides the minds of Men to the Knowledge of Happiness and Truth, after he himself had arriv'd at it by the same Methods: For he does not deliver these things as curious and profound Discourses which he had meditated in his Study, but as the History of his own Thoughts which by degrees carried him on to a perfect Conversion. Then he declares, That afterwards being Ordain'd Bishop, as his Office oblig'd him to take Care of the Salvation of others, he preach'd the Truths of the Gospel; And at last, That the Heresy of the *Arians*, who would judge of the Almighty Power of God, by the weak Light of their own Reason, had oblig'd him to undertake the Defence of the Truth, and the Refutation of their Errors. After he has in a few words explain'd the Faith of the Church, he admonishes the Reader, above all things, when he thinks of God, to direct his Mind of the meanness of humane Opinions, and to judge of God according to the Light of Faith, and agreeable to the Testimony of God himself. "For, says he, the chief Qualification requir'd in a Reader, is, That he be willing to take the Sense of an Author from what he reads, and not give that Sense wherewith he himself is possess'd. He must take the meaning of the Author, and not give him one of his own: He ought not to endeavour to find in the Passages which he reads, that which he presum'd, ought to be found there before he read them; wherefore in Discoursing of God, he ought at least to be persuaded, that he knew himself, and so to embrace with Reverence, that Doctrine which he teaches us. He only can give an Account worthy of himself, because he is not known but from himself, and by himself. But if it happens, says St. Hilary, That some Comparison, from humane Affairs be us'd in Discoursing of these Mysteries, we must not believe that they are just, or have a perfect Resemblance to them." After this Excellent Advertisement, St. Hilary gives an Account of the Subject of his Eleven Books of the Trinity, and finishes this First Book, with an Invocation of the Divine Assistance.

In the Second Book, He explains the Catholick Doctrine concerning the Three Divine Persons. He says, He should have permitted Christians to keep themselves to the Words of the Gospel, without diving further into the Mystery of the Trinity, if the Hereticks had not oblig'd them to explain it more clearly. "The Errors and Blasphemies of the Hereticks, says he, oblige us to do those things which are forbidden us, to search into those Mysteries which are incomprehensible, to speak those things that are ineffable, and to explain that which we are not permitted to examine: And instead of performing with a sincere Faith (which were otherwise sufficient) that which is commanded us, i. e. Worshipping the Father and the Son, and being fill'd with the Holy Spirit, we are oblig'd to employ our weak Reasonings to explain those things which are incomprehensible; being constrain'd, if a Man may so say, by the fault of others, to commit this one our selves, lest we fall into the Error of those who have dar'd to give an heretical Sense to the Words of Scripture; for that which makes the Heresy, says he, is not the Scripture, but the manner of Expounding it: 'tis the Interpretation that makes the Crime, and not the Words." After this, he gives an Account of the Errors of the *Subellians*, the *Ebionites* and *Arians*, to which he opposes the Faith of the Church. He says, That the Father who is the First Person of the Trinity, is the Fountain and First Principle of all Things, being Eternal and Infinite; and that the Word, who is the Second Person of the Trinity, is the Son begotten

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begotten from all Eternity of the Father. He confesses, That this Generation is Incomprehensible, and reproves those that endeavour to explain it. He asks them, If they can comprehend how they came into this World; How they receiv'd their Feeling, Life, Preception, Taste, Sight, Understanding, and the other Senses; How they can Communicate them to others. [Toll me, says he, O Man, if thou canst comprehend how all this is done, and if thou canst not comprehend it, with what Face dost thou demand an Explication of the Generation of the Son of God? Thou that art so ignorant of what passeth in thy self, wilt thou be so insolent as to complain for not knowing what passeth in God?] And so, without insisting on the Explication of the Eternal Generation of the Word by humane Reason, he proves it by Holy Scripture, and confirms the Catholic Faith of the Divinity of the Word against all Heresies. He speaks occasionally of the Temporal Generation of the Son of God, that is to say, of the Mystery of the Incarnation. At last, He treats of the Holy Spirit, who is the Third Person of the Trinity, and maintains, That he is a Divine Person, distinct from the Father and the Son: He observes, That tho' the Name of Spirit be given sometimes in Scripture to the Father and the Son, yet in most places, it signifies a Person distinct from them both. He Discourses of the Effects and Gifts of the Holy Spirit; and says, That he Intercedes for us; That he Enlightens our Understandings, and warms our Hearts; That he is the Author of all Grace, and of all heavenly Gifts; That he will be with us till the End of the World; That he is our Comforter here while we live in Expectation of a future Life, the earnest of our future Hopes, the Light of our Minds, and the Warmth of our Souls. From whence he concludes, That we must beg this Holy Spirit, to enable us to do Good, and to persevere in the Faith, and keeping the Commands of God.

In the Third Book, He proves the Divinity of the Son of God, by the Words of the Gospel of St. John, *I am in my Father, and my Father is in me.* He observes also, "That the Generation of the Word is incomprehensible, as well as the most part of the Miracles of Jesus Christ; That Humane Reason cannot give an Account of it; and, That Jesus Christ was made Man, to Preach this Eternal Power to Men, and to make known his Father unto them; That in this Sense, we must understand his desire to be Glorified, that he might glorify his Father, viz. That the Glory which the Humanity of Jesus Christ receiv'd and made appear unto Men, discover'd the Dignity and Power of his Father." He observes also, That the Birth of Jesus Christ, his Resurrection, his Entering into the Room where the Disciples were, unseen, through the Doors, and the other Miracles of Jesus Christ, are no less above Reason, than his Eternal Generation. From whence he concludes, "That the Nature and Operations of God, are above the Reason, Perception, and Understanding of Men; That we must acknowledge in these things, the folly of Worldly Wisdom, and the Vanity of Humane Knowledge, and Embrace that Heavenly Prudence, and Divine Wisdom, that seems to be so folly to the World."

In the Fourth Book, He describes the Errors of the Hereticks concerning the Consubstantiality of the Word; He opposes to them the Faith of the Church; Answers the Passages which they allege, and endeavours to prove the Divinity of the Word, by many Passages taken out of the Old Testament.

He continues the same Subject in the Fifth Book, where he thinks, That 'twas the Word which appear'd to Abraham, to Jacob, to Moses, and the other Patriarchs, who is call'd an Angel, because of his Ministry, and not because of his Nature.

In the Sixth Book, he proves, That Jesus Christ is the Son of God, By the Testimony of his Father; By his own Declaration; By the Preaching of the Apostles; By the Confession of the Faithful; By the Acknowledgment of the Devils and Jews, and by the Belief of the Gentiles. We must observe here, That in citing a Passage of the Epistle to the Romans, he appeals to the Greek Text, as to the Original.

In the Seventh, He shews that the Son of God, is truly God. There he observes, That the Hereticks use very great Address and Subtlety to Maintain their corrupt Opinions which they falsely pretend to have from Religion; That they deceive the Simple by their Expressions, which are Catholic in appearance; that they accommodate themselves to the Wisdom of this World; That they corrupt the true Sense of Scripture Expressions, by the Explications which they add, as it were to give an Account of what they say. He adds, That 'tis this which renders the Matter of the Trinity, a difficult Subject to treat on. [For if on the one side, says he, I declare that there is but one God, Sabellius will think, that I espouse his Opinion: If I say, That the Son is God, the modern Hereticks will accuse me of admitting Two Gods: If I affirm, That the Son is born of the Virgin, Ebiion and Photinus will make use of this Truth, to Establish their Impiety. But, says he, the Doctrine of the Church confounds all these Errors. The Power of Truth is so great, that even its Enemies explain it; that the more 'tis oppos'd, the more force it gains; and certainly, the Church was never more Triumphant, than when it was most vigorously attack'd: It was never more Famous, than when it was reproach'd: It was never more Powerful, than when it seem'd to be abandon'd. She wisest, That all Men would continue in her Bosom, and She is never more trembled, than when She is oblig'd to throw any one out, and deliver him up to the Devil. But when the Hereticks go out from Her, or when She casts them out, as She does on one side the occasion of giving them Salvation, so She gains this Advantage on the other, of discovering the Happiness of those who continue involuntarily fix'd in Her Communion. And a few Lines after, he adds, All Heresies attack the Church, and while they attack the Church, they overcome one another. But the Victory is gain'd to the Church and not to them; for they all Quarrel about those Errors, which are all equally rejected by the Church. Sabellius, for Instance, does unanswerably confute the Error of Arius; Arius confounds the Error of Photinus, and so of the rest: but in vain do they mutually Conquer one another, for they are all wrong.]

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always overcome in some Article or other, and the Church alone remains victorious over all Errors, by professing that Jesus Christ is the true God, Son of the true God, born before all Ages, and Everlastingly begotten of Mary.] Lastly, he proves that he is God, because the Name of God is given him in the New Testament, and from what is there said of his Birth, his Nature, his Power and his Actions.

In the Eighth Book he shows the essential Unity of the Father and the Son, and refutes the Interpretations of the Hereticks, by explaining the Passages which they alleged, to prove that the Unity of the Father and the Son is an Unity of Will and Judgment, and not of Essence and Nature. At the Beginning of this Book he observes, "That 'tis not sufficient for a Bishop to live a Good Life, but he must also teach Sound Doctrine; that as his Life must be Innocent, so his Preaching must be Learned: for if he be Pious without being Learned, he will not be serviceable to others; and if he be Learned without being Holy, his Doctrine will want Authority: From whence he concludes, That the Holiness of a Bishop should shine more brightly by his Learning, and his Doctrine should be recommended by the Holiness of his Life, *Ut & vita ejus ornatur docendo, & doctrina vivendo.* There is in this Book an excellent Passage for the real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, where he says, *That by this Sacrament we truly receive the Flesh and Blood of Jesus Christ, who remains corporally in us.*

In the Ninth Book he answers the great Objections of the Arians founded upon Five Passages of Scripture, whereof he explains the true sense. And First of all, he shews, That they abuse the Passages which they allege by perverting them from their Natural Sense; That they do not explain them by their Connection with what follows, and what goes before; That they attribute to the Divinity of Jesus Christ, that which should only be attributed to his Humanity. Upon this occasion he discourses of the Union of the two Natures in Jesus Christ, and explains how by virtue of this Union, those things are attributed to God which agree only to the Humane Nature, and those to Man which belong to the Divinity. Afterwards he explains the Passages which the Arians continually object to the Catholics, one by one: The First, which is taken out of the Tenth Chapter of St. Mark, is the Answer which Jesus Christ made to the Rich young Man, who call'd him Good Master, *Why callest thou me Good, says he, there is none Good but God;* from whence the Arians concluded, That Jesus Christ was not truly God. St. Hilary answers, That he does not particularly reprove the Young Man, for calling him Good, but because he gives him this Title, as if it agreed to him in the Capacity of a Doctor of the Law. The Young Man, says he, not knowing that he was the Messiah, who came to save the lost Sheep of the House of Israel, ask'd him as a Doctor of the Law, and gave him the Title which the Doctors take to themselves. Jesus Christ reproveth this Nation, and to explain to him in what sense he should be called Good, he tells him, *None is Good but God; following by this, That he was so far from rejecting the title of Good as it agreed to God, that he accepted of it in that sense.* And therefore his Answer is one Proof of his Divinity, which ought to be understood in this sense, *Why call you me good, if you believe that I am God? There is none Good but God; which supposes that he himself was God.* St. Hilary confirms this Answer by many places of Scripture, where Jesus Christ gives himself the Title of God, and of Master; from whence it appears that the Title was not here refus'd upon its own Account. Upon this occasion he answers the Objection of the Arians, who say, That Jesus Christ call'd his Father the only God; and shews that the Father is the only God, because the Divinity of the Father is the same with that of the Son, which Truth he proves by many Passages of Scripture.

The Second Passage objected by the Arians is taken out of the Gospel of St. John, Chap. 17. *This is my Eternal life, that I know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent;* from whence the Arians concluded, That Jesus Christ was not the true God, but one sent from the true God. St. Hilary answers, "That this Passage does not exclude the Essential Unity of the Father and the Son, since in *this and other places, Jesus Christ affirms, That he came forth from God; That he is with God; That he had overcome the World; That he should be honour'd as the Father; That he had receiv'd the Power of giving Eternal Life; That all things which are the Father's are his. He adds, That in the same Place Jesus Christ prays the Father to glorify him with the Glory that he had with him from all Eternity; which evidently proves the Unity of the Essence of the Father and the Son: Moreover the words alledg'd in the Objection, prove nothing contrary to the Faith of the Church, which acknowledges that the Father is the only true God, though Jesus Christ is also God, because the Father and the Son are not two Gods, but one God only."

The Third Objection is taken from Ch. 5th. of the same Gospel of St. John. *The Son can do nothing of himself, he doth only what he seeth his Father do.* St. Hilary shews that this Passage establishes the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and is very far from destroying it, because it proves the Unity and Equality of the Father and the Son.

The Fourth Passage is the grand Objection of the Arians founded upon those words of Jesus Christ in St. John, Chap. 14. *My Father is greater than I.* St. Hilary says, That the Father is greater than the Son, consider'd as Man and as Mediator. The last Objection is taken from those words of Jesus Christ in St. Mark, Chap. 13. *No Man knoweth the Day of Judgment, nor yet the Angels, nor the Son, but the Father only:* From whence the Arians concluded, That the Knowledge of the Father being more extensive than that of the Son, his Nature must be more excellent. St. Hilary having in answer to this Objection, proved by many Reasons, that Jesus Christ could not be Ignorant of the Day of Judgment, and having demonstrat'd this Truth, he adds, That what Christ says in this place, that the Son knew not the Day of Judgment, ought not to be understood literally, as if he were really ignorant of it; but in this sense, that he did not know it, not so as to tell it unto Men. Wherefore being ask'd about the same Matter after his Resurrection, he does not say, That he was ignorant of it;

but he reproves his Apostles with that heat, which testified his Knowledge of it, by saying unto them, *Thou art not for you to know the times and the seasons which my Father has reserved in his own Power.* He adds also, that it may be said in another sense, That the Son of Man was ignorant of the Day of Judgment, because he knew it not as he was Man, but as he was God: For, says he, as we may say, That the Son of God was subject to Fear, to Sadness, and to Sleep; because the Humanity of Jesus Christ was subject to these Infirmitates; So we may say, That he was ignorant of the Day of Judgment, because he knew it not as he was Man, but upon the account of his Divinity.

In the Tenth Book he Answers the Objections which the *Arians* draw from those Passages of Scripture which prove that Jesus Christ was subject to Fear, to Sorrow and Pain. And here he maintains, That Jesus Christ had not truly any Fear or Pain, but only the Representation of those Passions within him: in which, if his Judgment is not different from that of the Church, yet it must be confessed, that the manner of expressing it is very harsh. He had answer'd the *Arians* better, if he had said, That the Fear, the Sorrow and Pain of Jesus Christ did belong to his Humane Nature, and not to his Divinity. He acknowledges in this Book, That all Men are conceiv'd in Sin, and that none but Jesus Christ ought to be excepted from this General Law. He says, That the Soul is not communicable to Children by the Parents. He observes, That what is said in the Gospel of St. Luke concerning the Bloody Sweat of Jesus Christ, and of the Angel that appear'd unto him, is not to be found in many Greek and Latin Copies of this Gospel.

In the Eleventh Book, he Answers some Passages of the Gospels and of St. Paul concerning Jesus Christ's being risen from the Dead, and becoming Glorious, which are alleg'd by the *Arians* to prove that the Son is not equal to the Father: But St. Hilary shows, That those Passages do much rather prove the Divinity of Jesus Christ, than destroy it.

In the last Book, St. Hilary explains that Passage of the Proverbs, *God created me in the Beginning of his Ways*, &c. He demonstrates that the Word of God was not properly created, but begotten of God from all Eternity; which he proves by many Passages of Scripture. He expounds this Passage of the Proverbs of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. He adds some Proofs of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and Ends with a Prayer to God, wherein he begs Grace to preserve in his Heart that Faith whereof he made Profession at his Baptism, that he may always worship the Father and the Son, and receive the Holy Spirit which proceeds from the Father by the Son.

His Book of Synods is Address'd to the Bishops of France and Britain. He commends them for the Constancy which they had shown in refusing Communion to *Sataninus*, and for the Zeal wherewith they maintain'd the Faith of the Church, by condemning the Impieties of the *Arians* so sharply: After this, he sets himself to explain the Creeds made by the Eastern Bishops after the Council of *Nice*. He declares, That if there were any Error in some of those Creeds, it ought not to be attributed to him, since he only relates what others had said; and if they were found agreeable to the Doctrine of the Apostles, the Praise of it ought not to be given to him but to the Original Authors: He leaves it to the Judgment of the Bishops, to whom his Book is written, whether they be Heretical or Catholic. Then he intimates to them, what Obligation lay upon him to instruct them in the Opinions of the Eastern Bishops, that they might join with the right Side in those Councils which were shortly to be held at *Ariminum* and *Ancyra*. But before he comes to speak of those Creeds which are suspected, he relates and explains that of the Council of *Ancyra*, which was made in opposition to the Second Creed of *Sirmium*; afterwards he relates the Creeds made by the Eastern Bishops after the Council of *Nice*, at *Antioch*, *Sardica*, and the First Creed at *Sirmium*. He shows, That those Creeds are Catholic, and endeavours to excuse the Oriental Bishops for making so many, by alleging the Multitude and Obtuseness of the *Arians* that were in the East. He says, That in those Provinces to which he was Banish'd, there was only *Eusebius*, and a small number of Bishops with him, that acknowledg'd the Divinity of the Word. He congratulates the Western Bishops for maintaining the Apostolical Faith, engrav'd by the Holy Spirit in their Hearts, who were ignorant of the Creeds written by the hands of Men. After this, he explains in a lively and clear manner his own Doctrine and that of the Western Bishops concerning the Mystery of the Trinity, and secures it against the false Explications of the Heretics. He gives the true sense of the word *Consubstantial*, which he justifies against those that directly oppose it, or that think it should be suppress'd. He exhorts the Eastern Bishops with much Eloquence to use this term, and to receive the Confession of Faith made by the Council of *Nice*. He concludes with conjuring his Brethren in much Humility, to Pardon the Freedom he had taken to inform them of these things, and advise them what they ought to do. He exhorts them to preserve with inviolable Fidelity, the Doctrines of Piety and Religion which were written upon their Hearts, and Requests them to remember his Banishment in their Prayers.

The Third Discourse address'd to the Emperor *Constantinus*, which should be the First as he have observ'd already, is a Petition presented to this Emperor, wherein he remonstrates, that he was a Catholic Bishop of France, banish'd by the Intrigues of his Enemies, who had falsly accus'd him to his Majesty. He prays the Emperor that he would grant him Audience in the Presence of *Sataninus*, who was the chief Cause of his Sufferings, that he might have Opportunity to justify himself from those Accusations that were form'd against him: and he makes no scruple to declare, that if his Adversary could show that he had done any one thing unworthy, either of the Holiness of a Bishop, or of the Piety of a Christian, he would not only quit all Claim to his Favour for continuing to him his Bishoprick, but on the contrary, he would be willing to spend his Old Age in a State of Penance among the Laity. But so far as this Petition concern'd only his own Person, he went further and protested, that he would never speak more of it unless the Emperor commanded him: yet

he still be desir'd with great Boldness and Earnestness, an Audience about the Cause of the Faith, which was common to him with all other Catholics. And to this purpose, he represents to the Emperor the Confusion of so many Creeds. "When once they begun, says he, to make new Confessions of Faith, the Faith became the Creed of the Times rather than of the Gospel: *Falsa esse Fides temporum potius quam Evangelicorum.* Every Year new Creeds were made, and Men did not keep to that Simplicity of Faith which they profess'd at their Baptism: And O what Miseries ensu'd! For presently, there were as many Creeds as might please each particular Party; and nothing else has been minded since the Council of *Nice*, but this making of Creeds. New Creeds have been made every Year and every Month, they have been chang'd, they have been anathematiz'd, and then re-establish'd; and so by enquiring too much into the Faith, there is none left; it has always continued uncertain, and there was never any Certainty of the Truth." After he has described this Confusion very smartly, he remonstrates to the Emperor, that the only way to save himself from this Shipwreck, was to acquiesce in the Faith of the Gospel; whereof he made Profession at his Baptism. Then he prays the Emperor, that he would give him Audience in the Presence of the Council, which was to meet at *Constantinople*; and promises that for explaining and proving the Faith of the Church, he would only make use of the Words of Jesus Christ. He confesses, that all the Heretics boast of preaching the Gospel, but says he, they do not understand it; *For they allege Scripture without knowing the meaning of it, and make use of Orthodox Terms without having the True Faith.* He presses the Emperor to grant him this Audience for the good of the whole Church; and promises him, that being to speak publicly to him of a Question so famous in the Presence of a Council divided upon this Subject, he would say nothing but what should tend to the Honour of the Emperor, the Preservation of the Faith, and the peaceable Union of the East and the West. And to assure him of this Promise, he gives him this Sign of it, by confining himself wholly to the Terms of the Gospel, in declaring his Doctrine at present. With this Declaration he concludes this Paper, which some have thought Imperfect, but without any Ground.

The Second Book of St. Hilary to *Constantinus*, is also a kind of Petition, wherein he prays him, To put an End to the Persecutions and Vexations wherewith the *Arians* exercise'd the Church; To forbid the Secular Judges to meddle in Affairs of Religion; To leave his Subjects to their Liberty, whether they will be *Arians*, or no; To permit them to continue united to the Catholic Bishops, and separate from the *Arian* Bishops; and in short, To suffer all the banish'd Bishops to return to their Sees. After this, He compares the Persecution of the *Arians* against the Catholics, with that of the Pagans against the Christians: He shows how Cruel it was, and how far distant from the Spirit of the Church and of Jesus Christ. [The Bishops, says he, are put in Prison; The People are oblig'd to serve as their Guard; The holy Bodies of the Virgins of Jesus Christ, are expos'd to the View of all the World, to abuse them; Men are compell'd, I do not say to be Christians, but to become *Arians*; The Name and Authority of the Emperor is abus'd; He is impos'd upon by Surprizes; Judges are desir'd of him for approving these Injustices; and in short, The People are forc'd to consent unto them.] After this, He denounces particularly, the Violence that was us'd to *Paulinus* of *Trier*, to *Dionysius* of *Milan*, to *Eusebius* of *Vercelle*, and many others. This Book is imperfect.

These Discourses of St. Hilary, are written with great Moderation, as to what concerns the Emperor, whose Conduct he excuses; but he has not us'd the same Moderation in the last, which is commonly plac'd before the other Two. There he speaks with so fervent a Zeal, that he might deserve to be accus'd of too violent a Passion, if it were not otherwise certain that he was acted only from a principle of Love to the Truth.* He begins with these Words which are all Sparks of Fire: [*'Tis time to speak, since the time to be Silent is past; we must wait upon Jesus Christ, since Anti-Christ Governs: Let the True Pastors cry aloud, for the Hirelings are fled: Let us die for the Sheep, since the Thieves are enter'd, and the Lion full of Rage, goes about the Sheep-fold.*] After he has exhorted the Pastors in these Words, and many others of the same Nature, to Defend the Truths of the Gospel with Courage and Boldness, He gives an Account of the Conduct which he had observ'd since his Banishment. He says, That he kept Silence in Modesty, hoping that things would change for the better, but there being now no further place for hope, he found himself oblig'd to speak: He declares, That he wishes he had rather been in the time of *Decius* or *Nero*, than in that wherein he liv'd; That neither Tortures, nor the Fire, nor the Cross, could have made him afraid, but he would boldly have maintain'd the Combat against his declared Enemies, and suffer'd with Constancy in this publick Persecution. [But now, adds he, we oppose a Persecutor that deceives us with false appearances, an Enemy that puts on a Friendly Countenance to us; *Constantinus*, the Anti-Christ, who Persecutes the Church under a mask of designing its advancement. He professes, says he, to be a Christian, that he may deny Jesus Christ; He procures Union, to hinder Peace; He stifles Heresies, to ruin Christianity. He honours the Bishops, that he may make them use the Title of the Ministers of Jesus Christ; He build up Churches, that he may destroy the Faith. Let him not imagine, adds he, that I Charge him falsely; That I Reproach him: The Ministers of Jesus Christ, ought to speak the Truth: If what I have propos'd be a Calumny, I am willing to pass for an infamous Person; but if it be true and publicly known, I use the freedom of an Apostle, in reproving it after a long Silence.] After this, He justifies his calling *Constantinus*, Anti-Christ, by giving a horrible Representation of the Persecution that

* [The best Excuse that can be made for St. Hilary, is, That Oppression may make a Wise Man mad; and St. Athanasius needs it as much as he; for in his Letter to all those that lead a Mouthful Life; he shows as great Marks of Rage and Anger against *Constantinus*, as St. Hilary does here; and yet St. Gregory Nazianzen, a Man that was never suspected of *Arianism*, has said very great Things of that Prince, when he set him against *Julian* the Apostle.]

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he raised. He adds, That it was neither through Indiscretion, nor Rashness, nor Anger, that he spoke so of him, but that his Reason, his Constancy, and his Faith oblig'd him to say these things. *Ter, says he, addressing himself to Constantius, I tell you what I should have told Nero, what Dioclesian and Maximian should have heard from my Mouth: You fight against God; You use Cruelties to the Church; You Persecute the Saints; You hate those that Preach Jesus Christ; You utterly abolish Religion: In a word, You are a Tyrant; I speak not with reference to the Things of this World, but with reference to the Things of God. This is what is common to you with the Pagan Emperours. Let us now come to that which is peculiar to your self. You feign your self to be a Christian, and you are the Enemy of Jesus Christ; You are become Anti-Christ, and have begun his Work: You intrude into the Office of procuring New Creeds to be made, and you live like a Pagan; You teach things Profane, and are ignorant of Piety and Religion; You give Bishopsricks to those of your own Faction, and take them away from the good Bishops, that you may bestow them upon the Bad. You put the Bishops in Prison; You keep your Armies in the Field to terrify the Church; You assemble Councils to establish Impiety in them, and you compel the Western Bishops to renounce the Faith, that they may embrace Error. You shut them up in a City to weaken them by Famine, to kill them with the Rigor of the Winter, and to corrupt them by your Dissimulation: You foment the Dissensions of the East by your Artifices.* He adds also many other Accusations of the same Nature; and to complete all, he says, *That the Church never suffer'd so much, under Nero, under Decius, and Maximianus, as it has done under Constantius, who is more cruel than all those Tyrants, because the former gave Martyrs to the Church, who overcame Devils, whereas Constantius makes an Infinite number of Persecutors, who cannot so much as comfort themselves by saying, that they were overcome by the violence of their Torments.* I should never have done, if I should relate all that St. Hilary says in this place of the Persecution of Constantius. He charges him particularly, with the Banishment of *Paulinus* and *Liberius*, and the Troubles wherewith he exercis'd the Church of *Tholouse*; and concludes with saying, *That all those things that he had accus'd him of, were publick and certain; and therefore he had Just Cause to call him Anti-Christ.* He shows afterwards, the Impiety of those Bishops that Assisted at the Council of *Seleucia*, who maintain'd, that the Father was not like in Substance to the Son, and condemn'd the Words, *Consubstantial*, and *like in Substance*. He answers, what Constantius alleges as the Reason of condemning these Terms, That we must not make use of any but Scripture Expressions: He answers, I say, That these Terms agree with the Doctrine of the Gospel; That Constantius, and those of his Party, are also forc'd to make use of such Terms as are not to be found in Scripture; and in short, That the Scripture makes use of Terms more Emphatical, since it establishes the Equality and Unity of the Father and the Son. He blames Constantius for the variety and contrariety of those Creeds that were made after that of the Council of *Nice*. He explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Majesty of God, and proves by many Examples, That we are not to wonder, if the Eternal Generation of the Son is Incomprehensible. This Book is also imperfect.

The Book of Fragments, is a Collection of many Pieces taken out of two Books of St. Hilary, and likewise of some Passages out of his other Works. 'Tis not known who is the Author of this Abridgement, nor when he liv'd. The Passages that are cited in it, are certainly St. Hilary's, and for the most part, the Pieces that are collected in it are ancient; but he does not observe any Order in this Collection.

He begins with a Fragment of St. Hilary's Preface, wherein after he had spoken of the Excellency of Faith, Hope and Charity, he declares, "That he had undertaken to publish a Work of great importance and vast Extent, but very Intricate, because of the Diabolical Cheats of the Hereticks, and wherein he must use great Cunning, because of their Knaveries; against which also, there were many Prejudices, by reason of the Dissimulation and fear of many: That this Book would seem strange, even to those of the Country where he was, tho' there the things themselves were done which he treated of: That what he was to deliver, had come to pass some years ago, but the Silence which he had hitherto kept, made all these things still seem New; That the Peace had almost made him forget the Memory of them, but that not long before these things had been renew'd again by the impious Malice of some notable Seducers." After this, He describes the State of the Affairs of the Church under Constantius; He complains, That he had Banish'd those Bishops that would not condemn St. Athanasius, and that he interpos'd his Authority in Ecclesiastical Decisions. At last, he says, That he had treated in his Work, of Faith in God, of the Hope of Eternity, and the Defence of the Truth; and he exhorts all Christians to inform themselves of those things which he there recites, that so every one may be satisfied in his own Judgment, without following the Opinions of others blindly.

After his Preface, follow the Letters of the Council of *Sardica*, to all the Churches, and in particular to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, together with the Subscriptions of some Bishops, and the Names of the Hereticks that were condemn'd.

The Author of these Fragments, has join'd to these two Letters, a Fragment of St. Hilary for St. Athanasius; at the End, the Recantation of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, is mention'd: Their Letters to *Julius* and St. Athanasius, are at the bottom of this Fragment. The Passage which immediately follows, has reference to the Condemnation of *Photinus*; and that of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, which he consented to; but the End of that Passage concerns the Council of *Nice*, whose Creed he recites and explains.

The

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The First Letter of *Liberius*, here produc'd is supposititious, as the Passage which follows, plainly discovers, and as we have already shown when we treated of the Works of this Pope: The Second is Genuine, which is directed to the Bishops of *Italy*, concerning the Restitution of the Bishops, who had approv'd the *Arian* Creeds. The Letter of the Bishops of *Ilyricum*, concerning the Condemnation of the Creed of *Ariminum*, is one of the most Excellent Monuments of that time. The Letters of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, to *Germinius*, and his Answer, are put here out of their proper place, being written in the Year 366. We have already spoken of Pope *Liberius*'s Letters that are set down: After which, there follows a Letter of the Eastern Bishops, to the Council of *Ariminum*, with some Reflections of St. Hilary, which are very much corrupted. After this Fragment, the Author of this Collection has added this Note: *Here endeth the Book taken out of the Historical Work of St. Hilary: And yet he adds afterwards many Pieces which are probably taken out of the same Book.*

The 1st. is a Letter from a Council of the Bishops of *France*, held at *Paris*, against the Creed made at *Ariminum*.

The 2d. is a Letter of *Ensebius* of *Verelle*, written to *Gregory*, a Bishop in *Spain*, wherein he commands him for opposing *Hosius*, and preserving the Faith.

The 3d. is a Letter, or rather a Confession of Faith, by *Germinius* the *Arian* Bishop, against those of his own Party, who had Sign'd the Creed of *Ariminum*.

The 4th. is a Letter written by the Eastern Bishops in the Name of the Council of *Sardica*, against the Bishops of the West: This Letter should have been plac'd before those others which we have already spoken of.

The 5th. is a Letter of the Bishops of the Council of *Ariminum* to the Emperor *Constantius*, before they had Sign'd the Creed which was presented to them by the *Arians*. There follows after it a short Reflection concerning the Style of St. Hilary.

The 6th. is the Approbation which the Legates of the Council of *Ariminum*, gave to the Creed made by the *Arians* at *Nice*, a City of *Thracia*.

The 7th. is a Letter written to the Emperor *Constantius*, by the Bishops of *Ariminum*; after they had approv'd the Confession of Faith made at *Nice*, which was presented to them by the *Arians*.

The 8th. is a large Letter of *Liberius* to *Constantius*, in Favour of St. Athanasius. This is mis-plac'd as well in respect of time, as of the Matter it self.

The 9th. is a Letter of *Constantius*, to the Council of *Ariminum*.

The 10th. is the Decree of this Council before they had surrendred up themselves to the Emperor's Pleasure.

The 11th. is the Condemnation of *Ursacius* and *Valens*, in this Council. Here end the Monuments taken out of the Works of St. Hilary, to which there is subjoin'd in some Copies, the Creed of the *Nice* Council, the Creeds of *Ariminum*, and that which is attributed to St. Athanasius. These are the Pieces contain'd in the Fragments of St. Hilary, which might be read with more Pleasure and Profit, if they were dispos'd according to the Order of time which I have set down in the Notes.

The Book against *Auxentius*, Bishop of *Milan*, is a *Manifesto* against this Bishop, and against those that maintain him. Who, because they cover'd themselves chiefly under the Cloak of procuring Peace and Unity; St. Hilary says, That we can have no other true Peace, but that of Jesus Christ and the Gospel; and that this Peace cannot take place in a time when the Ministers of the Church are become Anti-Christ's, by opposing the Doctrine of Jesus Christ and the Gospel, while they pretend to preach

^a According to the Order of Time which I have set down in the Notes: These pieces are:

Pages of the Paris- Edition 1652. The Year of Christ.
Pg. 447 The Nicene Creed in the Year 325

433 The Letter of the Council of *Sardica* to all the Bishops

A Letter of the same Council to *Julius*.

465 The Letter of the Bishops of the East written from *Philippopolis* upon their Departure from *Sardica*.

443 The Letters of *Ursacius* and *Valens* to *Liberius* and St. Athanasius.

484 The Letter of *Liberius* to *Constantius* about the Cause of St. Athanasius.

450 The Supposititious Letter of *Liberius* to the Bishops of the East.

A Letter of *Liberius* before his Banishment.

456 To *Ensebius*, *Dionysius* and *Lucifer*.

457 To *Vincentius* of *Capua*.

463 A Letter of *Ensebius* of *Verelle*, to *Gregory* a Bishop of *Spain* upon occasion of the Fall of *Hosius*.

The Letters of *Liberius*, written in his Banishment after his Subscription.

457 To the Bishops of the East.

458 To *Ursacius* and *Valens*.

459 Letters which concern the Council of *Ariminum*.

487 A Letter of the Emperor to the Council.

488 The Catholic Determination.

Ibid. The Condemnation of *Ursacius*, of *Valens* and *Germinius*.

481 The Answer of the Council to the Emperor before he had subscrib'd.

459 The profession of Faith, of the Bishops of the East that was given in to the Legates of the Council.

482 The Acts of the Subscription of the Legates.

483 A Letter to the Emperor after their Subscription.

465 A Letter of *Germinius* after the Council of *Ariminum*.

462 A Letter of the Council of *Paris*.

451 A Letter of *Liberius* to the Bishops of *Italy*.

452 A Letter of the Bishops of *Italy* to the Bishops of *Ilyricum*.

Ibid. A Letter of *Ursacius* and *Valens* to *Germinius*.

453 The Answer of *Germinius* to their Letter.

it. He complains, That they make use of Temporal Power, to maintain a False Doctrine. He endeavours to prove, that *Alexander*, fosters Heretical Opinions; he recites the Conference that he had with him, and exhorts the Catholics to take heed of Anti-Christ, and to separate themselves from *Alexander*. After this Book, follows a Letter of *Alexander* to the Emperour, wherein he endeavours to purge himself from the Heresy of *Arian*, yet without approving the Term *Consubstantial*, or rejecting the Creed of *Ariminum*.

The Commentaries of St. Hilary upon St. Matthew, are very excellent; for there he had made many very useful Historical and Moral Observations. The Chief of them are the following.

In the 1st. Canon, he endeavours to reconcile the two Genealogies of Jesus Christ, by saying, That St. Matthew describes the Royal Race of Jesus Christ, by *Solomon*; and St. Luke, the Sacerdotal Race, by *Nathan*. He maintains, That the Virgin was of the same Tribe, and the same Family with *Joseph*; and that she continued a Virgin after her Child-bearing, and that the Persons who are call'd in Scripture, the Brethren of Jesus Christ, were indeed, the Children of *Joseph*, that he had by a former Wife. He says, That the Wife-men acknowledg'd the Royal Power of Jesus Christ, by presenting him with Gold, his Divinity by offering him Incense, and his Humanity by giving him Myrrh. He observes, That *Rachel* who mourn'd for her Children, is a Figure of the Church, which having been a long time barren, became afterwards fruitful. He says, That the Innocents were made partakers of Eternal Life by the Martyrdom which they suffer'd.

In the 2d. Canon, he says, That Jesus Christ did not cause St. John to Baptize him for the Purification of his Sins, since he was without Sin, but that Water might Sanctify us by Jesus Christ. Then he speaks of the Effects of Baptism. After Baptism, says he, the Holy Spirit descends upon the baptiz'd, he fills them with a Celestial Union, and makes them the adopted Children of God.

In the 3d. Canon, he explains the Temptations of Jesus Christ, and speaks of his Fast for Forty Days. He says, That the Devil was ignorant of the Incarnation.

In the 4th. he explains the Beatitudes: He says, That none but the perfect Man who is wholly purified from his Sins, shall enjoy the Vision of God. He observes, That Adultery is the only cause for which married Persons can be Divorc'd. He condemns Oaths, Revenge and Vaniry.

In the 5th. he sends the Reader to a Book of St. Cyprian, for the Explication of the Lord's Prayer: He also mentions *Tertullian*; but he says of this last Author, That his following Errors depriv'd his First Books of that Authority, which he could otherwise have allow'd them. He occasionally says, That the Soul is Corporeal.

In the 6th. Canon, he particularly recommends Good Works, without which, all other things are unprofitable to Salvation.

In the 7th. he explains allegorically the Cure of the Leger, and of St. Peter's Mother-in-Law; understanding those places of the Curing of Sinners. He compares the Church to a Ship toll with a Tempest; and towards the latter End, he observes, That we ought not to mention the Names of Dead Infidels, in the Commemorations of the Saints.

In the 8th. he Discourses particularly of the Fall of humane Nature by the Sin of the first Man, and of the Reparation of Mankind by Jesus Christ.

In the 10th. he Advises Catholics not to enter into the Churches of *Hereticks*. He observes, That nothing in the Ecclesiastical Ministry, ought to be sold for Money, and that the Ecclesiastical State, ought not to be ambitious of obtaining Temporal Authority. He says, That at the End of the World, the Jews that shall be then alive, shall believe in Jesus Christ, and be saved. He assures us, That Man was created Free, but that the Sin of *Adam* enslav'd him to Sin and Vice; and that in Baptism we are deliver'd by the Word from Sins, contracted by our Birth.

Towards the latter End of the 11th. he explains wherein the easiness of Christ's Yoke consists excellently, and in a few Words. What is more Easy, says he, than the Yoke of Christ, and what is more Light than his Burthen? It is only to be obliging to all the World; To abstain from committing Sin; To desire that which is Good, not to desire that which is Evil; To Love our Neighbour; To Hate no Body; To lay up for Eternity; Not to addit our selves to things present; Not to do to another, what we would not they should do unto us.

In the 12th. he explains after the same Manner as St. Athanasius, the Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, by saying, That it is the denying of Jesus Christ to be God.

In the 13th. he observes, That those who are out of the Church, cannot understand the Word of God.

In the 14th. speaking of St. Joseph, he says, That he was a *Lock-Smith*, and not a *Carpenter*, as is commonly believ'd.

In the 16th. he observes, that those who are to be baptiz'd, make profession of their Faith in Jesus Christ, and of being firmly perswaded of his Death and Resurrection; and that their Actions may be agreeable to their Words; they pass all the time of the Passion of Christ, in Fasting, that so in some measure, they may suffer with Jesus Christ.

He speaks in the 16th. of the Prerogative that St. Peter receiv'd, when Jesus Christ gave him the Keys of his Church, after this manner: O happy Foundation of the Church, says he, in the charge of your Name! O Rock, worthy of the Building of Jesus Christ, since it was to abrogate the Laws of Hell, to break its Gates, and to open all the Prisons of Death! O happy Porter of Heaven, to whom are entrusted the Keys of admission into it, and whose Judgment on Earth, is a fore-judging of what is done in Heaven, since whatsoever he binds or looses upon Earth, shall be bound or loosed in Heaven.

In the 18th. Canon, he concludes with these Words of Jesus Christ: The Angels of these Children see the Face of my Father. From whence, says he, it may be concluded, That the Angels enjoy at the Sight of God, and that they preside over the Prayers of the Faithful, which they offer con-

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tinually to God. He says, that those who are bound on Earth by the Ministers of Jesus Christ, (that is, says he, those whom the Ministers of Jesus Christ leave bound in their sins,) and that those who are loosed by receiving them into the Grace of Salvation, upon the Declaration which they make, having obtain'd Pardon of their Sins, shall be bound and loosed in Heaven according to the Apostolical Judgment.

In the 19th. after he has spoken of those that voluntarily make themselves Eunuchs to preserve their Chastity, he speaks of Riches, and the use we should make of them. He says, That 'tis no Crime to enjoy them, but that we should observe Moderation, and employ them innocently: That 'tis dangerous to desire to enrich our selves, and that an innocent Man finds himself overcharg'd, when he is taken up in purchasing, in preserving and encreasing his Riches. From whence he concludes, That tho' 'tis not absolutely impossible for a rich Man to be sav'd, yet very few of them shall be sav'd, because it is so difficult a thing to make use of the Goods of this World, as we ought.

In the 20th. he affirms, That *Moses* and *Elias* shall come with Jesus Christ, at the last Judgment, and that they shall be put to Death by Anti-Christ; he rejects the Opinion of those who thought that *Enoch* or *Jeremy* should come before Jesus Christ.

In the 23d. he says, That Spiritual Persons ought not to entangle themselves in the Affairs of this World; but that they ought to render unto God that which is due, that is to say, their Heart, their Soul, their Will. He shows the Necessity of Loving God in Order to Salvation.

In the 25th. he observes, That *Nicholas*, one of the Seven Deacons, was a false Prophet and a Heretic, and that the last Judgment shall be given in the place where Christ suffer'd.

In the 26th. he speaks of the uncertainty of the time of the last Judgment, and observes, That 'tis useful to keep all Men upon their Guard.

In the 27th. he observes, That tho' all Christians are oblig'd to Watchfulness, yet the Princes of People, and the Bishops are more particularly oblig'd to Watch over themselves and their Flocks.

In the 30th. he affirms, That *Judas* was not present, when Jesus Christ distributed the Sacrament, because he was unworthy of those Eternal Sacraments. He says, That when St. Peter said so boldly, that he would not be offended because of Christ, he did not consider the weakness of the Flesh.

In the 31st. he thinks that Jesus Christ had no fear of Death at all. He says, He was Consecrated in the Sacrament of that Blood which he was to shed for the Remission of Sins. [This Opinion seems not easily reconcilable with the Account which the Evangelists give of the Agonies of our Saviour in the Garden, and upon the Cross.]

In the 32d. he observes, That St. Peter's Denials were still more and more Criminal. At first, says he, only answer'd, That he knew not what she meant; then he deny'd that he was of the number of Christ's Disciples; and at last, he said, That he knew him not: But presently he wept, when that Fault, which he could not avoid, tho' he was fore-warn'd of it.

In the 33d. he says, That the Words of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me? Belong'd to his Body, which complain'd of its Separation from the Divine Word. He compares the Crime of those who abuse the Gifts given to the Church, with that of the Scribes and Pharisees, who gave Money to *Judas* to betray Jesus Christ, and with the Souldiers who Guarded his Sepulchre, that they might say, He was not risen. Lastly, He observes upon the Words of Jesus Christ, Go and teach all Nations, baptizing them, &c. He observes, I say, That Instruction ought to precede Baptism, because the Body ought not to receive the Sacrament of Baptism, unless the Soul has receiv'd the Truth of Faith.

There is a Preface prefix'd to the Commentaries of St. Hilary upon the Psalms, wherein he treats of some Critical Questions. He says, That some Jews have divided the Psalms into Five Books, and that others have entituled them, *The Psalms*; but for his part, he gives them the Title of, *The Book of Psalms*. He maintains, That they are written by the Persons whose Names they bear at the beginning, and is of Opinion, That those that carry no Name, are written by the same Author with the foregoing Psalm, where the Name of some Author is to be found. He says, There are some that are asly attributed to *Jeremy*, *Haggai*, and *Zachary*, since those Names are not found in those Copies of the Version of the *Septuagint*, which he thinks to be authentick. He objects to himself, That there is a Psalm which bears the Name of *Moses*, wherein *Samuel* is mention'd, who liv'd many Ages after. He contents himself with answering this difficulty by saying, That *Moses* nam'd *Samuel* by the Spirit of Prophecy. He attributes to *Ezrah* that Collection of the Psalms which we have at present. He maintains, That all the Psalms ought to be Expounded, with a reference to Jesus Christ and the Gospel. He observes that the Hebrews call the Psaltry *Nabla*, and he thinks that they never distinguished the Psalms at all. He makes the LXX. interpreters Authors of their Distinction, and observes, that they have not always follow'd the Order of Time. From this Distribution, he passes on to the number of Canonical Books. He reckons 22 of them according to the Hebrews, and says, that some have added *Tobit* and *Judith*. He observes, That the Lord's Day is a Day of Prayer and of Rest for Christians; and that they are forbidden to Prostrate themselves, or Fast on that Day. He explains afterwards the Titles of the Psalms in general. He says, That those which are call'd *Songs*, were made to be sung without any Instrument of Music; That those which are entituled *Psalms*, were made to be Play'd upon Instruments of Music without Singing. That those which are call'd, *Songs of a Psalm*, were such as the Chorister Sung after the Instrument; but those which are call'd *Psalms of a Song*, are such as the Chorister Sung before the Instrument of Music. Lastly, That those which are call'd, in *Psalms*, are such wherein

* [This Distinction of the Titles of the Psalms, is according to the LXX; in that Translation some Psalms are call'd *Ψαλμοι*, *Psalms*; Others *ὕμνοι*, *Songs*; Others *Ψαλμοὶ ὕμνοι*, *Psalms of a Song*; Others *ὁδοὶ ὕμνοι*, *Songs of a Psalm*; Others again, *ἐκτετακτοὶ*, &c. & *ὑμνοὶ*, in *Psalms* or *Hymns*.]

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St. Hilary

there is a change both of the Person and the Voice. He gives also some Royal Interpretations of those Titles, which are too useless to be repeated. After all, he says, That the Key for understanding the Psalms, is to enquire, what Person it is to whom they agree; for some of them agree to David, and others to Jesus Christ, and others to some Prophet, and so of therelt.

In his Commentary upon the First Psalm, he says, That there are three or four degrees of Happiness mark'd in those words, *Blessed is the Man who hath not stood in the Counsel of the ungodly, and who hath not walk'd in the way of Sinners, and who hath not sat in the Chair of Inflection.* [According to the LXX, *ὁ εὐδαιμόνων οὐκ ἐστὶν*] The First degree is, Not to be of the Number of the Impious, and the Heretics: The Second, is not to be of the number of the Wicked, as the Covetous, the Drunkards, the Incontinent, the Proud, the Detractors, the Robbers, &c. who observe not the Discipline of the Church. The Third, is not to sit in the Chair of Inflection. By this Chair, he understands the Cares and Affairs of the World, which corrupt Men by an Inflection, that is almost unavoidable. "For," though, says he, some Persons that enter upon Secular Offices, and engage in the Affairs of the World, have a Holy and Religious Will, yet they are often corrupted by those Affairs in which "they are oblig'd to employ themselves, and the Rules of this World do not permit them to live "according to the Maxims of Christianity". He adds, That those Three Degrees ought to be crown'd with a Fourth; which is, continual Meditation in the Law of God: That this Meditation, as well as Prayer, does not only consist in Reading, or reciting the Holy Books, but in the Practice of those things which are prescrib'd and taught in them; and that 'tis not sufficient to do it out of Fear, but our Practice must proceed from Love and Good-will. He applies the rest of the Psalm to Jesus Christ, and observes, That he restores unto Man, that Immortality which the First Man had lost by his Sin; That the Impious shall be as it were annihilated by the Fire of Hell. He confesses, That they shall rise again at the Day of Judgment, but he maintains that they shall not there be judg'd at all, because they are already condemn'd; and that the Judgment shall be only for those, who having had Faith, did not live up to the Laws of Christianity. This Opinion is very singular, and we may believe that he took it from *Origen*. His next Observation is much more reasonable, which is this, That when it is said in Scripture, That God learns any thing; we must not understand it as if he were ignorant of it before; but only that he then gave to Men the Signs of his Knowledge: As when he says to *Adam*, *Where art thou?* This does not imply that he was ignorant of it before, but only that he had a Mind to put him to shame; And so again, when he says to *Abraham*, *Now I know your Faith*; this does not signify that he knew it not before, but only that he had now prov'd it.

He begins his Commentary upon the Second Psalm with this Observation, That this Psalm is call'd the First by *St. Paul* (*Act. 13.*) because in the Hebrew it is one continued Psalm with the First, though it has been since distinguish'd from it in the Version of the *Septuagint*. [In the common Editions of the New Testament, this is quoted as the Second Psalm by *St. Paul*; and in the common Editions of the Hebrew Bible, the Second Psalm is always distinguish'd from the First.] He says, That this Version was made in the time of *Ptolemy*, and that its Authors were the Successors of the Seventy appointed by *Moses*, who entrusted to them secret Mysteries, which he would not commit to Writing in his Books: That their Successors, instructed by this Tradition, have translated the Psalms according to those Notices which they had, and fix'd the fence of many Hebrew words which before were undetermined: That therefore the Version of the *Septuagint*, ought to be of great Authority, and is to be prefer'd before all other Versions, which have been made by such Persons as were ignorant of the Tradition which *Moses* left to the Synagogue. After he has made these Remarks (whether they be just or no, this is not a place to examine) he applies all that's said in this Psalm to Jesus Christ and his Church. He thinks that the first words are spoken in the Person of God the Father, and that the following words beginning at these, *Let us break their Cords asunder*, agree to the Apostles, understanding by these Cords the Cords of Sin. He observes in this Psalm, That God has no need of any of his Creatures; so that God did not create them for himself, but for themselves: That when he requires Men to Love and to Fear him, this is not for any Profit that he can draw from their Service, but only that this Love and Fear may be serviceable to their own Salvation. He establishes Free-Will, and says, That Justice is the Consequence of our Good Will, and Happiness is the Reward of our Merits, and that Hell is the Punishment of Sins freely committed: That God does not put himself in a Passion to punish us, being no ways subject to Change, but that his Justice produces those Effects of Vengeance which Men attribute to Anger. So that he appears not to be Angry, but when he would bring us to Repentance. He says upon these Words, *Hearken, O ye Kings of the Earth*, That the true Royalty of a Man consists in conquering his Passions, and that the Kings of the Earth who are estranged from the Commandments of God are Unhappy Kings. He observes, That the Motives of Fear and Joy are intermix'd in this Psalm; That Fear may retain Men in Reverence and Devotion, and that Joy may temper this Fear. At last, he assures us, That after Death, the Impious are reserv'd in a place of Torment unto the Day of Judgment; and that the just are conducted by the Angels to the Mansions of the blessed in *Abraham's* bosom.

In the Fragment of a Commentary upon the Thirteenth Psalm, he Discourses of the Necessity that Mankind lay under of having a Saviour and a Physician.

In his Commentary upon the Fifteenth Psalm, he says, That this Psalm is nothing else but *David's* Prayer which he made to God, to beg of him the Knowledge of what a Man ought to do in order to the obtaining of Eternal Blessedness. By the Tabernacles which he desires, we must understand, says *St. Hilary*, the Multitude of those Churches that have been Establish'd since the coming of Jesus Christ, who in this Mountain that *David* seeks after. He says, That Good Works avail nothing without Faith in Jesus Christ. He seems to approve a Lye as Necessary upon some Occasions; but he absolutely condemns Usury, and chiefly that which tends to the Ruin of the Poor: *If ye be Christians,*

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say ye, Wherefore do ye draw a Temporal Profit from your Silver? Wherefore do ye not rather lay up for your selves a treasure in Heaven? If ye be Christians, wherefore do ye expect from Men a recompence of your Liberty? I do not say that you should give them your Goods; but at least ye should be content to lend and back again what you had Lent, without Robbing him of more. And remember ye, that he from whom ye exact this Usury is a Poor Christian, for whom Christ was willing to be Poor; Therefore when ye do Good or Evil to this Poor Man, it is to Jesus Christ that ye do it, &c. He discourses against Pride and False Confidence. He says, That we must reprove with all possible sweetness, if we would amend our Brother by it, and we must not use bloody Accusations, which only provoke him: That we must despise the Wicked with Freedom, and honour the Good with Humility, and resist the Powerful with an holy Boldness, when they would oblige us to do Evil. He praises this Psalm, which, says he, should be written in the Hearts of Christians, and engraven upon their Memory: They ought to be intent upon it Night and Day, and to make it the subject of their Meditations. In effect, it contains the principal Rules of an holy Life.

He applies to Jesus Christ the 52d. Psalm, and Exhorts the Rich not to put their Confidence in their Riches, and to make good use of them. He says, That the just are at Rest till the Day of judgment, and that the Wicked are in Pain; That there is no Repentance after Death, because there is no more freedom of Choice.

Upon these words in the 53d. Psalm, *The Fool hath said in his heart, There is no God*; he observes, That the Wicked commonly dare not speak out the Blasphemies that they have in their Hearts: That there is no Man that is convinc'd that there is a God, but the Pleasure that the Wicked take in committing Sin, makes them say that there is no God. In the rest of this Commentary, he discourses of the Goodness of God, and the Corruption of Men. He excuses the Sin of *St. Peter*, and blames the Avarice of some Pastors, who eat up the People of God, as it is said in the Psalm. *They make, says he, their Rulers their God, as the Apostle speaks, they make a Trade of their Ministry, and enrich themselves with the Offerings and Gifts of their People; They make sumptuous Feasts under Pretence of Religion; They fill their Purse with the beneficence of Christians, though the use of these Offerings was intended by the Apostle, only for their daily Food, who renounce the World, or are in want.* He condemns those that flatter the Powers, because we must Fear God more than Man.

He applies the 54th. Psalm to Jesus Christ. There you may find a pretty Moral Reflection upon the Disorders of the Tongue, to which the far greater part of Men are subject, either when they are Angry, or when they Complain; when they Reproach, or when they Flatter; or lastly, when they reprove others. He maintains in the Commentary upon this Psalm, as well as in his Books of the Trinity, that Jesus Christ did not really suffer.

He interprets also the 55th. Psalm, of Jesus Christ. In his Commentary upon it, you may find a good Passage about Prayer. *God despises, says he, the Prayers which are accompanied with lightness of affiance, which are disorder'd with the Cares of this Life, which are mix'd with Desires of worldly Good Things, and which do not bring forth the fruit of Good Works.*

There is nothing considerable in the Commentaries upon the following Psalms: You may find in that upon the 57th. his singular Opinion concerning the Last Judgment, which we have already observ'd: In that upon the 64th. he approves the Vows that are made to perform certain Actions of Piety, such as the Contempt of one's Body, the Preservation of our Chastity and Fasting. He assures us, That Men are Predetermined according to their Merits; he discourses of the wonderful Effects of Baptism.

His Commentary upon Psalm 119th. is very large and full of Moral thoughts: He there distinguishes the words which are often repeated in this Psalm, the Law, the Commandments, the Testimonies, the Judgments, &c. and gives them such senses as are not very Natural. He teaches, That Grace is necessary to the Observation of the Commandments of God; That the Beginning comes from our selves, but the Grace of God comes in to our help, and that afterwards it depends upon us, whether we will retain or reject this Grace: That all Men are subject to Sin; that their Faults shall be expiated by the Fire of the last Judgment; *He seems also to think that the Virgin Mary shall not be exempted from passing through this Fire*; He observes, That a Minister of Jesus Christ who Preaches his Word, should be without blame; That he should Pray in the Night time; That a Christian should shun the Pleasures and the Pride of the Men of this World; That to make our Actions perfect, they must be done from a Principle of Love to God; That Celibacy is more perfect than a state of Marriage; and that those who are out of the Church, which is the Body of Jesus Christ, are deliver'd up to the Devil. There are also in this Commentary, divers pretty Remarks about Alms-giving, Humility, the forbearing of those things which are to others an occasion of Scandal and Falling, about Fasting, about Charity, about Prayer, about the Attention we should have in time of Prayer, and about many other Subjects.

In the Commentary upon Psalm 121. he says, That God does not forsake us, but when we offend him by our Sins: He maintains, That the just are in *Abraham's* Bosom till the Day of Judgment; he declaims against those who live in Excess. He says, That in Baptism a Man is Purg'd from his Sins, and exchanges his Vices for Virtues.

In Psalm 123. he discourses against Pride; and admirably describes the Slavery into which the Passions of the Vicious precipitate them, in his Comment upon Psalm 125; These are his words: *Consider, says he, a Covetous Man, who deprives himself of all kind of Satisfaction, lest he should want Money; you may see him busy, sad, anxious, restless; his Mind is always full of fear, lest he should lose what he has: He forgets Honesty, neglects his Friends, and has no Civility: He has neither Religion, nor Sincerity. The same may be said of other Passions: Into what an Abyss of Infamy does a Man precipitate*

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Lucifer Cal-
laritanus.

he sent him a very obliging Letter of Thanks, and translated them into Greek. We have now those Letters of St. Athanasius, the Letter of Florentinus, and the Answer of Lucifer at the End of the Works of this Bishop of Calaris; and what we have said of the rest of his Life is taken out of St. Jerom, and a Petition presented to the Emperours Theodosius and Valentinian, by Marcellinus and Faustinus, two Luciferian Priests.

After the Death of Constantius, Lucifer obtain'd his Liberty as well as the other Bishops that were banish'd for the Faith. He came to Antioch, and found the Church of that City in Division. For after that Eusebius had been forc'd to leave it, many Catholics did always separate from those Bishops, that some would have set over them. They were not willing to acknowledge Meletius, who was then Bishop of Antioch, tho' they had nothing to reprehend in his Faith. These Catholics were then govern'd only by Priests, and they were call'd Eusebians. Lucifer, a severe Man and a rigorous Defender of Discipline, being come to Antioch, was persuaded, That Meletius was Ordin'd by Arius Bishops, or such as were suspected of Arianism, and had communicated with them, and therefore could not be a lawful Bishop; whereupon he join'd himself to the Eusebians, and Ordin'd Paulinus a Priest to be their Bishop. This Ordination, which still heightened the Division of the Church of Antioch, was disapproved by Eusebius of Vercelle, who was sent to Antioch, in the Name of the Synod of Alexandria. He condemn'd the Conduct of Lucifer, and retir'd into the West, having no more hope of restoring Peace to the Church of Antioch; Lucifer, on the contrary, to maintain what he had done, resolv'd to have no more Conversation or Correspondence with any of the Bishops who had receiv'd into their Communion, those that had formerly sign'd the Arian Creeds. He withdraws therefore into his own Island, and separates from the Communion of almost all the Bishops of the World. He died in this Resolution, and left some followers call'd Luciferians, who spread themselves over all the World.

The Works of Lucifer are written without Art and Eloquence, with much Heat and Passion; the Style is Harsh and Barbarous; there is no Reasoning, nor Principles in any thing that he says. He only propoſes Maxims, which he proves by the Testimonies and Examples of Scripture, wherewith he is pertinent to his Subject or no; from whence it comes to pass, that his Writings are nothing but a Collection of Passages of Scripture, mix'd with *Apophthegms*, Applications and Reflections.

In the Two Books against Constantius, he designs to prove, That this Emperour was very much to blame for endeavouring to compel the Bishops to condemn St. Athanasius, who was Absent and Innocent. To prove this Truth, he produces abundance of Histories and Passages out of Scripture, which show, First, That God condemns no Man without hearing him; And, Secondly, That 'tis forbidden in Scripture to condemn any Man without hearing his Defence; Thirdly, That those who shed the Blood of the Innocent, shall be most severely punish'd; Fourthly, That Constantius, has no right to command Bishops, because he is a Profane Person, a Heretic, and a Persecutor.

The design of the Treatise *Of Apostate Kings*, is to prove by the Examples of many impious Kings, That the Success of Constantius, does not demonstrate, that he has any right to Persecute the Orthodox Bishops, nor that his Doctrine is true.

The other Books shew their Arguments by their Titles. The First, is to show, That we must neither Assemble nor Pray with the Arians, who are declar'd Heretics: The Second, Is to justify the severe Conduct of the Catholics against the Arians, and the Liberty that they take to reprove them with boldness and vehemence, without sparing even the Powers themselves; that is to say, this Book is peculiarly design'd to justify Lucifer, St. Hilary, and some other Catholics, in their way of speaking to the Emperour Constantius. The last Book contains many Proofs of this Truth, That we must die for the Son of God: He blames the Emperour Constantius, for his Impiety and Cruelty, and at the same time, he praises the Constancy of the Catholics, who suffer Martyrdom with joy, for the Defence of the Orthodox Faith. [Lucifer's Works, with the Letters of St. Athanasius and Florentinus, were Printed at Paris, in 8^{vo}, by Johannes Tillius, Bishop of Meaux, in 1568. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.]

VICTORINUS of Africk.

Victorinus
of Africk.

FABIUS MARIUS VICTORINUS, born in Africk; after he had profess'd Rhetoric for the space of many Years in the City of Rome, with so much Reputation, that a Statue was erected for him in one of the publick Places of the City, did at last in his old Age, embrace the Christian Religion. The studying of Plato's Books, which he had translated, gave him some relish for the Holy Scripture; for when he read it, he admir'd it, and so became a Christian in his heart. He discover'd this Inclination to his Friend Simplicianus, who exhorted him to enter into the Church of Christ, since he was persuaded of the Truth of his Religion. Victorinus, thinking it was sufficient to know the Truth, answer'd him, as it were jesting upon his Simplicity, *And do the Walls then make Christians?* But at last, being confirm'd in the Faith, by Reading and Meditating upon the Holy Scripture, and considering that Jesus Christ would not own him at the Day of Judgment, if he should be ashamed to confess him publicly here; he says to his Friend, Simplicianus, *Let us go to Church;* and after he had been some time a Catechumen, he was baptiz'd in the presence of all the People. St. Austin, reports this History, E. VIII. of his *Confessions*, Ch. 2. which he says, he learn'd from St. Ambrose. St. Jerom, places this Victorinus among the Number of Ecclesiastical Writers, and observes, that he wrote Books against Arius, compos'd in a Logical Method, *Dialectico More*, which are very obscure, and

and cannot be understood but by Learned Men. He adds, That he had also written Commentaries upon the Apostle St. Paul, but he says in another place, that these Commentaries were almost useless, because this Author having been wholly addicted to the Study of humane Learning, did not understand the true Sense of the Holy Scripture.

We have at present those Four Books of Victorinus against Arius, which are printed in the *Origenes*, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*; but besides this Book which St. Jerom mentions, there are some other Tracts which bear the Name of the same Author. These are in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, viz. one in Defence of the Word *Consubstantial*, three Hymns of the Trinity, and one Poem of the *Maccabees*; Symonides has also publish'd by its self, in the Year 1630, a little Treatise against the *Maccabees*, and another about the beginning of Day. All these Books are written in the same Style, and by the same Author.

In the Four Books against Arius, dedicated to Candidus, he refutes the Errors of this Heretic, and those of his Followers; he proves there the Divinity of the Word, and defends the *Consubstantiality*. But he does it in so Scholastic and Intricate a way, that 'tis very difficult to comprehend his Arguments. One may find several Expressions about the Mystery of the Trinity, that are scarce Sense, and quite different from that way of speaking which is us'd in the Holy Scripture, and by the Church of God. The Book in Defence of the Term *Consubstantial*, is a kind of Summary of those Four Books.

The Treatise to *Justinus*, who was a *Manichee*, is written against the Error of those Heretics, who admitted two Principles of the World, and believ'd that the Flesh was created by an Evil Principle. Victorinus, refutes these two Errors in few words, and exhorts *Justinus* to acknowledge one God only. "Suffer not any more, says he, my Friend *Justinus*, suffer not your self, you who are of the City of Rome, to be abus'd by the Impieties of the *Perfians*, or *Armenians*. In vain do you macerate your self with extraordinary Mortifications, for after you have made your self lean by those Austerities, your Flesh is of no other kind, than that which shall return to the Devil in darkness; who according to you, created it. I advise and require you to acknowledge, That God Almighty, is he that created you, that so you may be truly the Temple of God, according to the Words of the Apostle, *You are truly the Temple of God, and his Spirit dwelleth in you*. If you have not the Honour to be the Temple of God, and to receive the Holy Spirit into you, Jesus Christ is not come to save, but to destroy you; for if we are his, our Body and Soul must belong to him, and then it may be truly said, *That God is all in all*; That he is the One, and only Almighty and Eternal Principle of the whole Universe, and perfectly Infinite, to whom be Honour and Glory." This is the Conclusion of this Treatise which is pleasanter and more intelligible than those which are written against the Arians.

In the little Tract about the beginning of Day, he endeavours to show, That the Days of the Creation which are mention'd in *Genesis*, do not begin at Night, but at the Morning, and end at the Morning of the Day following.

The First and Third of his Hymns, are in commendation of the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity, which he explains in many Words.

The Second, is a Prayer to God, and is rather in Prose, like the Creed attributed to St. Athanasius, than in Verse.

The Poem of the *Maccabees*, is a Description in Hexameter Verse, of the Martyrdom of those Seven Brethren. There is nothing extraordinary in this Poem; it is nothing Poetical in it, but some new Imitations of *Virgil*, and for the most part, the Verses are low and despicable.

The Commentaries of Victorinus upon St. Paul, have not yet been publish'd. *Sirmondus* found some Fragments of them in a Manuscript, from which he took those two little Treatises of which we have already spoken. But probably, he judg'd them not worth publishing, though he says in his Advertisement, That the Style of these Commentaries is more clear and clean, than that of his Dogmatical Works.

There are many Philosophical Books attributed to the same Victorinus, as his Commentaries upon *Tully's Rhetoric*, cited by *Cassiodorus* in his *Bibliotheca*, and by Pope Sylvester the 11. in his Epistle 130, which have been Printed several times. There is also attributed to him the Version of *Porphyrie's Nagge*, which is amongst *Boetius's* Works, a Book about Poetry, and some Books of Grammar. But those sort of Books could not come into our *Bibliotheca*, which should contain none but Ecclesiastical Monuments.

St. PACIANUS.

ST. PACIANUS, Bishop of Barcelona, no less Famous, says St. Jerom, for the Holiness of his Life, than the Eloquence of his Discourse, wrote many Books, among which there is one entitled, *Cerous* or *The Hart*, and some other Treatises against the *Novatians*. He died under the Reign of Theodosius, towards the Year 380. We have three Letters of his against the *Novatians*, address'd to *Sempronianus*, who was of this Sect. An *Exhortation to Repentance*, and a *Treatise* or *Sermon* of Baptism, address'd to the Catechumens. All these Pieces are written with much Wit and Eloquence.

The First Letter to *Sempronianus*, has Two Parts. In the First, he makes use of the way of Persuasion from the Name and Authority of the Catholic Church, to show, that the Sect of the *Novatians*, cannot be the Church of Jesus Christ. In the Second, he refutes their Doctrine about Repentance.

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He observes at the beginning of the Fifth Part, That since the coming of Jesus Christ, there have ap-
 peared an infinite Number of Sects, who have all been denominat'd from the Names of their Authors;
 That the Name of Catholic is continued only in the True Church; That the *Novatians* make one
 of those Sects which are separated from the Catholic Church; That they have forsaken the Tradition of
 the Church under pretence of Reformation. He opposes to them the Authority of the Ancient Fa-
 thers of the Church, who were Successors to the Apostles. "Why should not we, says he, have a Re-
 spect to the Authority of those Apostolical Men? Shall we pay no Deference to the Testimony of
 St. Cyprian? Would we teach this Doctrine? Are we wiser than he? But what shall we say of so
 many Bishops dispers'd over all the World, who are united with these Saints? What shall we say
 of so many Venerable Old Men, of so many Martyrs, and so many Confessors? Is it for us to Re-
 form them? Shall our times corrupted by Vice, efface the Venerable Antiquity of our Ancestors?"
My Name, says he, addressing himself to *Sempronianus*, is *Christian*, and my *Surname*, is *Catholic*.
Christianus mihi nomen est, *Catholicus cognomen*. He explains afterwards, the Name of Catholic,
 and tells us, that the most Learned say, that it signifies *Obedient*; and that according to others it means,
one thro' all, and shews, that these two Significations agree to the Catholic Church, which alone is
 obedient to the Voice of Jesus Christ, and which only is the same in all the World. After he has thus
 spoken of the Church, he proceeds to Penance, and so he enters into the Merits of the Question:
 "May it please God, says he, that none of the Faithful may ever stand in need of it; That no Man
 after Baptism may ever fall into the precipice of Sin; That so the Ministers of Jesus Christ may
 never be oblig'd to Preach and Apply long and tedious Remedies, for fear of Patronizing the Liberty
 of sinning by flattering Sinners with their Remedies. Nevertheless, we allow this Mercy from our God,
 not to those who are so happy as to preserve their Innocence, but to those who have been so unhappy
 as to lose it by their Sins. It is not to the Sound, but to the Sick, that we Preach these Remedies.
 If the Evil Spirits have no more Power over the baptiz'd; If the Fraud of the Serpent which de-
 stroys'd the first Man, and gave so great occasion of Damnation to his Posterity, has ceas'd; If, I say,
 the Devil is gone out of the World; If we may sport our selves in Peace; If Man does not fall into
 many Sins of Thought, Word and Deed: Then let us not acknowledge this Gift of God; Let us
 reject this Aid; Let us have no more Confessions; Let us no longer hearken to Sighs and Tears;
 Let Justice and Innocence proudly despise these Remedies. But if Man be subject to these Miseries,
 Let us no more accuse the Mercy of God, who has propos'd these Remedies to our Diseases, and Re-
 wards to those that preserve their Health; Let us no more efface the Titles of God's Clemency
 by an unsuperstitious Rigour, nor hinder Sinners by an inflexible hardness from rejoicing in
 those Gifts which he has freely bestow'd upon them. 'Tis not we who give this Grace
 of our own Authority, but God himself who says, *Be converted to me, &c.*" After he has set down
 many Passages of Scripture, which prove, That God Pardons penitent Sinners, he proposes this Ob-
 jection of the *Novatians*: God only, will you say, can grant Pardon of Sin; That's true, answers
 he, but what he does by his Ministers, he does by his own Power; For he says to his Apostles, *What-
 soever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth,
 shall be loos'd in Heaven*. But, perhaps, he did not give this Power to any but the Apostles? If this
 were true, then we must say, That they only had also Power to Baptize, to give the Holy Spirit,
 and to Purify the Gentiles from their Sins: For in the same place, where he gives them Power to ad-
 minister the Sacrament of Baptism, he also gives them Power to loose Sinners. Either then these
 two Powers were peculiarly refer'd to the Apostles, or they are both continu'd to their Successors,
 and therefore since it is certain that the Power of giving Baptism and Unction, is continu'd in
 the Bishops; that same must consequently be granted of the Power of binding and loosing. He
 adds, That whatever Power the Bishop has, he receiv'd it from the Apostles; That the right of
 administering Unction and Baptism, of Forgiving Sins, of Consecrating the Body of Jesus Christ,
 was devolv'd upon him, because he is Successor to the Apostles. He concludes this Letter with say-
 ing, I know very well, my dear Brother, that the Pardon of sins is not to be granted indifferently
 all Sinners, and that they are not to be loos'd, before there be some Signs of the Will of God, that it
 should be done; That Absolution is not to be given, but with much precaution and discretion, after
 Sinners have sigh'd and wept long; and when the whole Church has pray'd for them, that so no Man
 may prevent the Judgment of Jesus Christ. If you would write your Thoughts more clearly to me,
 my dear Brother, I would Instruct you more fully. *Sempronianus*, having answered this Letter, St. Pa-
 cianus, confirm'd the Two Parts of his Letter, by Two other Answers.

In the First, he proves what he had said concerning the Name of the Catholic Church; and as to
 what *Sempronianus* had objected, that the People of St. Cyprian had been treated as Apostates, as Se-
 ctaries, &c. He shews, that they did not commonly carry these Names, but on the contrary, were
 always call'd Catholics, whereas *Sempronianus* cannot deny, that the Sect whereof he was, did bear
 the Name of *Novatian*. He answers afterwards to the Accusation of *Sempronianus*, founded upon
 his making use of a Verse of *Virgil* in his Letter, and shews, that a Bishop is allow'd to know hu-
 mane Learning, and to make a profitable use of it. He answers also another Accusation against the
 Catholics, concerning the Persecution which he pretends the *Novatians* had suffer'd from them. He
 says "That the *Novatians* must not attribute to the Catholics the severity of some Princes who would
 "not tolerate them; That this was not done upon the Complaint, and at the desire of Catholics,
 "but by the proper Motion of Christian Princes who espous'd the Interests of the Church; That the
 "Powers had reason to Protect the Innocent, and to make use of their Authority for the publick Good."
 The rest of this Letter, respects some particular Debates between them, concerning the Persons of
Novatian, St. Cyprian and *Cornelius*. St. Pacianus, defends and praises these two last, and accuses the

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last of Pride and Schism. In the last Letter to *Sempronianus*, he treats of Penance against *Novatian*.
 He says, That all the Doctrine of the *Novatians*, explain'd by *Sempronianus*, is contain'd in this Pro-
 position, That Penance is not allow'd after Baptism, because the Church cannot forgive Mortal Sin;
 and in short, That she destroys her self by receiving Sinners. "Who is it, says he, that proposes this
 "Doctrine? Is it *Moses*? Is it St. Paul? Is it Jesus Christ? No, it is *Novatian*. And who is this
 "*Novatian*? Is he a Man pure and blameless, who has never forsaken the Church, who was lawfully
 "Ordain'd Bishop, and by the common Methods, succeeded in the room of a Bishop deceas'd? What
 "do you mean, you will tell me? It suffices that he has taught this Doctrine. But still, when was
 "it taught? Was it immediately after the Passion of Jesus Christ? Not at all. It was after the Reign
 "of *Decius*, 300 Years after Christ. But did this Man follow the Prophets? Was he a Prophet? Did
 "he raise the Dead? Did he work Miracles? Did he speak all sorts of Languages? For at least he
 "ought to have these signs for establishing a new Gospel; and though he had, yet the Apostles assure us,
 "That though an Angel should descend from Heaven to teach us a new Gospel, he should be ac-
 "cus'd? Was there never any Person, since the coming of Christ till *Novatian*, that understood the
 "Doctrine of Jesus Christ; and since the Reign of *Decius*, who understood the way of
 "Salvation? But you will tell me, We do not acquiesce in Authority, we make use of Reason. But
 "as to me, who hitherto have been settled in my Religion upon the Authority and Tradition of the
 "Church, and am satisfied with the Communion of this Ancient Society, I will not now dissent
 "from it, I will not seek after Disputes; and you who have separated from this Body and divided
 "from your Mother, search in Books for every thing that is most secret, that you may disturb those
 "that are at rest. 'Tis not we, but you, that have rais'd this Dispute. But still let us hear what
 "you say, let us examine your Reasons. You say, That the Church is a Body of Men regene-
 "rate by Water and the Holy Spirit, who have not deny'd the Name of Christ, which is the Temple
 "and House of God, the Pillar and Ground of Truth: we say the same also. But who has taken away
 "from us this Living Water? Have we it not, we who draw from its Fountain? But you who are
 "separated from it, how can you be regenerate by Baptism? How can the Holy Spirit, who has
 "not deserted the Church, come upon you who are fall'n off from it? How can your People receive
 "the Holy Spirit, since they are not confirm'd by Bishops, who have receiv'd the Sacerdotal Unction?
 "Have not we had some Confessors and Martyrs? Yes, you will say, you have had; but they are
 "now lost by receiving of Apostates. I will not tell you, that *Novatian*, while he was yet in the
 "Church, wrote a Book to prove that we ought to receive them; but how do you prove that the
 "whole Church is perish'd by receiving Penitent Sinners? If some Churches have shewn too great In-
 "dulgence, must others, who have not approv'd them, but have follow'd the old way, and preserv'd Peace,
 "lose upon that account the Name of Christians? He proves afterwards by many Reasons, That the
 "Church by receiving Penitent Sinners, did not cease to be the Church, and that the Schism of *Novatians*
 "made his Disciples lose the Title of the Sons of the Church. He strongly urges the Testimony of
Novatian, who approv'd before his Separation, the Conduct of those that receiv'd the laps'd that were
 Penitent. He describes afterwards the Origin of the Sect of *Novatians*; and says, That *Novatus*
 an African Priest, being convicted in his own Country of many Crimes, came to Rome to avoid the
 Condemnation which he had receiv'd; and that being arriv'd there, he perswaded *Novatian* who was
 ordain'd Bishop, and advis'd him for gaining his design, to object against *Cornelius*, the ill Con-
 duct he observ'd in receiving Penitent Sinners. St. Pacianus enters upon this Matter, and justifies
 against the *Novatians* the Conduct of *Cornelius*, by shewing that we ought to receive Sinners to
 Penance; and that God has given his Church the Power of forgiving Sins. But at the same time,
 he takes Notice, That there is not the same reason of Penance as of Baptism, for the former ought to
 be accompanied with much Labour, with Tears and Sighs? He confutes the Objections of the *Novatians*,
 and shews, that the passage of St. Matthew, *Whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loos'd
 in Heaven*, cannot be understood of Baptism. He proves all the Answers of *Sempronianus* to the
 Passages alleg'd in his first Letter to him, to be false. He objects to the *Novatians* their Hard-
 heartedness, with reference to Penitents. He shews, That those of this Sect are not so pure, nor so
 Innocent as they boast themselves to be, and that there have been many Persons among them guilty
 of enormous Crimes. He opposes to them the Authority of St. Cyprian and *Tertullian* before his Fall.
 He ends with an Exhortation to *Sempronianus* to return into the Church.

He begins his Exhortation to Repentance with an Introduction, wherein he observes, That offen-
 times it were better not to mention some Sins than to reprove them; because the Sin is rather learn'd
 than restrain'd. He says, That the Book that he had written against the Play call'd *Cornelius*, or the
Little Hart, had the Misfortune to render that Immorality the more common. Concerning which,
 we may learn by the by, That the Book of St. Pacianus, entitul'd, *Cervus* or *Cervulus*, The Little
 Hart, mention'd by St. Jerom, which is not extant, was compos'd against some Profane and Lasci-
 vious Play or Ceremony, wherein probably there were us'd indecent Postures. He adds, That this
 Treatise was written against the Heathens, who mock'd at it, and that he was not to expect better
 success from this Exhortation to Repentance, which was address'd to the Christians of his own Dioce-
 ses. He says, That we cannot but imagine that this Book was design'd only for Penitents, since Penance
 is as it were the Bond of all Ecclesiastical Discipline: For, says he, we must take care of Catechumens,
 that they fall not into Sin; of the Faithful, that they relapse not after they have been Purified; and of
 Penitents, that they may receive quickly the fruit of their Humiliation. After this, he divides his Dis-
 course into Three Parts: He treats in the First of the different sorts of Sin, left any should imagine
 that all Sins deserve the same Punishment. In the Second, he discourses of some Persons that are asham'd
 to

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to make use of the Remedy of Penance, and to receive the Sacrament with an heart and mind polluted with Sin: They are fearful, says he, before *Men*, but impudent before *God*, they despoil by their impure Hands, and by their corrupt *Mouths*; they despoil, I say, that *Altar* which makes the *Angels* themselves to tremble. The last Part, is of the Pains that they shall suffer who do no Penance, and of the Reward of those that Purify themselves by a true and sincere Confession of their Sins. In the First Part, he distinguishes Sins from Crimes. Heavers, That we must not imagine that Men are oblig'd to do Penance for an infinite number of small Sins, from which no Person is exempt; That according to the Dispensation under the Old Testament, lesser Faults were rigorously punish'd, but Jesus Christ is come to deliver us from this Yoke of the Law. Thus after Pardon, if a Man may so speak, of an infinite number of Sins, which need no Powerful Remedies to cure them, there remains a small number which may be easily avoided, that deserve a severe Punishment. Amongst these he reckons Idolatry, Murder and Adultery: As for other Sins, says he, they may be cur'd by the Practice of Good Works, Inhumanity by Cruelty, Injuries by Satisfaction, Sadness by Sweetness, Lightness by Gravity; and so of other Vices which are punish'd by the contrary Virtues. But what shall be the Punishment of Idolatry? What shall the Murderer do to expiate his Crime? What shall be the Punishment of an Adulterer or Fornicator? These are, my Brethren, Capital Sins, these are *Mortal Sins*. After he has terrified those who have committed these Crimes, with the dreadful words of Fire and Brimstone, and almost made them despair of Pardon, he adds, *However you may be healed, if you begin to be sensible of the greatness of your Crime, and the state to which you are reduc'd; if you have a Fear that approaches near to Despair. I advise my self first of all to you, who having committed those Crimes refuse to do Penance; you who are so timorous, after you have been so impudent; you who are asham'd to do Penance after you have sinned without blushing; you who are not asham'd to commit those Crimes, but are asham'd to confess them; you who approach the Holy of Holies, with a Conscience polluted by these Crimes, without trembling, when ye present your selves before the Altars; you who receive the Mysteries from the hands of the Priests in the presence of the Angels, as if ye were innocent; you who trample upon the Patience and Mercy of God, and present at his Altars a defil'd Soul and an unclean Body.* After he has thus spoken a word to Impenitent Sinners, he represents to them the Punishments that God has threaten'd to those that approach unworthily to Holy Things. He proposes to them the terrible words of St. Paul, and exhorts them by most powerful Motives, and most convincing Reasons to discover the Wounds of their Conscience. The Sick that are Prudent, says he, do not hide their Wounds from their Physicians, even those that are in the most secret Parts. They suffer them to apply the Iron, the Fire, and Castilicks to Cure them; And shall a Sinner be afraid to purchase Eternal Life for a little Shame? Shall he dread to discover his Sins to God, which are but hid from him? He that dares offend against God, why does he blush at any thing? would he rather Perish without Shame, than be asham'd to Perish? But though you should be asham'd to discover your Misery to others, yet fear not to discover it to your Brethren, who bear a part in your unhappiness. It does not become one Part of the Body to rejoice in the Evil that befalls another Member of the same Body, they suffer all the same Pain, and contribute to the Remedy. The Church consists of the Faithful, and Jesus Christ is in his Church, and so he that discovers his Sins to his Brethren, is assisted by the Tears of the Church, and Absolv'd by the Prayers of Jesus Christ.

After this, he speaks a word to those, who under pretence of being willing to do Penance, lay open indeed their Wounds by Confession, but know not what it is to do Penance, nor what the Remedies which must Cure them; who are exactly like those who discover their Wounds and Diseases to Physicians, but neglect to bind up their Wounds; and to apply necessary Remedies; nay, encrease their Disease by taking contrary Remedies and pernicious Potions, and add new Crimes to their old Sins. What can I do for these, I who am a Bishop, says he, 'Tis very late to give them a Remedy, but yet if any of you be willing to suffer the Iron and the Fire, I can apply them: Behold the Razor which the Prophet presents me. Turn ye, says he, to the Lord your God, with fasting, weeping and mourning, and sighing, and break your hearts: fear not this Incision, for David was very willing to endure it. He relates also many other Examples of Penance, and reproves the Softness, the Pride, and Looseness of the greatest part of Christians and Penitents. He blames them for not observing so much as the daily Exercises of Penance, which are made in the presence of the Bishop: As to weep in the sight of all the Church, to discover by the uncleanness of their Garments the regret they ought to have for losing their Innocence, to Sigh, to Pray, to throw themselves at the feet of the Faithful, to deprive themselves of Pleasures, to prostrate themselves before the Priests, to hold the hands of the Poor, to supplicate the Widows, to beseech the whole Church, and implore its Prayers; and in short, to try all ways possible to save their Souls. After this, he quickens the Penitents by the Fear of Eternal Punishments, which he represents to them in a most Pathetical manner, and he invites them to Penance by the consideration of the Mercy and Goodness of God, who desires nothing but the Conversion of Sinners.

The Subject of the Treatise of Baptism address'd to the Faithful and the Catechumens, is set down by St. Pacian in the Beginning of his Discourse, I will show you, says he, in what condition we are Born, and how we are renew'd by Baptism. To make you understand this, I shall discover to you, what the Gentiles are; what is the Fruit of Faith, and what are the Effects of Baptism. In order to the Explication of these Three Things, he observes, That by the Sin of Adam all Men were enslav'd to Death and Sin; That the Law of Moses discover'd this Misery very plainly, but afford'd no Remedy at all; That to Sin reign'd from Adam till Christ, who deliver'd Mankind from the Tyranny of Sin, because as the Sin of the First Man was imputed to all his Posterity, so the Righteousness of Jesus Christ was communicated to all Men by Baptism, and by the Aid of the Holy Spirit, provided that Faith preceded. He adds, That this Regeneration cannot be perfected but by the Sacrament of Baptism, and Union, and by the Ministry of the Priest. [For, says he, Baptism Purifies from Sins, and Union brings

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brings down the Holy Spirit, and both the one and the other are applied by the Hand and the Mouth of the Bishop; the whole Man is born again and renew'd in Jesus Christ, that we may lead a new Life, which shall never end; because though this Body shall die, yet we shall always live in Jesus Christ, in a heavenly and eternal Life. He observes, That being deliver'd in Baptism from the bands of Sin, we renounce the Devil and the World, and if afterwards, by forgetting the Grace which we have received, we relapse into a Crime, our Relapse is almost irrecoverable; because that Jesus Christ suffer'd but once, and we cannot be wash'd and purified above once. He concludes with an Exhortation to those that are newly Baptiz'd, to preserve the Grace which they had received, to Sin no more, to keep the Purity and Innocence of Baptism till the Day of Judgment, and to endeavour to obtain Eternal Treasures by their Prayers and Spiritual Labours.

These Extracts which we have drawn from the Writings of St. Pacianus, sufficiently discover his Judgment, his Style and Learning. There is hardly any of the Ancients that speaks more clearly of the Efficacy of the Sacraments of Baptism, Confirmation and Penance: He attributes to Chrysm the effect of Confirmation, which is an Opinion very rare among the Latins, who attribute it to Imposition of Hands. Though he speaks advantageously of the Efficacy of the Sacraments, yet he requires very great Dispositions in order to their producing such Effects as they ought to have. He particularly recommends Public Penance for the Sins of Idolatry, Murder and Fornication; under which Three Sins must be comprehended all the Consequents of them, which extend very far. He thinks that those Sins cannot be pardon'd but by Public Penance. As to all other Sins, he does not believe it necessary to submit to that Penance which the Canons of the Church enjoyned for them. He explains the Fall of all Mankind, that 'twas caus'd by the Sin of the First Man, very clearly, and the unprofitableness of the Law, the Necessity and Effects of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. He equally condemns the Rigour of the Novatians, and the Impenitence of some Sinners, as well as the heedlessness and softness wherewith others perform their Penance. His Exhortations are lively and persuasive, his Thoughts well-weight'd, his Proofs solid, his way of Writing pleasant, his Style elegant, and the Periods short. In a word, These little Tracts may pass for Master-pieces in their kind, and these two Treatises may be look'd upon as a perfect Model of Preaching, or Exhortation to the People.

The Works of this Father were Publish'd by Tilus, and Printed at Paris, with some other Books in 4to, in the Year 1538, by Guillardus; in 1655, in 8vo, by Melchior Gopernus; and together with *hermas* at Rome in 1564, in Folio; and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

GREGORY of Bætica.

GREGORY, Bishop of Elvira, a City of the Province of Bætica in Spain, wrote divers Treatises in a low Style, and an elegant Book concerning the Faith; which were extant in the latter End of St. Jerome's time. We have in the Fragments of St. Hilary, a Letter of Eusebius of Vercelle Bætica, to this Bishop, where he commends him for the Confraternity wherewith he defended the Faith of the Church, and resisted Hefius, Marcellus and Faustinus the Luciferians, tell us, in their Letter to Valentinian the Emperor, That Hefius being ready to condemn him, was miraculously thrown upon the Ground, and lost the use of his Speech. But there is no probability that this Relation should be true, as we have already shown, when we Discours'd of Hefius. St. Jerome, in his Chronicle, joins this Bishop, with Lucifer Calaritanus, and observes, that they would never have any Correspondence with those that were suspected of Arianism. This join'd with the Honourable mention that Marcellinus and Faustinus make of this Bishop, may induce us to believe, that he was of the Judgment and Party of Lucifer. He flourish'd from the Year 357, till the latter End of that Century. The Ancients speak of him as a simple, plain, sincere Man, but a zealous Defender of the Faith. His Style was no ways Sublime, if we believe St. Jerome. There have been printed under his Name at Rome, in the Year 1575, and in the Two first Editions of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, seven little Treatises against the Arians, which are thought to be the same with the Book concerning the Faith cited by St. Jerome: But it has since been discover'd, that they were written by Faustinus a Luciferian Deacon, to whom the Abbot Trithemius attributes them. They are address'd to the Empress Galla Placidia, Sister to the Emperor Honorius, which discovers that they rather belong to Faustinus than Gregory of Bætica, who was dead when Placidia had the Title of Empress.

PHÆBADIUS.

PHÆBADIUS, Bishop of Agen, having seen the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, compos'd in the Year 357, by Hefius and Potamius, wrote immediately a Treatise against this Creed. He assisted afterwards at the Council of Ariminum, held in 359, wherein he defended until the End of the Council, the Nicene Creed, and refus'd to Sign that which was there propos'd. Neither Fear nor Threatnings could change his Resolution; but the Governor Taurinus, seeing that his Confraternity was

* Phæbadius. Sulpitius Severus, calls him Fegadus, and ought to be read Phæbadius, as it is in the Latin; in St. Jerome, and the Greek Translator of his Manuscripts. There is also by mistake in St. Ambrose's Book, he is call'd Sabadius, which is a Fault in the Sygadius.

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not to be overcome by these means, us'd Entreaties, and beseech'd him with Tears to take more moderate Courses, that so he might release a great Number of Bishops, who had been shut up for the space of seven Months in one City, where they were distress'd by the Rigor of the Winter, and the want of all things. He remonstrated to him, That if all the Bishops did not sign the Creed that was brought from the East, there would be no hopes, that they should ever have permission to return from thence: In short, That he must fix his Resolution, and that he ought to follow the Example and Authority of many that had already sign'd. *Phœbadius*, answered, That he was ready to go into Banishment, and suffer all sorts of Punishment, rather than do that which was desir'd of him, and that he would never receive a Creed made by the *Arians*. Some days pass'd in these Debates; but at last, seeing that there was no hopes left of obtaining Peace, he departed from his Resolution, after that *Ursacius* and *Valens* had declar'd, That the Profession of Faith, which they propos'd, was Catholic, and that those to whom it appear'd not sufficient, might add to it what they thought fit. This Proposition was favourably receiv'd by all the Western Bishops: *Phœbadius* and *Servatius Turgensius*, drew up Declarations, wherein they condemn'd *Arius* and his impious Doctrine, acknowledging that the Son of God was without Beginning, and that he was not a Creature. But *Ursacius* and *Valens*, added maliciously, that he was not a Creature as others are; and so deceiv'd the Bishops who sign'd with those Declarations, the Creed compos'd at *Nice* by the Bishops of the East. *Phœbadius*, being upon his return to his own Country, was one of those Bishops who were most troubled for their Fault, and who aton'd for it, by Declarations and Protestations against what they had done by surprise: He assist'd at the Council of *Valencia* in 374. We have a Letter of *St. Ambrose*, address'd to him and *Delphinus*, Bishop of *Bordeaux*: *St. Jerom* assures us in his Book of *Illustrations Men*, That *Phœbadius* liv'd in his time, and that he was then extremely old: He adds, That he also wrote some other Books, besides that which we have already mention'd. The Memory of this Saint, is particularly honoured at *Agen*, where he is commonly call'd *St. Fiacre*.

We have still extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, a Treatise of this Bishop, against the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, which was first publish'd by *Pithæus*, in a Collection of Ancient French Ecclesiastical Authors, printed by *Nivelle*, in the Year 1589. This Treatise is a refutation of the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, compos'd by *Potamius*, Bishop of *Lisbon*, and Sign'd by *Hosius* Bishop of *Corinthe*. In the *Exordium*, he says, That if the greater part of Christians had not been circumvented by the Artifices of the Devil, who makes them take Heresy for Faith, and condemn the Faith for Heresy; he had not undertaken to say any thing of this Writing, which was sent a little while ago into *France*: That he could be content to continue Firm in his own Faith, without meddling with the Examination of other Men's: "But since, says he, we are reduc'd to this Condition, that we must necessarily embrace Heresy, that we may be call'd Catholics, or cease to be Catholics by not rejecting Heresy, we find our selves oblig'd to discover the Poyson of Heresy hid under the appearance of Religion, and to lay open that Error, which is wrap'd up in such Terms, as appear at first sight to be Innocent, that so Falshood being discover'd, the oppress'd Truth may at last take breath. We must destroy the Opinions of Strangers, that ours may be believ'd, and so in refuting Error, I shall prove at the same time, the Truth of my Creed, and demonstrate my self to be a Catholic to those that are not over-aw'd by Fear, nor brib'd by Ambition." After this, he Examines the Second Creed of *Sirmium*, discovers the Malignity of it, and refutes by Testimonies of Scripture, that it contains about the Trinity. He speaks also occasionally of the Mystery of the Incarnation, whilst he refutes a Letter of *Potamius*; who had affirm'd, That by the Incarnation of the Word, God was render'd passible, and that the Son of God, and the Flesh of Man, were become as it were, a Third Person, who was neither God nor Man. He Disputes against this Opinion, showing by Scripture, That the Two Substances, or the Two Natures, continued without mixture in the Person of Jesus Christ; That the Word did still preserve the Properties of the Divine Nature, and the Humanity of the Humane Nature. He is very angry afterwards, that they suppress'd the word *Substance*, which was order'd by the Creed, that he examines. The Bishops, says he, make an Edict, whereby they decree, That no Person shall speak of One Substance. "O ye, Holy Bishops Assembled at *Nice* from all parts of the World? You have to no purpose compos'd with admirable Circumference, a Creed which should be the Infallible Rule of Truth? To what End was your Labour design'd? What is the Fruit of your Care? 'Tis now forbidden to teach in the Church, the only Thing which you commanded to be taught there for the Con founding of Error. That is now condemn'd, which you approv'd; and that is now approv'd, which you condemn'd; Falshood is maintain'd, and the Truth is oppos'd. But in vain do they strive to do it, for Truth shall never be destroy'd, it shall remain eternally without Change, and shall punish those that set themselves against it. Let no Man, say they, make use of the Word Substance. Ha, What Evil, what Crime is it, to make use of this Word? Wherein does it wound the Faith? Is it the Sound? Is it the Sense?" Afterwards he makes it appear, That this Word is us'd in Scripture; That the Sense of it is most Catholic; and, That 'tis most proper to expound the Faith of the Church in such a manner, as it may not be capable of any further Explication. At the End of this Treatise, he refutes those that say, The Word of God suffer'd Pain. At last, he concludes with saying, That there is but One only God in Three Persons. "This is what we believe, this is what we defend, what the Prophets have taught us, what the Gospel preaches to us, what the Apostles left us by Tradition, what the Martyrs confess'd in their Sufferings. This is the Faith which is engraven on the Hearts and Minds of the Faithful; and when an Angel shall descend from Heaven and teach the contrary, he shall be accur'd." He adds afterwards, as a kind of an Appendix, when he speaks of *Hosius*, Bishop of *Corinthe*; "I know very well, says he, that the Name of *Hosius*, that ancient Bishop, may

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be object'd to me, whose Faith was always so Firm, and I doubt, not but they will make use of "his Authority, as a Buckler to cover the Opinion that is contrary to ours. But I answer in a word to those who will make use of these Arms, that his Authority cannot be alleg'd as an unanswerable Argument, because either he is at present in an Error, or else he always was so. The World knows what he believ'd till this present time, with what Assurance he approv'd the *Sardican* and *Nicene* Doctrine which I defend, and with what Rigor he condemn'd the *Arians*. But if he be at present of another Opinion, if he maintains now what he always condemn'd heretofore, it he condemns now what he always maintained; How can his Authority be object'd to me? If he was in an Error for 82 Years together, How comes it to pass, that I must believe, that at this Age he found out the Truth? But suppose I could believe it, What Judgment can be given of those who died in the Faith of the same Doctrine which he maintained before he altered his Opinion? What Judgment would he have given of himself, if he had died before that Council wherein he changed? And so the prejudice drawn from the Authority of *Hosius*, is of no Consideration, because it opposes it self: Besides that, we read in the Scripture, that the Righteousness of a Judge, shall not save him, when he shall depart from it.

I was very willing to set down this Passage entire, because it may be of great use to weak Persons, who suffer themselves to be drawn into Errors, by the Authority of those whom they highly Esteem and Value. It serves also to discover, that the greatest Men are subject to great Infirmities, and that therefore we must not follow their Example blindly, especially, when Religion is the Matter in question; and that the only Infallible Rule to which we should adhere, is the Authority of the Church, to which we ought to pay a blind Obedience, and without reserve.

To Conclude, This Tract is written very politely, the Style is clear and clean, the Subject is handled very plainly; and there are sometimes Salles of Wit, which discover that the Author wrote with much Vigour and Easiness.

ST. OPTATUS.

ST. OPTATUS, Bishop of *Milevi*, a City of *Numidia*, wrote under the Reign of *Valens* and *Valentinian*, about the Year 370, his Books of the Schism of the *Donatists*, against *Parmenianus*, a Bishop of that Sect. There is nothing in particular, known of the Life of this Author. He died, according to the Testimony of *St. Jerom*, under the Reign of *Valentinian*. *St. Austin* and *St. Fulgentius*, cite him with great Commendation, and he has been numbred among the Saints, because of the Service he did the Church, by this excellent Book which he compos'd in its Defence. It was divided into Six Books, since *St. Jerom*'s time: There is a Seventh now extant, but 'tis very probable, that it is Supposititious. First of all, Because *Optatus* himself in his First Book, divides his Treatise into six Books, without mentioning a Seventh. Secondly, Because *St. Jerom* says, That *Optatus* wrote but Six Books against the Schism of the *Donatists*. Thirdly, Because the Title of the last Book⁴, comes not near the Elegance and Sublimeness that is in the others. And Lastly, Because it contains Opinions contrary to those that are in the other Books. This Book therefore was written by some *African*, who lived soon after *St. Optatus* (for it cannot be doubted but that the Book is ancient) who thought he ought to make this Addition, which was afterwards attributed to this Father.

St. Optatus begins his First Book with words very full of Charity. He complains, That the Peace which Jesus Christ left to his Church, is disturb'd by the Schism and by the Actions of the *Donatists*: Yet he gives them the Name and Title of Brethren. "Though they renounce us, says he, though all the World knows that they hate us, that they detest us; though they would not have us call them our Brethren, yet we will follow the Command of the Prophet *Isaiab*, in saying unto them, Ye are nevertheless our Brethren, though ye be Evil: We have the same Spiritual Birth, but our Actions are different". Afterwards, he gives an Account of his Undertaking to write to *Parmenianus*,

¹ *St. Optatus*. The Name of *Optatus* is very common among the *Africans*. *St. Austin* speaks of many other Persons of this Name, who are easily distinguish'd from this Bishop.

² *Milevi*. Some Authors have thought that he was Bishop of *Malta*, but this is a gross mistake: *Milevi* is a City of *Numidia* in *Africa*, often mention'd in the *African* Councils.

³ He died under the Reign of *Valentinian*. In B. II. he places in his Catalogue of Popes, Pope *Siricius*, who was not Bishop of *Rome* till after the Death of *Valentinian*; which would cause a doubt of what *St. Jerom* says, if it were not easy for a Transcriber to add the Name of *Siricius*, when he Copied out this Book after the Death of *Optatus*.

⁴ The Title of the last Book. The Title of it is flat, mean and weak, whereas the Title of *Optatus* is sublime, masculine, and enrich'd with many Fi-

gures; there are also many Terms, which appear not to be *Optatus*'s: The Author of this Book treats of what *Optatus* had already handled in B. I. and III. and the beginning of the IV. which Repetition does also show, that it is none of his.

⁵ *Optimus* contrary to those that are in the other Books. This Author extenuates the enormity of their Crime, who deliver'd up the Holy Books to be burnt; he denies that it was a Capital Crime, and endeavours to prove that it was light and pardonable. On the contrary, *St. Optatus* declares B. I. That it was a great Sin, equal to that of Schism, and that those who committed it, should purchase some Years of this Life, with the loss of Eternal Life, which supposes, that this Crime was Mortal, and deserv'd Damnation; but the Author of the Seventh Book, teaches the contrary.

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whom he calls his Brother: He says, That he was the only *Donatist* with whom he could have a Conference in Writing, and he shews the Usefulness of it: He observes, That this Bishop in writing against the Catholick Church had written for it; so that it had not been necessary to have answer'd his Treatise, if he had not affirm'd many things whereof he was not well-inform'd, as when he charges the Catholics with desiring Souldiers that they might Persecute the *Donatists*. He owns, That this is the only place in all the Books of *Parmenianus* which is against the Church; and that all others are either for the Catholics only, as when he proves that there is but one Church only; or for the Catholics and the *Donatists*, as when he shows that Hereticks have not the Sacraments of the Church; Or lastly, against the *Donatists* only, as when he speaks of the Enormity of their Crime, who deliver'd up the Holy Books and made a Schism. He adds, That the Comparison which *Parmenianus* has made of Baptism with Circumcision, and the Flood, is honourable to the Church, which maintains, that there is but one only Baptism, as there was but one Circumcision and one Flood.

Optatus having made this general Remark upon the Book of *Parmenianus*, gives an account of the Method he has observ'd in his Work; and then lays down a Scheme of his Refutation, and proposes the Subject of his Books. "I shall begin," says he, "First of all, with giving an History of the Traditions and Schismatics, with an Account of their Abode, their Persons, and their Names; that so it may be known who those are that are guilty of the Crimes that *Parmenianus* has Condemn'd." Secondly, I must show what is the Church, and where it is, because there is but one only, and there cannot possibly be two Churches. Thirdly, I am to prove, That we did not desire the Souldiers, and that we are not guilty of the Crimes which are said to be done by those, who would have procur'd a Re-union. Fourthly, "I will be necessary to shew who is the Sinner, whose Sacrifice God refuses, and whose Union we must flee from. In the 5th. Book, I shall treat of Baptism. In the 6th. I shall lay open your Errors and Designs." This is the Argument of those Six Books of *Optatus*. In the First Book before we come to the History of the *Donatists*; which is the Subject of it, we must observe a Mistake of *Parmenianus*, who says, That the sinful Flesh being drown'd in the Waters of Jordan, was purged from all its Stains. He reproves this Passage of *Parmenianus*, because from hence it would follow, either that the Flesh of all Men was purged by the Baptism of Jesus Christ; or that the Flesh of Jesus Christ was sinful. But because he foresaw very well, that *Parmenianus* might explain his meaning, by saying, That nothing else was intended by those words, but that the Flesh of Men was purged in the Flesh of Jesus Christ, therefore he shows that this Expression is improper; for we never say, That a Christian was baptiz'd in the Flesh of Jesus Christ; but in the Name of Jesus Christ. He adds, That the Flesh of Jesus Christ could not be baptiz'd for the Remission of Sins, since he had not committed any. At last, That he might not Pardon *Parmenian* in any thing, he blames him even for the term *Drown'd*, which he uses, and tells us, That he could only say of *Pharoah*, that he continued at the bottom of the Waters, and not of Jesus Christ, who descended into Jordan that he might come out of it, and who Sanctified the Waters of this River by his descent. He says, That he cannot pass over the Impudence of *Parmenianus*, who having given a Description of the Flood and Circumcision, and spoken in the Praise of Baptism, should go about (if I may say so) to raise from the Dead the ancient Hereticks, who were buried together with their Heresies in Oblivion, and whose Names and Heresies were unknown long ago in *Africa*, such as *Praxeas*, *Sabellius*, *Valentinus*, and others, who had been confuted in their time, by *Victorinus of Passaw*, by *Zephyrinus of Rome*, by *Tertullian of Carthage*, and other Defenders of the Catholick Church.

"Wherefore, says he, do ye make such a War with the Dead, as does not concern the Affairs of our Time? Is it because ye have no Proof that the Catholics are Schismatics, therefore ye would swell your Book with a Catalogue of the Names and Errors of the ancient Hereticks? Why do ye speak of those who had no Sacraments which are common to us? Those that are in Health have no need of Remedies. Vertue and Innocence seek no help nor support but in themselves. Truth wants no far-fetch'd Proofs. None but the Sick seek after Remedies; only the Weak and Sluggish trust to External Succors, and 'tis a Sign of a Lye when Men take much pains to find out a Justification: *Parmenianus* had not mention'd these Hereticks, but to tell us, That they had not the Signs of a true Church; That their Churches were Strumpets who had no right to the Sacraments, and could not be the Spouses of Jesus Christ. *Optatus* was so far from refusing this Proposition, that he approv'd it, but he wonder'd that *Parmenianus* had join'd the Schismatics with them, since he himself was one of this Number.

"I see very well, says he to *Parmenianus*, That you know not who were the Authors of the Schism at *Carthage*. Look back to the Rule of this Affair, and you will see that you have condemn'd your selves, by joining the Schismatics to the Hereticks; for *Cecilian* did not separate from *Majorinus* your Predecessor, but *Majorinus* separated from *Cecilian*. 'Twas not *Cecilian* that deserted the Chair of St. Peter or St. Cyrian, but *Majorinus*, in whose Chair you sit, a Chair that is of no older Original than *Majorinus* himself". This being so, he wonders that *Parmenian* should join the Schismatick with the Heretic, and should say of the former as well as the latter after this manner: How can a Man that is defild, cleanse another by a false Baptism? How can an impure Man Purify? How can one that makes others fall, lift up those that are fall down? How can one that is guilty, grant Pardon? or one that is Condemn'd, absolve? *Optatus* confesses, That all this may be truly said of Hereticks who have corrupted the Creed, and have no share in the Sacraments of the Church; but he denies that this can be said of those that are only Schismatics; who, as he thinks, may lawfully Administer the Sacraments. To prove this, he shows the difference between Hereticks and Schismatics. "Two things, says he, are necessary to render the Church Catholick; The Confession of the true Faith, and the Unity of Hearts. Schism which breaks the Bond of Peace is begotten by Discord,

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nourish'd by Envy, and confirm'd by Disputes; thus impious Children forsake the Catholick Church their Mother, withdraw and separate themselves, as you have done, being cut off from the Church, and become Rebels and Enemies: But they innovate nothing in Doctrine, still retaining what they had learn'd from their Mother. The Hereticks on the contrary are Enemies to the Truth, Deserters of the true Creed, though they are begotten in the bosom of the Church, and being corrupted by their Impious Errors, they call themselves Authors of their Sect." *Optatus* concludes from these Definitions, That Hereticks can have no Baptism nor valid Sacraments, but that there is not the same Reason for Schismatics, because they have preserv'd the true Sacraments of the Church, though they are separated from its Body. After this Digression, he returns to his Subject, and undertakes to prove Historically, that the Authors of the *Donatists* are guilty of delivering up the Holy Books and making a Schism. "Tis now, says he, 60 Years and more since *Africk* was harra's'd with a violent Persecution, at which time you might have seen many Martyrs and Confessors; but there were also some Christians who yielded in this Day of Tryal, and others who hid themselves: To say nothing of the Laity, Ministers, Deacons or Priests, there were even Bishops, those that were the Heads and Chief of the Clergy, who deliver'd up the Books of the Divine Law, with an astonishing Impiety; and to preserve for some Years this Mortal Life, expos'd themselves to the loss of Eternal Life. *Donatus* was the Homicide of *Limata*, were of the Number of those Bishops, together with *Amenalius*, who fearing to be accus'd of Sacrificing, would not be present at the Assembly of his Brethren. These Bishops and some others, whom we shall show to have been your Authors, assembled together after the Persecution, on the 12th. of May, in the City of *Carthage*, in the House of *Urbanus Carissus*, because the Churches were not yet rebuilt. *Secundus* of *Tigisi* having ask'd them, they confess'd to him that they had deliver'd up the Holy Books; and when *Purpurinus* objected the same thing to *Secundus*, they all began to murmur; so that *Secundus* being afraid of himself, follow'd the Advice of his Nephew *Secundus*, who counsel'd him to leave this Cause to the Judgment of God. The other Bishops, *Victor Garbinius*, *Felix* of *Rotarius*, and *Nabor* of *Centurio*, were of the same opinion, and therefore, *Secundus* declar'd that all the Bishops should sit in the Council. Sometime after the same Bishops, Traditors and Murderers, ordain'd *Majorinus* Bishop of *Carthage*, in whose Chair *Parmenianus* now sits. *Optatus* having thus shown that the Ring-leaders of the *Donatists* were Traditors, convicts them also of being the Authors of a Schism. In treating of this Separation, 'tis certain, says he, that there was but one Church in *Africk*, as there is in all other Parts of the World, before it was divided by the Bishops who ordain'd *Majorinus*. It is only to be enquir'd, who those were that remain'd united to the Body of the Church with all the World; and who they were that departed from it, who it was that sat in a Chair wherein he had no Predecessor, who those were that set up Altar against Altar, who he was that Ordain'd a Bishop in the room of another Bishop yet alive. All the World knows that this was done at *Carthage* after the Ordination of *Cecilian*, and that it was done at the Instigation of *Lucilla*, a great Lady: This Woman had been reprov'd by the Arch-Deacon *Cecilian*, even before the Persecution began, because before receiving the Spiritual Food and Drink, she had kiss'd the Bones of a Dead Man, who was not publicly acknowledg'd for a Martyr, preferring thus the Carcass of a Dead Man before the Cup of Salvation. She retir'd in great Anger, and very much enrag'd at this Reprimand. The Persecution came on, which hinder'd the Bishop from reducing her within the Bounds of her Duty. In the mean time, a certain Deacon, nam'd *Felix*; being cited to appear before the Tyrant, and accus'd of writing a Defamatory Libel against him, hid himself in the House of *Menisurus* the Bishop: who being interrogated about this Fact, deny'd it publicly, and upon his Denial there came an Order from Court, importing, That if *Menisurus* did not bring forth the Deacon *Felix*, he should be sent to Court. When he had received this Order, he was very much concerned: He had then in the Church a great Number of Ornaments of Gold and Silver, which he durst neither hide under Ground, nor carry away with him; he trusted them with the most ancient Men of his Church, believing them Faithful, and made an Inventory of them, which he is said to have deliver'd to an old Woman, with this Charge, That if he did not return again, she should deliver it to him that should be chosen Bishop in his Room. When he came to Court, he defended himself, and being permitted to return to *Carthage*, he died by the Way. Liberty being restor'd to the Church of *Africk* by an Edict of *Maxentius*, *Bortus* and *Celestinus* who were ambitious to be Ordain'd Bishops of *Carthage*, call'd together the Neighbouring Bishops about this City, without Summoning those of *Numidia* to come to them: Yet *Cecilian* was chosen by the unanimous Suffrages of the People, and Ordain'd by *Felix* of *Aptungis*, and so *Bortus* and *Celestinus* fail'd of their hopes. The Inventory of the Gold and Silver belonging to the Church, was deliver'd to *Cecilian*; who sends for the Old Men that were entrusted with this Charge: who had already made it their own Property. When they saw themselves oblig'd to restore it, they alienated the People from the Communion of *Cecilian*: Those who had intrigued for the See, did the same thing; and in short, *Lucilla*, an impious and powerful Woman, who could not bear a reproof, would not hold Communion with him, and hinder'd those that belong'd to her from doing it. So the Schism was begun by the Passion of a furious Woman, nourish'd by the Ambition of *Bortus* and *Celestinus*, and confirm'd by the Avarice of the Old Men. These three sorts of Persons invented Accusations against *Cecilian*, and endeavour'd to get his Ordination condemn'd. They fetch *Secundus* Bishop of *Tigisi* to *Carthage*: thither they came with the Bishops Traditors whom we have mention'd, and were receiv'd by the Covetous, Ambitious and Furious, that we nam'd before, but not at all by the Catholics, who had chosen *Cecilian*. Not one of them durst enter into the Church where he was with all the People. *Cecilian* took

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"took care to acquaint them, That if his Accusers had any thing to say or prove against him, they had nothing to do but appear. His Enemies could find nothing to blame in his Conduct. But they accus'd him that Ordain'd *Cacilian*, of being a Traditor, making this Infamy rebound upon him. *Cacilian* also told them, That if *Felix* had no Power to confer Orders, as they pretended, they might Ordain him anew, as if he had been but a Deacon still: *Purpurinus* then answer'd with his ordinary Malice: Very well, let him come; Let us make as if we would lay hands upon him to Ordain him Bishop, and instead of doing that, let us put him under Penance. This Design being discover'd, the Catholics detain'd *Cacilian*, and hinder'd him from exposing himself to the fury of his Enemies. They must then either force him away as a Criminal, or Communicate with him as an Innocent Man: The whole Church was full of People, the Episcopal Chair was filled, the Altar was in its place, that Altar on which the Pacific Bishops had offer'd, as St. *Cyprian*, *Lucianus* and others. Nevertheless, they set up an Altar against this Altar, and make an Ordination against all the Laws. *Majorinus* a Domestic of *Lucilla*, who had been Reader when *Cacilian* was Deacon, was Ordain'd by the Bishops of *Numidia*, who had themselves confess'd their Crimes, and Pardoned themselves. 'Tis plain then that *Majorinus* withdrew from the Church, and that those were the Ring-leaders of the *Donatists* who separated themselves, and deliver'd up the Holy Books." After *Optatus* has thus prov'd that the *Donatists* were the Authors of the Schism, which divided *Africa*, he shows by the Example of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, that there is no Crime greater, or which deserves a more severe Punishment than Schism: But not contenting himself with convicting the *Donatists*, he undertakes also to justify *Cacilian*; and proves that he was Innocent by the Judgment of the Council of *Rome*, which Condemn'd *Donatus*, and declar'd *Cacilian* Innocent. He observes that the Ring-leaders of the *Donatists* had themselves desir'd Judges of *Constantine*, and that the Emperor had answer'd them in great Passion, *Do ye desire Judges of me, of me who am waiting for the Judgment of Heaven?* He shows, That nevertheless, he gave them for Judges, *Maternus* Bishop of *Cologne*, *Reticus* Bishop of *Autun*, and *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles*; which Judges came to *Rome*, and there held a Council with *Miltiades*, and Fifteen Italian Bishops: That *Donatus* was there condemn'd upon the Confession that he made of having re-baptiz'd and re-ordin'd the Bishops which yielded in the time of Persecution; That the Witnesses which he had produc'd against *Cacilian* having declar'd they had nothing to say against him, he was sent back acquitted by the Sentence of all the Bishops, and of *Miltiades* who concluded this Judgment: That the *Donatists* having appeal'd to the Emperor, he cry'd out aloud, *O strange Fury! They appeal from us, as if we had given a Pagan Sentence.* That the Emperor detain'd *Cacilian* at *Brescia* by the Solicitation of *Fulgentius* a Partisan of *Donatus*. That there were sent into *Africa* two Bishops, *Ennomius* and *Olympus*, to declare where the Catholic Church was; That being come to *Carthage*, they were hinder'd from doing it by the Seditious Party of *Donatus*; That these two Bishops made Oath in favour of *Cacilian*; That *Donatus* came first to *Carthage* and *Cacilian* follow'd him, after he had been declar'd Innocent by many Judgments. There remain'd now nothing more for *Optatus* to do, but to Vindicate *Felix* of *Aprungis*, who ordain'd *Cacilian*, from the Calumny of being a Traditor, which he proves by the Information that *Eusebius* the Proconsul had given about this Matter, who after a most strict Enquiry into it, had declar'd him innocent of this Crime.

The Second Book of *Optatus* is concerning the Church. There he supposes as an uncontested Principle, That there is but one only Church, which Jesus Christ calls his Spouse and his Dove. This Principle being suppos'd, he proves that the Party of the *Donatists* were not the Catholic Church; because from thence it would follow, that the Church had perish'd in all other Parts of the World, and was enclosed in a little Corner of *Africa*; which was contrary to the Signification of the Catholic Church, that signifies a Society spread over all the Earth. He adds for Confirmation of this Truth, That those who shut up the Church within such narrow bounds defeated the Promise of Jesus Christ; that they trampled the Extent of God's Mercy, and gave the Lye to the Holy Spirit who has spoken by the Prophets. After he has made use of this general Reason against the *Donatists*, he proves that the Signs of the True Church do not in the least agree to them. The First of those Signs is the Chair, that is, the Succession of Bishops. He says to *Parmenianus*, That he cannot be ignorant of this Sign of the True Church; "For you cannot deny, says he, but St. *Peter*, the Chief of the Apostles, enjoy'd the Episcopal Chair at *Rome*; This Chair was one, that all others might preserve Unity by the Union they had with it; So that whosoever set up a Chair against it, was a Schismatick and an Offender. 'Twas then in this one Chair, which is the first Sign of the Church, that St. *Peter* first sat; to St. *Peter* succeeded St. *Linus*; and after him others till *Damasus*, who is now our Collegue; by whose means, all the Churches of the World are United with us in the same Communion, keeping Correspondence by Circular Letters. As to your Party, which would willingly be thought to be the Church, enquire after the Original of your Chair. You tell us, That you are a Part of the Roman Church, but this is a branch of your Error, which proceeds from the Root of Falseness, and not from the Stock of Truth. If *Macrobins* be ask'd in what Chair he sits, can he say, That it is in the Chair of St. *Peter*, which perhaps he never saw; for certainly he never went us Communicate to the Apostles. He is disobedient to the Command of the Apostle, who would have us Communicate to the Memory of the Saints; and the Relicks of the two Apostles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* are in the Church of *Rome*. Tell me, I pray you, it ever he could enter there, if ever he could offer in the Place where these Relicks are certainly kept. *Macrobins*, your Brother, must then confess, That he is in the Place where *Encolpius* held the See; and if we could ask *Encolpius*, he must say, That he succeeded to *Boniface* of *Balis*, and *Boniface* to one *Victor Garbentis*, whom ye sent from *Africa*. This *Victor* is a Son without a Father, a Disciple without a Master, a Successor without a Predecessor,

a Pastor

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"a Pastor without a Flock, a Bishop without a People. For we cannot call them a Flock or a People, who were so few, that they had not one of the Forty Churches at *Rome* to keep their Assemblies in, and who were oblig'd to shut themselves up in a Cave without the City, to keep their Conventicle there." *Optatus* does not enlarge so much on the other Signs of the Church that are very obscure, but he insists particularly upon its Extent. "Wherefore, says he, would you Unchurch an infinite Number of Christians that are in the East and the West? You are but a small Number of Rebels who have oppos'd all the Churches of the World, with which ye have no Communion: You are also convicted of Falseness, by the Sacrifices which ye offer; for I believe that you do not omit the Solemn Prayer that is made at these Sacrifices; I doubt not but you will say, That you offer Sacrifice for that Church which is one, and scatter'd over all the Earth. Now this Prayer convicts you of a Lye, for how can you offer Sacrifice for one only Church, since you have divided it into two? How can you offer for the whole Church, since you are not within the Catholic Church?"

Parmenianus objected to the Catholics, That they had exercis'd Violence and Persecution against them, and concluded from thence that they could not be the true Church, because that ought never to be cruel, nor to feed it self with the Flesh and Blood of the Saints. *Optatus* answers him, That the Church had never Persecuted them, and that he could Name none of the Church that had done it. He retorts this Charge upon the *Donatists*, by observing that in the time of the Emperor *Constantine* the Church enjoy'd a profound Peace, and all its Members liv'd in wonderful Union; That then Pagans were forbidden to exercise their Sacrilegious Ceremonies, then the Devil groan'd in their Temples where he was shut up, and then the *Donatists* were banish'd into Foreign Countries, lest they should disturb the Peace of the Church: But no sooner was *Julian* declar'd Emperor, but they begg'd his leave to return into their own Country, which he granted them very willingly, knowing that they were most fit to trouble the Peace of the Church. He observes, That the same Edit by which he open'd the Pagan Temples, he also restor'd Liberty to them; That they had not so soon obtain'd it, but that they exercis'd horrible Violences in *Africa*. He accuses the *Donatists* of tearing the Members of the Church, of driving away the Bishops, of invading the Churches, of committing Murders, of killing two Deacons at the feet of the Altars, of rending Mens Garments, of dragging the Women, flogging the Children; and in fine, of violating every thing that was most Sacred. *St. Optatus* says, he, cause the Eucharist to be thrown to the Dogs, and presently the Tokens of God's anger appear; for the Dogs being enrag'd, turn'd upon their Masters, and tore them as if they had been Thieves whom they never knew, the Justice of God making use of their Teeth to revenge this Sacrilege. They also caus'd a Bottle full of holy Oil to be thrown out at a Window, on purpose to break it: But though it was cast down from a very high place, yet being supported by Angels, it fell upon the Stones without breaking. He accuses also a Bishop of their Party nam'd *Felix*, of abusing a Virgin to whom himself had given the Veil, and of having afterwards depriv'd an ancient Catholic Bishop, 62 Years old, of his Bishoprick, and put him under Penance. Here he makes a Digression about the Vanity of the *Donatists*, who boasted themselves to be Holy and Innocent. Whence comes this Sanctity of yours, says he, which the Apostle St. John durst not attribute to himself, seeing he says, If we say that we have no Sin, we deceive our selves, and the truth is not in us? He that speaks in this manner, does prudently refer himself to the Mercy of God; for a Christian may desire Good, and endeavour to walk in the way of Salvation, but he cannot be perfect of himself: For though he does run, yet there will always remain something to be done by God to perfect him; and 'tis necessary that he should help a Man in his Weakness, for he is Perfection, and there was never any but Jesus Christ the Son of God who was perfect; all other Men are imperfect. It belongs to us to will and to run, but God only can give Perfection. Jesus Christ has not given us perfect Holiness, but has only promis'd it. *Optatus* afterwards returns to his Subject, and goes on to charge the *Donatists* with the Crimes and Sacrileges which they had committed, and accuses them of exorcising and washing the Walls of Churches, of breaking down the Altars, of throwing the Eucharist to Dogs, of making the People Swear by their Name, of flaying the Bishops, and putting them under Penance, of sparing neither Priests, Deacons, nor the Faithful, of reproaching the Innocent, and putting Christians against their will under Penance; and in fine, of doing an infinite number of things against Piety and Christian Charity.

In the Third Book, *Optatus* vindicates the Church from those Violences of which it was accus'd. In the first place, he says, That if some of those Violences were committed by *Macarius*'s Order, the Predecessors of the *Donatists*, gave occasion to them, because their Seditious Behaviour, oblig'd the Governour to call for Aid, which they no sooner saw come to him, but they presently fled of themselves; and that none but those that were most obstinate had been Banish'd. But then he maintains, That the Church did not contribute to this Persecution in the least; and that there was nothing of all this done by Her Advice; that the neither with'd for it, nor knew of it, nor contributed any thing towards it; but the Justice of God alone, had sent this Persecution upon the *Donatists*, to revenge the Dishonour they had done to the Waters of Baptism. Here *Optatus* makes a very obscure Digression concerning Baptism and the Church. And afterwards returning to his Subject, he says, That *Paul* and *Macarius*, were not sent by *Constantine*, to Persecute the *Donatists*; but to carry Alms; That *Donatus* being transported with Rage, demand'd of them with unupportable Pride, what the Emperor had in common with the Church: "That from that time he carry'd on a Design of doing Injury to the Kings and Princes of the Earth, contrary to the Precept of St. *Paul*, who commands us to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet Life; For, says *Optatus*, the State is not in the Church, but the Church in the State; that is, in the Roman Empire. Thus St. *Paul* had reason to say, That we must pray for Kings, even when they made Profession of Paganism: But how much more reason have we to show respect to a Christian Prince, one that is Religious and Fears God," and

“and has sent Alms to the Poor. Wherefore then was *Donatus* transported with Fury? Wherefore did he refuse the Alms which the Emperor sent? His Officers said, That they were come to distribute Alms in all the Provinces, to those that would receive them; and *Donatus* told them, That he had written to all places, forbidding them to receive them. Does this look as if he took Care of those that are in Misery, or would relieve the Necessities of the Poor? God hath said, *Thou shalt make Rich and Poor*. Can he not then give Riches to the Poor? Yes, but if he had given them to all the World, then sinners had wanted the means of expiating their Faults; for ‘tis written, *That as Water quenches Fire, so does an Alms expiate Sin*. This being so, What Judgment should we give of him that would give to the Poor, and him that would hinder the giving? What would *Donatus* answer, if God should ask him, O Bishop, What do you think of *Constantine*? Do you take him for an Innocent Man, or a Sinner? If you believe him to be an Innocent Man, Why do ye not then receive the Presents of an Innocent Man? And if you believe him to be a Sinner, Why do ye not then permit him to give Alms, since ‘tis for the Sinner that I have made the Poor? *Optatus* adds, That *Donatus* had join’d with his Pride, a pitiless Disposition: That he would be considered as the Prince and Sovereign of *Carthage*; That he exalted himself above the Emperor, *tho’ there is nothing above the Emperor, but God only who makes Kings*; That he despis’d his Brethren, and would not receive their Oblations; That he made those of his Party Swear by his Name, as if he had been God, and that he would have them carry his Name, instead of that of Jesus Christ. In the following Part of this Discourse, he proves, That the *Donatists* had not only brought upon themselves Persecution, by their Pride, and the Contempt they had testified of the Emperor; but also that ‘twas they who had begun the War. That ‘twas *Donatus* of *Bagai*, who had first gather’d together a Multitude of Seditious Persons, whom he call’d *Agnosticks* or *Circumcellians*, to hinder *Paul* and *Macarius* from distributing their Alms. *Optatus*, describes the horrible Outrages of these desperate Fellows, and shews, That the Soldiers who came only to put a stop to these Disorders, being attack’d by these Madmen, were oblig’d to defend themselves, and to beat them: That the Church nevertheless had no Hand in this, and that the Seditious could attribute it to none but themselves. He proceeds further, and shews, That they did justly suffer those Mischiefs, because they broke the Unity of the Church; That the Persecution which they endured, was an Evil that was necessary for procuring the Good of Peace and Union; That this Proceeding against them, was Authoriz’d by the Examples of *Moses*, who put to Death 3000 Men, for Worshipping the Golden Calf; Of *Phinehas*, who kill’d Two Persons for violating the Law of God in committing Adultery; and of *Eliu*, who put to Death 450 False Prophets. The *Donatists* answer’d to these Instances, That we must put a great Difference between the Spirit of the Old Testament, and that of the New; That Jesus Christ had forbidden in the Gospel, the use of the Sword, when *St. Peter* drew it to cut off *Malchus*’s Ear. *Optatus*, maintains to the contrary, That this Prohibition respecteth only the Time and Circumstances of that Action of *St. Peter*; That Jesus Christ was come to suffer, and not to defend himself; That if *St. Peter* had compass’d what he design’d, Mankind had not been deliver’d by the Death of the Messiah: But as distrusting the Truth of this first Answer, which indeed is not very Solid, because the Advice of Jesus Christ, is general; he tries another Answer, and maintains, That *Macarius* did not use the Sword as *St. Peter* did, and that he was not the Author of any Persecution like that of the Pagan Emperours; That he would only oblige Christians to go all into the Church and pray unto one and the same God in the Spirit of Peace and Unity; That those who suffer’d on this occasion were not Martyrs, since they had not Charity, without which, none can be crown’d; That this cannot pass for a Persecution against the Church, but for a just Punishment of some Persons that were refractory to the Church. He objects to the *Donatists*, their obliging some Catholics to call themselves still Pagans, that they might re-baptize them. He observes, That they had spread about a Report when *Paul* and *Macarius* came into *Africa*; That those two Officers were to set up an Image of the Emperor upon the Altar at the time of Offering Sacrifice, but there was nothing done like it; That even those of their own Party who were present at the Sacrifices, had acknowledg’d that ‘twas a Calumny, and that they saw nothing but the ordinary Ceremonies of the Church: In short, That there was nothing chang’d, nothing diminish’d, or added to the Sacrifice. He returns again to *Macarius*, and proposes to himself this Objection: If the Catholics had not approv’d the Action of *Macarius*, they should have excommunicated him, which they did not do, and therefore are guilty of his Crime. He answers, That *Macarius* being no Bishop, they did not Communicate with him, as one Bishop does with other Bishops, and by consequence the Clergy could not be profan’d by his Communication, because a Lay-man has no right to Preach or to Teach, whereas a Bishop speaks to the People with Authority, beginning his Discourse, and ending it always with the Name of God. The *Donatists* add, That *Macarius* ought not so much as to Communicate with Lay-men. *Optatus* answers, That being a Minister of the Will of God, and discharging the Office of a Judge, who has secular Authority in his Hand, the Church ought not to Excommunicate him; That moreover what he had done, might be defended by the Examples of *Moses* and *Phinehas*; but in short, That tho’ we should confess that *Macarius* was Guilty, yet the Church could not Excommunicate him who was never accus’d; That there was no Accuser found, neither had he confess’d his Crime, and therefore the Ecclesiastical Judges could not condemn him, since it was forbidden to one and the same Person to be both Accuser and Judge at the same time.

In the Fourth Book, he refutes the *Donatists* for saying that the Catholics were such Sinners, that we should thus their Sacrifices, as it is said in *Isaiah*, ch. 66. and that we should not receive their Unction, as it is in *Psalm* 140. *Optatus*, after he has given this Caution in his Introduction, that Men ought not mutually to condemn one another, but to wait for the Judgment of God; and after having

having exhorted them to receive the Title of Brethren, which the Catholics are willing to bestow upon them, he proves that those Accusations which they draw up against the Church, are rather applicable to themselves, than to the Catholics. For proof of this, he sets down all the Characters of a wicked Man, which are given in *Psalm* 49. *God hath said unto the wicked, Why do they preach my Precepts? Why do they open their Mouth to speak of my Law? Ye that hate Discipline, and have cast my Words behind you? You sit and speak against your Brother. If you see a Thief, you run along with him, and have made your self the Companion of adulterers.* He shews, That the *Donatists* cannot excuse themselves from these Crimes; that they hate Discipline, since they shun Peace, since they re-baptize, and rob the Bishops of their Priesthood: That they Preach in their Pulpits against their Brethren; because under pretence of preaching the Gospel they speak injurious Words against Catholics, and inspire those with hatred against them who hear their Sermons; That they endeavour to persuade them that according to the Apostolical Injunction, they should shun them, that they should not salute them, nor with them good Morrow, tho’ all this is to be understood only of Hereticks, whose Discourse creeps like a Serpent; that they join themselves with Thieves, since they correspond with the Devil to extirpate one part of the Flock of Jesus Christ. He describes this after a very pleasant manner. ‘All Men, says he, that come into the World, tho’ they be born of Christian Parents, are fill’d with an unclean Spirit, which must be driven away by Baptism: This is done by the Exorcism which ‘drives away this Spirit, and makes it fly into remote places. After this, the Heart of Man becomes a most pure Habitation. God enters and dwells there, according to that of the Apostle, *We are the Temple of God*. When therefore ye re-baptize Men, and exorcise them anew, and when ye ‘say, *O accursed, come forth of this Man*, ‘tis to God that ye speak after this manner, you drive him disgracefully out of this Man, and the Devil re-enters into his Heart.’ This place of *Optatus*, is very express for proving Original Sin, and the Antiquity of Exorcisms. At last, *Optatus* shews, That the *Donatists* render themselves Companions of Adulterers, because they separate from the Church, which is the only lawful Spouse of Jesus Christ, to unite themselves with Adulterers. He comes afterwards to the second Passage taken out of *Psalm* 140. *Let not the Oyl of the wicked anoint my Head*; and he observes, That this should only be applied to Jesus Christ, and that it is a Prayer, and not a Precept; a Wish, and not a Command. Then he explains also two other Passages which *Parmentianus* had quoted against the Catholics, and shews, that the First is to be understood of Adulterers or Hereticks; and the Second, of Jews, and that neither the one nor the other is applicable to Catholics.

In the Fifth Book, *Optatus* proves, That the *Donatists* commit a great Crime, in reiterating Baptism, which Jesus Christ has commanded to be given but once only. He approves of the Commendations which *Parmentianus* has given this Sacrament, by saying, *That it is the Life of Virtue, the Death of Crimes, the Immortal Birth, the means of obtaining the Kingdom of Heaven, the Port of Innocence, and the Shipwrack of Sins*. But he adds, That ‘tis not he who gives this Sacrament of Baptism, that confers these Graces, but the Faith of him that receives it and the Virtue of the Trinity; and consequently, that Baptism is not to be reiterated, which is administered in the Name of the Trinity. He has also here a most Remarkable Reflection about the Rule which we should Consult in all Ecclesiastical Controversies. ‘We ask, says he, if it be lawful to repeat Baptism given in the Name of the Trinity? Ye maintain, That it is lawful; we say, That it is forbidden. The People are in Suspence, between your affirming and our denying the same thing, and they can neither believe you nor us, for we are all fallible Men: Let us then search after Judges in this Case. But where are they to be found? If they be Christians, they are either of your Party or ours, and by consequence cannot be Judges of our Difference. We must then enquire after a Judge out of Christendom. But then if he be a Pagan, he understands not our Mysteries; if he be a Jew, he is an Enemy to the Baptism of Christians. There cannot therefore be found any Judge upon Earth, but we must seek for one in Heaven. But why should we have recourse to Heaven, since we have the Testament of our Father upon Earth? Let us search after his Will in the Gospel, which will inform us, that he who has been once wash’d, needs not to be wash’d again. Wherefore, adds he, we do not re-baptize those who have been baptiz’d, when they return again to us’. He proves also, That it ought not to be done, because there is but one Faith, one Jesus Christ, and one Sacrament of Baptism: That there are three Things to be considered in this Sacrament, the Trinity, the Faith of him that receives it, and the Person that administers it: That the Trinity is the first Thing of absolute necessity, without which there can be no Sacrament at all; That the Faith of him that receives the Sacrament, is the second Thing, which is no less necessary, because it ought always to be the same; but then there is not the same Necessity that the Minister should be Faithful and just, because the Ministers are chang’d every day, and it is Jesus Christ who baptizes, and the Minister ought not to attribute to himself the Effect of the Sacrament which is owing to God only; and in short, because the Sacraments are Holy, and do Sanctify by themselves, tho’ the Holiness of the Minister do not contribute to it. *Optatus* proves this Truth by many Reasons, and many Testimonies. He observes by the bye, That those who had been baptiz’d by *John*, before Jesus Christ instituted Baptism, were not re-baptiz’d; but those who were baptiz’d, after Jesus Christ had instituted Baptism, have been re-baptiz’d. At last, he endeavours to prove, That the Faith of him that receives Baptism, is necessary to the validity of this Sacrament, which must be understood of Adult Persons only.

The Sixth Book is written against the Impieties and Sacrileges of the *Donatists*, who had broken, cut in pieces, raz’d, and overturn’d the Altars of the Catholics; Those Altars, says *Optatus*, which have born the Offerings of the People, and the Members of Jesus Christ, upon which the Almighty

God has been invoc'd, upon which the Holy Spirit has descended, where the Faithful have receiv'd the earnest of eternal Salvation, the Support of their Faith, and the Hopes of a blessed Resurrection; those Altars upon which we are forbidden to offer any other Offerings, but those of Peace. For what is the Altar, but the place where the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ are laid? "What hath Jesus Christ done to you, says he further to the *Donatists*, that you should destroy the Altars on which he rests at certain times? Why do ye break the Sacred Tables where Jesus Christ makes his abode? Ye have imitated the Crime of the Jews, for as they put Jesus Christ to Death upon the Cross, so ye have beaten him upon these Altars. If ye believ'd that the Eucharist of the Catholics is Sacrilegious, yet at least ye should have some respect to the former Offerings that your selves have made upon these Altars. Upon this occasion, *Optatus* puts a very pleasant Objection to them: All the Faithful know, says he, that Linen Clothes are laid upon the Altars, for the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries. The Eucharist does not touch the Wood of the Altar, but only the Linen Clothes: Why then do ye break? Why do ye scrape? Why do ye burn the Wood of the Altar? If the Impurity can pass through the Linen, Why cannot it penetrate the Wood, nay, and the Ground also? If therefore ye scrape off something from the Altars because they are impure, I advise you also to dig into the Ground, and there to make a great Ditch, that ye may offer in a moist pure Place: But take heed that ye do not dig down to Hell, where ye will find your Masters, *Corah, Dathan, and Abiram*. So pleasantly does *Optatus* ridicule the folly of the *Donatists*. But from this Railery, he quickly passes to most bloody Accusations. "Ye have also redoubled your Sacrileges in breaking the Chalice, which carried the Blood of Jesus Christ; ye have melted them down to make Ingots of Gold or Silver, which you have sold in the Markets to every one indifferently, that offer'd to buy them: Sacrilegious Persons as you are, you have not shewn the least respect to those Chalice, wherein you your selves have offer'd. Perhaps, infamous Women bought them for their own use. Perhaps, the Pagans took them to make Vessels wherewith they might offer Incense to their Idols. O enormous Crime! O unheard of Impiety!" This Declaration of *Optatus*, clearly shews, what is the Reverence that we ought to pay to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and evidently proves, that it was not consider'd merely as Bread and Wine, but that it was believ'd to be the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. The *Donatists* answer'd to these Accusations, That those Vessels having been touch'd by polluted Persons, were thereby become unclean, as 'tis said by the Prophet *Haggai*, *Teat which is touch'd by an impure Man, becomes unclean*: From whence they concluded, that they had reason to make no further use of them, but to consider them as common and ordinary Vessels. [As if a belief that the Eucharist was instituted for a Remembrance of the Death of Christ, and of the Benefits which we receive thereby, had not been sufficient to have commanded Reverence to those Instruments with which it was perform'd.] *Optatus* answers them, by shewing, That the Catholics were not defil'd with any Crime that they had not Sacrific'd to Idols; That no such Accusation could be prov'd against them; That the only thing that could render them odious to the *Donatists*, was their Love of Peace, and their endeavours after Union; That they are united by Communion with all the Churches of the World, and that they cannot be accus'd of being defil'd; but supposing that even the Catholics were unclean, yet the Vessels which they touch'd at the Invocation of the Name of God, would not be so, because that Sacred Name, Sanctifies even that which is unclean: That the touch of an unclean Person, has less Power to render a Vessel impure, than the Invocation of God has to purify it, since 'tis the Invocation, and not the Touch that Sanctifies it.

The Second Accusation that *Optatus* makes against the *Donatists*, is their putting under Penance the Virgins Consecrated to God, and making them leave off the Signs of their former Profession, and forcing them to desire a New one, and doing violence unto them. In this place, he speaks of a little Mitre of Cloth, which they put upon their Heads, and of the Veil wherewith they cover'd them, and says, That those Ornaments were Signs that they had profess'd Virginity, and that the *Donatists*, by taking them away from those Virgins to put them under Penance, had given occasion to many Persons to Ravish and Marry them. He adds, that the *Donatists* had carried away by force, the Ornaments of Churches, and the Holy Books, and that they had wash'd the Vestments, the Walls and the Floors of the Churches with Salt-Water. He laughs at their folly, and asks them, Why they wash'd the Vestments, and did not also wash the Books of the Gospel? Why they wash'd the Walls, which are only look'd upon? And why they did not also wash the Pavement of the Streets, and how they would make use of that Water wherewith the Catholics had wash'd themselves: At last, he accuses them of invading the Cemeteries, and hindering the Interment of the Catholics. "Wherefore do you abuse the Dead, says he to them, that you may terrify the Living? Why do you deny them Burial? If you have any Differences with your Brother while he is alive, yet Death should put an End to them all. Why do you insult over him after Death? Why do you refuse him Burial? Why do you quarrel even with the Dead? But, says he, if you could hinder his Body from being Inter'd among other Christians, yet you cannot separate his Soul from the Company of those Holy Souls that are with Jesus Christ." At last, *Optatus* says, That the *Donatists* were so extravagantly wicked, that they corrupted all those that came over to their Party: "So those that were Patient, says he, by going over to you, become Furious of the sudden; those that were Faithful, become Perfidious; those that were Peaceable, become Quarrellsome; their Simplicity is chang'd into Cheating; their Modesty, into Impudence; their Humility, into Pride. Those who are gone over to your Party, solicit others to come after them, and accuse of Sloth and Stupidity, all those that are yet in the Bosom of the Church, they lay Traps for them, and make them to fall into the same precipice with themselves.

The last Book which is commonly attributed to *Optatus*, is a Recapitulation of some Points that have been handled in other places; particularly, he refutes the Objection of the *Donatists*, who say, That they cannot re-unite themselves to the Catholics, because they are the Sons and Successors of Traditors. The Author of this Book, extenuates as much as he can the Enormity of this Crime, and shews, that tho' it were much greater, and that those to whom the Catholic Bishops succeed were guilty of it, yet they have no share in that Guilt, neither can it be imputed to them, nor alleg'd against them as a just Cause of Separation. He shews, that we ought sometimes to suffer sinners in the Church, and to dissemble the Sins of our Brethren for the good of Peace. He observes, That there is no Man free from Sin; and that if any one were so, yet he ought not to separate from his Brethren, though they were Sinners: That the Apostles did not separate from the Communion of St. Peter after his Sin; but on the contrary the Keys were given him, that he being a Sinner, might open the Gates of Heaven to the Innocent, and teach those that are Innocent, that they should not shut them against Sinners. Besides these, there are many other Repetitions of what had been said by *Optatus* concerning *Maximus*, and the Persecution that he rais'd against the *Donatists*.

Optatus at the End of his Books, had plac'd many authentic Instruments to justify the Matters of Fact which he had propos'd against the *Donatists*; we have none of those which *Optatus* plac'd there extant, but many other Monuments concerning the History of the *Donatists* have been added to his Books.

The First is a part of the Acts of the Conference between the Catholic Bishops and the *Donatists*, held at Carthage by the Order of the Emperor *Honorius*, in the Year 411, which belongs to another Century.

The Second, is part of the Verbal Process made by *Zenophilus*, who had been Consul, on the 30th. of December in the Year 320, by which it appears, That *Silvanus* who ordain'd *Majorinus*, had given up the Holy Books to the Heathens: *Zenophilus* there examines a Grammarian nam'd *Victor*, a Deacon nam'd *Cassius*, and a Sub-Deacon call'd *Crescentianus*, and makes them confess, That *Silvanus* had deliver'd up the Ornaments of the Church and the Holy Books, according to the Deposition of *Nundinarius* the Deacon, who was present. He causes also the Verbal Process made in the Year 363, to be read by *Munatius Felix*, Judge of the Colony of *Cirtus*, who further confirm'd the Deposition of *Nundinarius*. The Letters written to *Silvanus* by the Bishops of his own Party are set down, wherein they reprehend him for his outrageous manner of treating his Deacon *Nundinarius*. He is accus'd also of making a Simonaical Ordination, of appropriating to his own use the Alms that were given for the Poor, and of being ordain'd himself by the Solicitation of some Country Fellows. There are many things very remarkable in this Act: For there one may see, That at the Beginning of the 3d. Age of the Church, they us'd Chalice of Silver and Gold, Cups, Lamps and Candlesticks of Silver and Copper; That they kept in the Church Garments for the Poor; That the Readers, who were very numerous, had the Holy Books; That the Christians had a Library near the Church, where they got their Books.

The Third Record, is also part of a Verbal Process concerning the Justification of *Felix of Aptungis*, made by *Elbanus* the Proconsul in the Year 314, in the Month of February, as appears by St. *Augustin*: There he examines one nam'd *Isagenius*, and convicts him of making an Addition to a Letter of *Cicilian*, that he might falsely accuse *Felix* of being a Traditor.

The Fourth, is a Letter of the Emperor *Constantine* to *Ablabius*; wherein he orders him to send *Cicilian* to *Arles*, with some Bishops of his Party, as well as some of his Accusers, that he might receive Judgment from the Council, which was to assemble there.

The Fifth, is a Letter from the Council of *Arles*, of which we have spoken in its place.

The Sixth, is the Letter which *Constantine* wrote against the *Donatists*, when they appeal'd to his Judgment, after they had been condemn'd in the Council of *Arles*.

The Seventh, is another Letter of the same Emperor, wherein he acquaints the Bishops of *Donatus* Party, That he once design'd to send Judges into *Africk*, to determine their Differences with *Cicilian*; but that he judg'd it more proper to make him come before himself.

The Eighth, is the 4th. Letter of the same Emperor written to *Celsus*; wherein he acquaints him, That he will quickly come into *Africk* to decide the Differences between *Donatus* and *Cicilian* himself.

The Ninth, is a 5th. Letter of *Constantine*, wherein he gives the *Donatist* Bishops leave to return into *Africk*.

The Tenth, is a 6th. Letter of this Emperor about the Cause of the *Donatists*, address'd to the Catholics of *Africk*. He tells them, That he had done all that lay in his Power to re-establish Peace, but since the Obstinacy of some Men had frustrated his good Intentions, they must now wait upon God only for the Remedy of this Mischief, and that till it pleas'd the Divine Mercy to remedy it, they must proceed with Moderation, and bear with Patience the Insolence of the Enemies of the Church: That they must not render Evil for Evil, since Vengeance is reserv'd to God only, and that by suffering patiently the Fury of these Insolent Men, they should certainly merit the Glory of Martyrdom. For, says he, Is not this to Fight and Conquer for God, to bear with Patience the Outrages and Injuries of the Enemies of God's People? At last he assures the Catholics, That if they observe this Method, they will quickly fee their Enemies Party weaken'd, and that God will give Grace to many to acknowledge their Error and do Penance.

The following Letter is a further Indication of the Meekness of this Emperor, and the Moderation of the Catholics. The *Donatists* had invaded the Church which *Constantine* had caus'd to be built in *Constantina* a City of *Numidia*; which the Catholics demanded back again, but they refus'd it.

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The Catholics to avoid all further Contention, pray'd the Emperour to give them a Place in the Dependances of his Demesnes thereabouts, where they might Build another Church: To which *Constantine* answer'd, That he did not only grant their Desire, but he had also written to the Receiver of his Revenues to furnish them with so much Money as was necessary for the Building of this Church. In this Letter he praises the Moderation of the Catholics, and condemns the Obstinacy of the *Donatists*; and ordains, That the Laws which he had made for Exemption of the Clergy from all Publick Taxes, should be put in Execution.

The last of these Records, which are added to the Books of *Optatus*, is a Fragment of the Acts of the Passion of the Saints *Dionysius, Saturninus, Felix, Ampelius*, and of some other African Martyrs, made in the time of *Aurelius*, and written by a *Donatist*. This Piece contains some part of the Calumnies of the *Donatists* against *Menfurius* and *Cæcilian*. The Author of these Acts accuses them of hindring the Faithful from carrying Food to the Christians that were in Prison, and of beating them back with blows of Whips and Cudgels: He adds, That these Martyrs would never communicate with *Menfurius*, nor *Cæcilian*, because they had deliver'd up the Holy Books to the Heathens, and that the Church of Christ being Holy, ought not to hold Communion with those that are defil'd with a Crime of this heinous Nature. At last, he says, That those Martyrs who wanted Food by the Cruelty of *Menfurius* and *Cæcilian*, died of Famine in Prison, and went to Heaven there to receive the Crown of Martyrdom.

The Style of *Optatus's* Books is noble, vehement and close, but not enough Polite or Neat. He preffes briskly upon those against whom he Disputes, and describes very sensibly the Transactions which he relates, and explains the Passages which he produces with a great deal of Wit. He gives his Reasonings a fine and delicate turn, his Expressions signify very perfectly what he means to say; his Reasonings are subtle, and his Relations pleasant. In a word, it appears that the Author of this little Book, was Master of much Learning and Wit. The Doctrine which he teaches is, and always will be of much use to the Church: for there is not the same Reason of those Questions which concern the Truth of the Church, as of those that concern only some particular Doctrines. These continue only so long as the Sect subsists which opposes those Doctrines; and the Books which treat of them become almost useless whenever the Heresie is extinct. But all Heresies, all Schisms having one common Principle, of opposing the Church, the Books which are written in its Defence, are contrary to all Heresies, and will be useful as long as there shall be any Heretics in the World whofoever they be. The Books of *Optatus* teach us also a great many very remarkable particulars concerning the History of the *Donatists*: We find in them many Points of Doctrine, and we may observe many things which clear up the ancient Discipline. He says, That all Christians have but one Faith and one Creed. He explains the chief Mysteries in a most Orthodox manner. He shows, That there neither is, nor can be any more but one Catholic Church spread over all the Earth, that cannot be shut up in a small Part of the World: That this Church is made up of Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Ministers, and those that are merely the Faithful. He observes, That the Bishops are above the Priests, as the Priests are above the Deacons: He considers the Church of *Rome* as the chief Church in the World, and as the Centre of Unity, because of *St. Peter*, who was the Head of the Apostles: He says, That Man by Nature is Weak and Imperfect, and therefore has need of the Grace of Jesus Christ to make him Perfect; That we are all Born in Sin, and that Baptism is necessary to obtain Remission of it; That when the Sacrament is given in the Name of the Trinity, it ought not to be reiterated: and yet he seems to think that we ought to re-baptize those who were baptiz'd by Heretics; but he does not make the same determination for those who were baptiz'd by Schismatics. He mentions Exorcism with Commendation, as a necessary Ceremony at Baptism; He speaks of Chrym also as a Holy Thing, and of the Unction that was us'd at Baptism. He expresses himself in plain terms about the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and about the Adoration that's due to this Holy Sacrament, that nothing can be desir'd more express. He observes many Ceremonies at the Celebration of the Eucharist, to which he gives the Name of a Sacrifice; and it appears by what he says of it, That in his time they offer'd Sacrifice for the whole Catholic Church, and then they recited the Lord's Prayer; That the Celebration of it was upon an Altar of Wood, which was adorn'd and cover'd with a Linen-Cloth for the greater respect; That they then us'd Chalice of Gold and Silver, and also had Ornaments. He says, That the Church has Judges; That she punishes Crimes; That the exacts Penances of those that confess their Sins, or are convicted of them. He praises Virginity, and yet he says, That there is no obligation to it upon those that have not made a Vow. He observes, That in his time, this Vow was made Solemnly by the Virgins who dedicated themselves to God; and that they carried a small covering upon their Head, which was the Sign of the Vow they had made. He testifies sufficiently the respect that was paid in his time for the Relicks of the Saints, when he speaks of the Sepulchre of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and speaking of *Lucilla*, he blames those that honour'd the Relicks of false Martyrs, which were not own'd by the Church.

The only Error that can be observ'd in the Books of *Optatus* is, That he maintains that those who had been baptiz'd with *Johannis* Baptism, before the Institution of Christ's Baptism, were not re-baptiz'd. [See *Act* xix. 1-5.] We may add to this, what he says of reiterating the Baptism of Heretics, and perhaps also what he propooses about the Power of Free Will, to which he seems to give the Power of willing and beginning a Good Action, and also of advancing in the Way of Salvation, without the help of the Grace of Christ; but these Errors are light and pardonable. One may also reprehend in his Book the Allegorical way in which he explains many Passages of Holy Scripture, by giving them a sense very remote from that which they naturally have, and by applying them to those things to which they have no affinity. This Fault which would be tolerable in a Preacher, seems not to be pardonable

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pardonable in an Author who writes a Treatise of Controversy, wherein all Proofs should be solid and convincing. But *Optatus* had to do with such Enemies as us'd the same way, who perverted Passages of Scripture to calumniate the Church, and commend their own Sect.

The Text of *Optatus* is much corrupted in many places. It was printed at *Mentz* in the Year 1549, with many Faults. Afterwards *Baldassius* a Learned Civilian, publish'd it at *Paris* in 1563, reviv'd by a Manuscript which was communicated to him by *Espenace*, and correct'd in many places. He prefixes to it a large Preface against *Calvin*, wherein he refuses the Conclusion that this Heretick had drawn from the History of *Optatus*, That Princes were lawful Judges in Matters of Religion, and at the same time he discovers a great many stupid Mistakes and gross Errors that he had propos'd. He thought it not proper to prefix this Preface to the Second Edition of *Optatus*, which he caus'd to be printed at *Paris* in 1569, together with *Victor Oricenſis*, after he had reviv'd and correct'd it by a Manuscript. 'Twas by this Edition that *Comminius* made his in the Year 1599. The Annotations of this famous Civilian upon *Optatus*, are most learned and curious, and they perfectly clear the History of the *Donatists*; but they are so long, that they may rather pass for a Commentary than for Notes. In 1631 *Albaspineus* caus'd the Books of *Optatus* to be printed in One Volume in *Folio*, with short Notes, and large Observations, which he added to the Annotations of *Baldassius*, and some Notes of an unknown Author. He added the Records of which we have spoken already, together with the History of the Conference of *Carthage*, publish'd by *Baldassius*, and the excellent Observations which he made in French and Latin about the Discipline of the Church. In the same Year 1631 *Meric Casaubon* printed in a little Volume the Text of *Optatus* at *London*, with most judicious Critical Notes. At last, *Philippus Priorius* took care to make a new Impression of this Author at *Paris* by the Widow of *Dupuis*. In 1679, they put in this Edition the Prefaces of *Baldassius*, the Notes of *Albaspineus*, *Casaubon* and *Barbhai*, and those of the Unknown Author: *Priorius* also added some, which he put before the others, though they do not deserve such an honourable place. After this follow'd the Commentary of *Baldassius*, and the Observations of *Albaspineus* upon *Optatus*, the Conference of *Carthage*, and the other pieces of which we have spoken. The History of the Conference of *Carthage*, written by *Baldassius*, is the last Discourse in this Volume, which has some affinity with the Books of *Optatus*. After so many Editions and Commentaries, one would think that this Author were become most correct and plain: and yet 'tis not so, for the Text is still very much corrupted; there are many places that still want to be clear'd up and restor'd. The Notes of *Baldassius* do indeed enlighten the History; but he is mistaken in many passages of it, as *Valeſius* has plainly prov'd in his learned Dissertation of the Schism of the *Donatists*. The Notes and Observations of *Albaspineus* explain some Points of Discipline, but they are not always just. Those of *Meric Casaubon*, are the best for understanding of the Text; but those of *Barbhai* and others, are not very valuable: The learned *Rigaltius*, after he had publish'd *Tertullian*, *Minutius* and *St. Cyprian*, design'd to publish *Optatus*: And it may be presum'd, that as he was a very able Critick, very well vers'd in the African Antiquities, and in the Knowledge of Manuscripts, he would have made considerable Corrections, and restor'd the Text of *Optatus* in many places: But he died before he had undertaken this Work. I shall be able perhaps to undertake it, and to publish the Text of *Optatus* reviv'd by many Manuscripts, more correct than any hitherto publish'd.

ACACIUS of Cæsarea.

ACACIUS Sirmam's *One-Ey'd*, because he look'd askint, Succeeded in the Year 338. to his Master *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*. He joy'n'd himself to the *Eusebians*, and came to *Sardica* with them: He was one of those against whom the Council of the Western Bishops, that was held in that City, pronounc'd the Sentence of Deposition. Being return'd into the East, he had some Differences with *Cyril of Jerusalem*, and in hatred of this Saint, he separated himself from the *Semi-Arians* and joy'n'd with the *Anomæans*, whom he defended stoutly at the Councils of *Selencia* and *Constantinople*; but he quickly repented of taking their part, and having got *Meletius* Ordain'd, and many other Bishops, whose Doctrine was Catholic, he re-united himself to them, and sign'd the Creed of the *Nicene* Council in the Council of the Eastern Bishops that was held at *Antioch*, under the Reign of *Jovian*. He died towards the Year 366. He compos'd many Books before he was Bishop, and wrote a Book against *Marcellus of Ancyra*, a Fragment whereof is quoted by *Epiphanius* in *Heret.* 72. Some time after he was Bishop, he wrote the Life of *Eusebius* his Predecessor and Master, as *Socrates* testifies, *Ch. A. B. II.* of his History. He wrote Seventeen Volumes of Commentaries upon Scripture, Seven Volumes about several Questions, and many other Treatises upon different Subjects. This Author had much Wit and Learning, but he several times chang'd his Opinion and Language as he was mov'd by Interest or Passion.

Acacius of Cæsarea.

PHOTINUS.

Photinus.

PHOTINUS Bishop of *Sirmium*, was originally of *Galatia*. When he was Deacon and Disciple of *Marcellus* of *Anycra*, he follow'd some of his Errors: He did not distinguish the Person of the Word from the Person of the Father, and said, That we ought not to give him the Name or Title of the Son of God, before he was Born of *Mary*: He had hardly discover'd his Error*, but it was condemn'd by the Bishops of the East, in a Council held at *Antioch* in the Year 345, and by the Bishops of the West in the Council of *Millan* in 346. These last assembled two Years after at *Sirmium* to depose him, but they could not compass their Design, because of the Opposition that was made by the People of that City, and therefore they were contented to draw up a Sentence against him, and to write of it to the Bishops of the East: But at last, the Eastern Bishops being assembled at *Sirmium* in the Year 351, when the Emperor *Constantius* was Master of this City, after the Defeat of *Verriano*— they depose *Photinus*, and procur'd his Banishment. He died in *Galatia* the place of his Exile, under the Reign of *Valentinian* and *Valens*, towards the Year 376. This Heretic was a great Master of Wit and Eloquence, was acute and subtle in his Reasonings, and led an unblameable Life. He wrote many Books, but the chief of them were his Treatise against the Gentiles, and his Books address'd to the Emperor *Valentinian*. St. *Epiphanius* relates in *Hæres.* 71. some Extracts of the Conference he held with *Marcellus* of *Anycra*, in the Council of *Sirmium*; and we have nothing else of his. *Vincenius Lirinensis* assures us, That he had much Wit, Learning and Eloquence, and that he spoke Greek and Latin equally well, as may be seen, says he, in his Works, whereof we wrote part in Greek, and part in Latin.

* He did not distinguish, &c.] After this manner St. *Athanasius* in his Second Apology in his Book of Councils, and St. *Epiphanius* in *Hæres.* 51. explain the Error of *Photinus*. He is commonly accus'd of renewing the Errors of *Paulus Samosatensis* and *Ebion*; but though he speaks like them yet he was not wholly of their Opinion. For he did not believe with *Ebion* and *Paulus Samosatensis*, That Jesus Christ was a mere Man; but he said, That the Son of God was Born of *Mary*, because he did not believe that he had the Title of the Son of God, before he was Born of the Virgin. He comes nearer to the Error of *Sabellius*, because he did not distinguish the

Word, before he was Born of *Mary*.

He had hardly discover'd his Error.] Some say, That he began to publish it under the Reign of *Constantine*, which they ground upon the Authority of *Severus* *Sulpicius*. But *Socrates*, B. II. Ch. 18. and St. *Hilary* in his Book of Fragments, testify, That the Error of *Photinus* was not known till a little while before the Council at *Antioch* in the Year 345. All that we have said of the History of *Photinus*, is taken out of the Fragments of St. *Hilary*, and what we have observ'd about his Writings, is taken out of St. *Jerom* in his Catalogue.

AETIUS and EUNOMIUS.

Aetius and Eunomius.

These two Impious Wretches deserve not to be plac'd amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers, neither should we speak of them here, but to condemn their Books, and their way of Writing about Religion. *Aetius* was of *Calogria*, the Son of a Soldier in the Governor's Guard. For some time he was a Goldsmith, but leaving that Trade, he applied himself to the Study of Logic, and retir'd to the City of *Tyre*, where he put himself under the Discipline of *Pantinus* Bishop of that City, about the Year 330. After the Death of this Bishop, he was driven away by *Eulalius*, and forc'd to withdraw to *Anazarbus*, where he convers'd with two Disciples of the Martyr *Lucianus*. From thence he came to *Antioch*, where he knew *Leontius*, who was afterward Bishop of that City, and drove him away a little while after. And now not knowing where to hide his head, he set up for Controversy, and disputed publicly with very little success against two Heretics. But probably finding that this Art would not maintain him, he try'd a little at Physick. This is what *Philostorgius*, a great Admirer of *Aetius*, relates of the Beginning of his Master's Life. St. *Gregory Nyssen* paints him forth in very black colours. He says, That from a Vine-Dresser, he became a Blacksmith, that he was Indicted in a Court of Justice for taking a Gold Chain from a Woman, and returning her one of the same form and thickness which was nothing but Copper gilt: That afterwards he put himself in the Service of a Quack, and having gain'd some Money with him, he set up for a Physician; and that at last he learn'd the Subtleties of *Aristotle's* Logic, and by this means was admitted into the presence of *Gallus Caesar*. However it was, this is certain that *Aetius* learn'd all the Subtleties and Sophistical Tricks of the *Aristotelian* Logic, but he was ignorant in Scripture and Ecclesiastical Antiquity. A Man of this Temper was very proper to advance all sorts of Impiety, to maintain them with Impudence, and also to entangle those that he disputed against. He was Ordain'd Deacon by *Leontius* of *Antioch*, who depos'd him soon after. *Eudoxius* try'd in vain to restore him, and was hinder'd from doing it by the hatred which the Christians of *Antioch* bore towards him. He continued nevertheless in this City, being in Friendship with *Eudoxius*, till he was banish'd to *Peperæ*, by the Order of the Emperor *Constantine*. He came to the Council of *Constantinople*, where he disputed with the *Semi-Arian* Bishops, who having detected his Impiety, render'd him odious to the Emperor, and procur'd his Banishment from the Palace. So that *Eudoxius*, *Aetius*, and those of his own Party, were oblig'd to condemn him in the Year 360. After this Condemnation he was banish'd to *Mopsuestia*, and from thence removed to *Amblada*, a Castle in *Phrygia*. He return'd under the Emperor *Julian*, and *Eudoxius*, who was gone

Aetius and Eunomius.

gone to the See of *Constantinople*, wrote to *Euzoius* Bishop of the *Arian* Party at *Antioch*, to receive him; and the Sentence of Condemnation pass'd against him. But *Euzoius*, not doing it very readily, *Eudoxius* caus'd him to be Ordain'd Bishop, by some Bishops assembled at *Constantinople*; and soon after, *Euzoius* having Assembled a Council of Nine Bishops, declar'd the Sentence null which was given against this Heretic at *Constantinople*. But at last, under the Reign of *Jovian*, *Aetius* being abandoned by *Eudoxius*, and the other Bishops that had maintain'd him, made a Faction by himself, and Ordain'd many Bishops for his own Party. He was forc'd in the time of the Emperor *Valens*, to retire to the Isle of *Leibos*; and yet he died at *Constantinople*, in the Year 366.

The Doctrine of *Aetius*, was the pure Doctrine of *Arius*, without disguise; but he us'd Terms and Comparisons that were very odious to explain it. He affirm'd without hesitation, That the Son of God was unlike to his Father; That he was of another Substance; That he was created of nothing; Wherefore his Disciples were call'd *Atomians*, *Heteroousians*, *Euxontians*, Terms that denote the three Dogmes, which we just now mention'd. He affirm'd that the same things of the Holy Spirit, as of the Word: He imagin'd, That God reveal'd to himself the Mysteries that were unknown to the Apostles: He affirm'd, That he had a clear and distinct Knowledge of God, and comprehended him even as he comprehends himself. He maintain'd also with *Arius*, That the Word assum'd the Flesh without a Soul. His Disciples baptiz'd with one Immersion only, and in the Name of the Death of Jesus Christ, they re-baptiz'd those that came over to them, tho' they had been baptiz'd by Catholics. Some of them are accus'd of having taught, That the most enormous Crimes would not hinder the Salvation of those that were of their Judgment.

Aetius, as *Theodoret* observes, made Theology an Art of Tricks, or Sophistry. He rais'd a great number of Propositions, which contain'd unanswerable difficulties, in his Opinion, to destroy the Mystery of the Trinity. We have in the *Hæres.* 76. of *Epiphanius* a Libel which contains 47 Propositions of this Nature; and the same Author attesteth that *Aetius* compos'd 300 of the very same sort: I shall set down one or two of them, by which ye may sufficiently judge of the rest. *Is it possible for God to make that a person begotten should not be begotten? — If God is not begotten according to his Essence, How can it be said, that he who is begotten is of his Essence? Can the same Essence be begotten, and not begotten?*

Eunomius the Disciple of *Aetius*, was the Son of a Husbandman in a Village of *Cappadocia*: He wrote some time for the publick, after which he was made Master of a School, and at last he put himself under the Discipline of *Aetius*. He was not so subtle as his Master, but he had a greater command of Words. After he was Ordain'd Deacon by *Eudoxius*, he was quickly banish'd to *Myda* a City of *Phrygia*. He return'd to *Constantinople*, at the time of the Council in the Year 339, and some time after, he was Ordain'd Bishop of *Cyzicum* by *Eudoxius* his Protector, who advis'd him to conceal his Doctrine: But he not following this Counsel, was accus'd by his People, and *Eudoxius* was oblig'd to Condemn and Depose him. Afterwards he separated himself wholly from this Bishop, and retir'd to a House which he had at *Chalcedon*, where he hid the Tyrant *Procopius*. His Master *Aetius* being return'd to *Constantinople*; he liv'd some time with him, and did the last Offices to him: But he was quickly forc'd to retire to *Chalcedon*, and being accus'd before the Emperor, of giving Sanctuary to his Enemy, he was banish'd into *Mauritania*. But *Valens*, Bishop of *Mursa*, obtain'd his Restauration, and he would have obtain'd the Favour of the Emperor, if *Eudoxius* had not hinder'd him from coming into his sight. About the End of the Reign of *Valens*, *Modestus* the Praetorian Prefect, banish'd him into the Isle of *Naxos*, as a Disturber of the Peace of the Church. After the Death of this Emperor, he return'd to *Chalcedon*; but *Theodosius* immediately banish'd him to *Halmysir*, which Castle being taken by the Enemy, he was remov'd to *Cesarea*, a City of *Cappadocia*. But the Inhabitants of this City not being able to endure him, because he had formerly written against St. *Basil*, their Bishop, he obtain'd leave to dwell in the place of his Nativity, where he died. He was alive when St. *Jerom* wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers. He wrote many Books against the Church, and Seven Books of Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*, which are mention'd by *Socrates*, Ch. 7. of B. IV. of his History. The same Author observes, That he imitated the Sophistical Style of his Master, and follow'd his way of Arguing; That he was not learn'd in the Holy Scripture, and had no understanding of it; but that he had abundance of Words, and repeated oftentimes the same thing in different Terms, without ever explaining clearly, what he propos'd; That tho' he employ'd many Words to explain the Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, yet he could never discover the true Sense of that Apostle. He adds, That his other Books were written after the same manner, and that whoever would take the pains to read them, would find multitudes of Words and very little Matter. St. *Basil*, quotes in his Books against *Eunomius*, some part of the Books of this Heretic, which he afterwards refutes. *Eunomius*, answer'd St. *Basil's* Book by an Apology, and St. *Gregory Nyssen* undertook the Defence of his Brother, and the Refutation of this Heretic's Apology. He quotes also some of his Passages, and many of his Arguments. These Fragments of *Eunomius*, shew us, that he follow'd the Method of his Master, but that he was more plain and copious.

GEORGE of Laodicea.

George of
Laodicea.

THIS GEORGE was a Priest of the Church of *Alexandria*, in the time of *Arius*. He espous'd the Interests of this Heretic, and making a show of being Mediator between *Alexander* and him, he maintain'd his Impiety. We have in *Athanasius's* Book of Synods, Two Letters of this Man's, one written to *Alexander*, wherein he would persuade him, that we may say, That there had been a time when the Son of God was not; and the other to the Followers of *Arius*, wherein he counsels them to acknowledge, That the Son was of the Father, and of God, since all things are of God. *Alexander* cast him out of the Church, not only because of his Heresy, but also upon some other Account. Being Excommunicated at *Alexandria*, he endeavour'd to procure a Reception among the Clergy of *Antioch*; but *Eusebius* refusing him, he retir'd to *Arrethusa*, and was there receiv'd; for *Constantine* calls him the Priest of *Arrethusa*. He was afterwards Ordain'd Bishop of *Laodicea*, and assisted the *Eusebians* at the Council of *Tyre* and *Antioch*. The Western Bishops pronounc'd Sentence of Deposition against him in the Council of *Sardica*. Afterwards he declar'd himself an Enemy of the *Enomians*, and the Head of the Party of the *Semi-Arians*. 'Twas he that wrote a Circular Letter to the Bishops of his own Country, against *Aetius* and *Endoxus*, set down by *Sozomen*, Ch. 14. of B. IV. of his History, wherein he exhorts them to Assemble themselves, that they may condemn those impious Men, as they had done in the Council of *Ancyra*, in the Year 358; soon after this *George* died. He pass'd in those ancient times for a very able Man in Philosophy. *Theodoret* testifies, That he had written against the *Manichees*, and *Socrates*, quotes a Book which he compos'd of the Life of *Eusebius Emileus*.

The APOLLINARIUS.

The Apol-
linarius.

APOLLINARIUS, the Father, was a Citizen of *Alexandria*, who forsook his Country, and went to teach Grammar at *Berytus*. From thence he pass'd to *Laodicea*, where he had a Son of his own Name, whom he brought up to Learning. This young Man who had a great deal of Wit, in a short time, made a wonderful Progress in Knowledge, and capacitated himself for teaching Rhetoric publicly at *Laodicea*, while his Father was writing Books of Grammar. Both of them afterwards applying themselves to the Study of the Scriptures, the Father was Ordain'd Priest, and the Son Reader. But having a great Affection for profane Learning, they maintain'd an intimate Correspondence with a Pagan Sophist, call'd *Epiphanius*, which render'd them odious to the Christians. *Socrates*, says, That *Theodotus* Bishop of *Laodicea*, cast them out of the Church for this cause; and 'tis certain, that *George* the Successor of *Theodotus* laid hold of this Pretence, to Excommunicate them, because they took part with *Athanasius* against him. Nevertheless, *Apollinarius*, the Son was chosen Bishop of *Laodicea*,^a and was below'd and esteem'd by *St. Athanasius*, *St. Basil*, and *St. Epiphanius*, and all the great Men of his Age; upon the account of his Knowledge and Learning. But afterwards falling into Errors concerning the Mystery of the Incarnation, he was look'd upon as a Heretic, and he gave Name to a Sect which was condemn'd by the Church: He died under the Reign of *Theodosius*, about the Year 380. All the Ancients testify, That this Author wrote an infinite number of Volumes; upon the Holy Scripture, and upon other Subjects. He made Books against the *Arians*, *Enomians*, *Origen*, and against many Heretics. He compos'd also many Ho-

^a *Apollinarius*.] The Greeks always called him, *Ammonius*. *St. Basil* is the only Person that wrote it with a double *α*. *St. Jerom*, call'd him, *Apollinarius*. The generality of the Latins for softness sake, give him the Name of *Apollinarius*.

^b Bishop of *Laodicea*.] *St. Athanasius* in a Letter to the *Antiochians*, *St. Epiphanius*, in *Harv.* 77. *St. Basil*, in Letter 263. *Ruffinus*, in B. II. Ch. 20. and *St. Jerom* in his Catalogue, all agree, that he was Bishop of this City. *Theodoret* in B. V. of his History says, That *Apollinarius* would have invaded the See of *Antioch*, but by his Disciple *Vitalis*.

^c He was below'd and esteem'd by all the great Men of his Age.] He was a very good Friend to *St. Athanasius*, who had seen him at his return from his Banishment, as *St. Epiphanius* testifies in *Harv.* 77. *Leontius* in B. III. ag. *inf. Velutius*, says, That *Apollinarius* boast-ed, of receiving Letters from *Athanasius*, *Serapion*, and the great Men of his time. He quotes a Fragment of a Letter of *Apollinarius*, where he glories in having Letters from *St. Athanasius*. His Deputies assisted at the Council of *Alexandria*, and Sign'd there as the Depu-

ties of an Orthodox Bishop. It does not appear that *St. Athanasius* did ever break with him. *St. Basil* says in his Letter 82, That he ow'd respect to this Man; That he was so much his fast Friend, that he would take his Faults upon himself. *St. Epiphanius* calls him, a Venerable Old Man, and says, That he was very dear to *St. Athanasius*, and all the Orthodox Bishops. *St. Jerom* in his 64. Letter, says, That he had often seen him at *Antioch*, that he honour'd him, and had learn'd many things from him. I pass over in silence, the Testimonies of *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, *Philostorgius*, *Vincencius Lirinensis*, &c.

^d An infinite number of Volumes.] *St. Basil* in Epistle 74, says, That he had fill'd the World with his Books. *Theophilus* in his first Epistle, says, That he was *distinctus ab aliis*. In his Letter to *St. Cyril*, Tom. 3d. of the Works of this Father, p. 63, says the same thing; and *St. Jerom*, says, That he made an infinite number of Books. *Vincencius Lirinensis*, says, That 'twere too long to give a Catalogue of his Books.

milies,

ties, and wrote several Letters^e. But his chief Work in the Judgment of all Men, was his great Treatise divided into 30 Books, which he wrote in Defence of Religion against *Porphyrie* the Philosopher. It excels in Beauty and Strength, all that had been written before by *Eusebius* and the Ancients, against the Pagan Religion. He wrote also in the time of *Julian*, another great Book of the Truth of Religion against the Emperour and the Pagan Philosophers. 'Tis said, That *Julian* having perus'd it, wrote to him that sent it, *I have read it; I have understood it; I have condemn'd it; and that St. Basil* or some other Bishop made answer to him; *You may have read it, but surely you never understood it; for if you had understood it, you had never condemn'd it*. Under the Reign of the same Emperour, *Apollinarius* seeing that Christians were forbidden to read to their Children the Greek Poets, Orators and Philosophers, wrote in Heroic Verse the History of the Jews, down to the time of *Saul*, and divided this Work into 24 Books, in Imitation of *Homer*. He took Subjects also from the Old Testament, to make Tragedies, Comedies and Odes, in imitation of *Euripides*, *Sophocles* and *Pindar*. Besides that, he turn'd the Gospels and the Epistles into Dialogues, in imitation of *Plato's* Books: And thus he supplied to Christians, the want of profane Authors of all sorts. *Socrates*, attributes the Poetical Books to *Apollinarius* the Father, and 'tis probable that they were rather his, since they are more agreeable to his Profession. We have also a Translation of the Psalms in Verse, which bears the Name of *Apollinarius*; and this is the only entire Book we have extant of this Author. 'Tis an exact, faithful, and noble Translation of all the Psalms: Some have also attributed to him the Tragedy, entitled, *Christ Suffering*, which bears the Name of *Gregory Nazianzen*; but it has neither the same Air nor Style. *Theodoret* relates some Passages of *Apollinarius* in his Dialogues, which prove that this Author acknowledg'd, That Jesus Christ took Flesh in the Womb of the Virgin, and that this Flesh was not chang'd into the Divinity; but then withal, they show, That he deny'd that the Soul of Jesus Christ had an Understanding or Mind. *Eulogius* in the Extract made by *Photius*, Vol. 230 of his *Bibliotheca*, produces a Passage of *Apollinarius*, wherein he seems to admit one Nature only in Jesus Christ. *Polemon*, the Disciple of *Apollinarius*, who is mention'd in the same place, and in the Fourth Book of the Fables of Hereticks, written by *Theodoret*, was of the same Opinion, and attributes it to his Master. The Extracts taken out of the Discourses of *Apollinarius* and *Polemon*, produc'd in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Martin* the V. Self, prove also that *Apollinarius* maintain'd, That there was but one Nature in Jesus Christ after the Union. And yet he acknowledges in the Passages recited by *Theodoret*, That the Divine and Humane Nature, remain'd in Jesus Christ without Mixture or Confusion, and that each of them retain'd their own Properties. This probably is that Contradiction which made *St. Basil* say, That the Judgment of *Apollinarius*, about the Incarnation, was very obscure and intricate. The same Father, in Letter 59, and 53, and *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, in his first Letter to *Cledonius*, accuse him of the Error of *Sabellius*, who confounded the three Divine Persons. But *Theodoret* observes, That at the bottom he believ'd the Mystery of the Trinity as we do, tho' he explain'd it in such a manner, as gave occasion to accuse him of Error, because he admits Degrees among the three Persons of the Trinity, and seems not to distinguish the Personal Substances. And indeed, *St. Epiphanius* vindicates *Apollinarius* from the *Sabellian* Heresy, and says, That *Vitalis*, his most famous Disciple, who calls himself Bishop of *Antioch*, was so far from holding this Heresy, That the Pretence which he alledg'd for his Separation from *Paulinus*, was because he believ'd him to be of *Sabellius's* Opinion. In short, *Vincencius Lirinensis*, and *Leontius*, vindicate *Apollinarius* from the Suspicion of *Sabellianism*. There are two Errors more attributed to him, which were common to him with many Ancients. The first is that famous Opinion of the Reign of Christ, and the Saints upon Earth, for the space of 1000 Years, which *St. Basil*, Epist. 74 and 293; *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, Epist. 2. and *St. Jerom* in his Catalogue, Ch. 28. do all charge him with. The second Opinion is, That the Souls of Men are produc'd by Souls, as the Bodies are by Bodies. *St. Jerom* and *Nemesius*, are the only Persons that accuse him of this Error; the first in Ep. 28 the second in Ch. 2. of his Treatise.

The Opinion of *Apollinarius* about the Incarnation, was condemn'd in the Council of *Alexandria*, where it was declar'd, That Jesus Christ assum'd a Body, a Soul and Spirit, such as we have. *Paulinus* of *Antioch*, did also profess this Doctrine in a Discourse by his self, which is at the End of the Council of *Alexandria*, and in *St. Epiphanius*, *Harv.* 77. In the Year 373, *Vitalis* the Disciple of *Apollinarius*, who caus'd himself to be ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch*, went to find out Pope *Damasus*; and presented to him a Confession of Faith about the Incarnation, which seem'd to be Catholic, and clearly reject'd the Error of *Apollinarius*. *St. Cyril* produces a Fragment of this Confession of Faith, in the Book which he dedicated to Queens. When the Pope saw this Confession, he believ'd that *Vitalis* was a Catholic, and therefore did not refuse him his Communion; but having no full assurance of his Sincerity, he wrote to *Paulinus*, and sent him Articles about the Trinity and the Incarnation, which he should cause *Vitalis* and all those that would be rector'd, to Sign. When these Articles were brought into the East, *Vitalis*, and those of his Sect would not Sign them. *Damasus* understanding this, says *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, and being informed that they persisted still in their ancient Error, cast them out of the Church, and tore the Libel and Anathematisms which had been presented to

^e Many Homilies, and wrote several Letters. There are many of his Sermons quoted in the Council of *Lateran*, under *Martin* the V. whose Extracts are produc'd in Tom. 6. of the Councils. P. 314, 315. And *Sozomen*, B. II. Ch. 17. relates a Fragment of *Apollinarius*, concerning *St. Athanasius*. He wrote also against *Didymus*

of *Tarsus*, as appears by *Suidas*, B. III. Ch. 4. ^f His chief Work in the Judgment of all Men, was his Treatise against *Porphyrie* the Philosopher.] *St. Jerom*, says, That his 30 Books against *Porphyrie*, were the most esteem'd of all his Works. *Vincencius Lirinensis* says, That it was his greatest and most excellent Work. him

The Apol-
linarius.

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him by Vitalis, being very much troubled that he had been so deceived. He gave this Judgment in a Council at Rome, held in the Year 377, at which, Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, assisted. The Bishops of the East, approv'd of what Demasius had done, and confirm'd the Judgment which the Pope had given against the Apollinarians: For in the Synod of Antioch, in the Year 378, they signed a Tome or a Writing of the Western Bishops, which condemn'd their Errors. Afterwards, the Apollinarians were always look'd upon as Heretics, as appears by the Council of Constantinople, where they are join'd with the Arians, Eusebians, and other declar'd Heretics.

Apollinarius, of all the Christian Writers, had most studied Grammar, Rhetoric, and profane Philology: But he was not profoundly Learned in the Scripture and Religion; he philosophiz'd too much upon our Mysteries, and did not confine himself enough to the simplicity of the Scriptures, which Fault was the occasion of his falling into Error: For when once Men give themselves up to humane Reasonings in the Explication of Mysteries, they presently wander from the right way, and are in danger of falling head-long. He had not the sublime and affected Eloquence of the Bar, but a Philosophical kind of Eloquence which consisted in turning his Thoughts and Reasons, after an easy, clear and pleasant manner. Philostorgius quoted by Suidas, compar'd him to St. Basil, and St. Gregory Nazianzen, and says, "That these three were the ablest Men of their time. That they excell'd those who had written before them, and that St. Athanasius in comparison of them, appear'd but a Child; That they were well vers'd in profane Learning, and had made a great Progress in them; That with all this, they had all that was necessary for Reading, and Understanding the Scriptures, and chiefly Apollinarius, who understood Hebrew. That each of them excell'd in his kind; That the Style of Apollinarius was fittest for writing Books; That St. Basil's Style was best for publick Orations, but Gregory Nazianzen surmounted them both in the sublimity of his Style, which was more lofty than that of Apollinarius, and more grave than that of St. Basil. He adds, That these three Persons had all the Qualities which were most proper for winning the Admiration of all Mankind. The Life of Apollinarius, was probably no less Holy than that of the other two great Men. In short, he might have been equal to the greatest Pillars of the Church, as Vincentius Lirinensis says excellently, if his profane Curiosity had not carried him to the Invention of Novelities, which made him lose the Fruit of all his Labours, and made his Doctrine an occasion of Scandal, rather than Edification.

Apollinarius's Paraphrase or Translation of the Psalms, was printed in Greek at Paris, in the Year 1586; and together with the Version of Syllburgius, by Commelinus, in the Year 1596. Since that time, it has been put into the Bibliotheca Patrum. The other Works of this Author are lost, except some Fragments; and his Error was probably the cause of this Loss. The Catholics had so great a Horror of Books of Heretics, that they would not so much as preserve those that did not concern their Heresy, and which might have been useful to the Church: Upon which Account it is, that we have scarce any Book of the ancient Heretics, and that the Eusebians were oblig'd to publish Apollinarius's Books under the Names of Catholic Authors, as we have observ'd when we spoke of the Writings of Pope Julius.

TITUS of Bostra.

Titus of Bostra.

TITUS, Bishop of Bostra, a City of Arabia Petraea, wrote a Treatise against the Manichees, and some other Works, in the time of the Emperours Julian and Jovian. Julian, who persecuted all the Bishops who had no Reputation, did all that lay in his Power, to drive this Bishop out of his Country, and to render him odious to his People. "He wrote to him, that it any trouble happen'd in the City of Bostra, he should impute it to himself and to his Clergy. This Bishop answered him, That he kept his People in Peace by his Exhortations, and that tho' he had as many Christians as Pagans in his City, yet he order'd the Matter, that there was no Contention amongst them." Julian had hold on this Occasion to write to the Inhabitants of Bostra against their Bishop, endeavouring maliciously to persuade them, that his Answer reproach'd them, because it supposed that without his Exhortations, they would not have continued in their Duty. However this ill-natur'd Accusation of the Emperour Julian, did not hinder them from putting Confidence in their Bishop, so that he continued in his See till the time of the Emperour Valens, upon whose Reign he died, about the Year 370. He assisted at the Council of Meletius, held at Antioch, under the Reign of Jovian, in the Year 364.

The Book of Titus of Bostra, against the Manichees, was written in Greek, and divided into Four Parts: There is nothing now extant, but the Version of three of those Books made by Turriani, and Printed in Canisius's Collection of Ancient Pieces, and in the Bibliotheca Patrum. To the Text of the Author, there are prefixed the Arguments of the Four Books translated out of Greek, which inform us what is the Subject of them. "The first Book, says the Author of those Arguments, contains a Refutation of the principal Points of Doctrine taught by the Manichees, which contradict common Sense, and the Principles of natural Reason. The second is intended to show, That Man is not addicted to Sin by a Principle that is Eternal and without Beginning, or by a Being that is contrary to the True God: That there is no Substance of Evil in the World; That there is not in us two sorts of Natures, one Good, and the other Evil; That 'tis Folly and Impiety to condemn and Reprehend the manner of Governing the Universe. In short, This Book contains all that can be said of Providence, and invincibly proves, That 'tis no wise necessary to

"admit

"admit a Second Principle contrary to God. The Third Book is intended to defend the Law and the Prophets, and to show that God is the Author of the Old Testament; That there is nothing of Evil to be found in it; That it does in every thing agree with the New, and therefore there is no need for the Explication of it to have recourse to a Second Principle contrary to God. The Fourth Book defends the New Testament against the Blasphemies of the Heretics: There he shews "that there is nothing in the Gospel which favours their Error; That they abuse some Passages of Scripture to prove their Impiety to no purpose; and that the Diabolical Explications which they give "of them cannot help to establish what they say against God". In the First Book, he propounds the Doctrine of the Manichees, and detects the Absurdities of it by Metaphysical Arguments. In the second he shews, That there is but one God only, and that he is the only Principle; That he is not the Author of Sin; That he made Man free and capable of doing Good and Evil; and so 'tis not God but Man who is the Author of Sin, which proceeds not from the Nature of Man, but from his Will. He explains the great difficulty that's urg'd by the Manichees, why the just are so often Unhappy, and the Wicked Happy in this World; and shews that the just are always Happy and the Wicked Unhappy, because Innocence is the chief Happiness. He adds, That Afflictions are useful to prove and to exercise Virtue. He maintains, That Death is not an Evil, because 'tis the End of sinning to the Wicked, and the Beginning of Repompence to the Good. In short, having survey'd all things in this World, and all the occurrences of this Life, he proves that they are easily reconcil'd to the Providence of God.

In the Third Book he shews, That the Old and New Testament agree very well together, and that one and the same God is the Author of them both.

There are in these Books much Metaphysics and Logic; the Arguments are solid and subtil; the Style is fine and clean enough for a Work of this Nature. It is indeed a surprising thing that he never makes use of Original Sin for the explaining all the Difficulties objected by the Manichees: which might have serv'd as one general Solution to almost all their Objections. For when once Original Sin is admitted, there is no difficulty in understanding, Why a Man is addicted to Sin; Why he suffers Affliction; Why he is subject to Hunger, to Pain, to Diseases, to Miseries, and to Death; and yet he never urges it to explain those Questions, but examines them as a Philosopher. He says not one word of the Grace of Jesus Christ, and seems to suppose, That Man could do Good of himself as well as Evil.

There is a Commentary upon the Gospel of St. Luke, which is attributed to Titus of Bostra; but this can be none of his Book, since he who is the Author of it, cites St. Jerom, St. Ildore Pelusota, and St. Cyril of Alexandria, who had not written till after the Death of this Titus of Bostra, whom we now speak of. Yet this is a very good literal Commentary upon St. Luke, and seems to me to be very ancient. There was a Version of it publish'd by Pelicanius, and printed by Sarvinius at Ingolstadt in the Year 1579. Since that, Fronto Ducesius publish'd the Greek from a Manuscript out of the King's Library, and it was printed in Greek and Latin in the Supplement to the Bibliotheca Patrum: 'Tis said, That there is a Commentary of the same Author upon St. Matthew, and there is some probability for it, because in the Commentary on St. Luke, he never attempts to explain any thing in this Evangelist but what is not to be found in the Gospel of St. Matthew. In short, Father Combefis has publish'd in his Antiquarium to the Bibliotheca Patrum, a Sermon upon Palm-Sunday, which bears the Name of Titus of Bostra, but is not written by the true Titus of Bostra, nor by the Author of the Commentaries upon St. Luke, it having no affinity with the Air and Style of either of those two Writers.

DIDYMUS of Alexandria.

Nothing is more surprizing than what the Ancients have related of this Author. St. Jerom and Rufinus, who were his Disciples, assure us, That having lost his Sight from the Age of five Years, at which time he was scarce able to read, he applied his Mind so vigorously to Study, that he learn'd in Perfection, not only Philosophy, Rhetoric and Music, but even Geometry; which one would think could not be learnt without the help of Sight. He particularly addic'd himself to the Study of Divinity, and was chosen as the most Able Person to fill the Chair of the famous School of the Church of Alexandria. His Reputation drew to him a great number of Scholars, of whom the most famous were St. Jerom, Rufinus, Palladius and Ildore. He had a wonderful Easiness of expressing himself, pleasing way of declaiming, and a surprizing sharpness of Wit. He answer'd immediately to all the Questions that were made upon the Scriptures, he confuted the Arguments which the Heretics propos'd to him against Religion, and shew'd in an instant where the weakness of their Reasons lay. He has written many excellent Books. St. Jerom mentions these following in his Catalogue: Commentaries upon all the Psalms, Commentaries upon the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John, Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Galatians, Eighteen Tomes of Commentaries upon Isaiah, Three Books of Commentaries upon Hosea, which are address'd to me, says St. Jerom, and Five Books upon Zachary, which he wrote at my desire, says the same Father; Commentaries upon Job, and an infinite number of other Discourses, which would require a particular Table. He wrote also a Treatise upon the Dogmes, or upon the Sects, Two Books against the Arians, and a Book of the Holy Spirit, which I translated into Latin, says the same St. Jerom. He also interpreted Origen's Principles, and defended them against those that condemn'd them. He consider'd this Author as his Master, and espous'd his Opinions. He was alive when St. Jerom wrote his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, i. e. in the

Year

Titus of Bostra.

Didymus of Alexandria.

Didymus of Alexandria.

Year 392, and was then 93 Years old and more; and 'tis thought that he died two Years after. His being added to the Opinions of *Origen*, was the cause of his Condemnation in the Fifth General Council, and in the Fifth Session of the *Lateran* Council by *Martin* the Fifth, though he died in the Communion of the Church, and all the Ancients, even *St. Jerome*, speak of him as one whose Doctrine was very Orthodox. We have among *St. Jerome's* Works, a Translation which this Father made of *Didymus's* Book concerning the Holy Spirit. He says in his Preface, "That being in *Babylon*, dwelling in this Province cloth'd with Purple (by which word, he means the City of *Rome*) he had a design to write a little Book of the Holy Spirit, and to dedicate it to the Bishop of that City; but that immediately the Senate of Pharisees cry'd out against him, and the Faction of Ignorant Men conspir'd against his Person, which oblig'd him to return to *Jerusalem*, where he finish'd his Work at the desire of *Paula* and *Eusebius*; but that he could not dedicate it to *Damasus*, who was Dead when it was finish'd. He adds, That he put at the beginning of it the Name of the Author whom he translated, and thought it better to be only the Interpreter of another's Work, than to mix bad thoughts with that which is good in the Greek Authors, as some Latins have done." He has divided this Treatise of *Didymus* into Three Books: Though it is rather a continued Discourse which ought not to be parted, or at least, ought not to be divided but into Two Parts.

This Treatise is the most Demonstrative and Methodical of all those that the Ancients have written to prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. He begins with these words. "Though we ought to speak with Reverence and Exactness of every thing that concerns the Divinity, yet this ought chiefly to be done, when we speak of the Holy Spirit, since the Scripture tells us, That the Blasphemy which is spoken against him is unpardonable. Wherefore we must give diligent heed that we may understand what is said of him in the Holy Scripture, lest we fall into some Error, which may make us speak Blasphemies. And upon this account, it seems to be convenient for a faithful Christian, who is sensible of his own weakness, as I am, to keep silence in a Question which is above his Power, rather than venture to treat upon a Subject where he runs so great a hazard. But since there are some Men, who by a surprizing boldness exalt themselves against Heaven, and speak of the Holy Spirit such things as are no where to be found in Scripture, and which have never been propos'd by any Ecclesiastical Writers, I thought my self oblig'd to yield to the frequent Entreaties of my Brethren, and to prove my own Opinion by Testimonies of Scriptures, lest some of the Faithful that are Ignorant of this Doctrine, should be seduc'd by those that hold the contrary". After he has in the following words observ'd, That the Holy Spirit is no where spoken of but in the Holy Scripture, and that the same Spirit inspir'd the Prophets and Apostles, he enters upon the Matter, and proves by many Arguments founded upon Passages of the Holy Scripture, That the Holy Spirit is not a Creature, but that he is one and the same Nature with the Father and the Son. He shows that the Holy Spirit is not a Creature. 1. Because every Creature is either Corporeal or Spiritual. Now the Holy Spirit, says he, is not a Corporeal Creature, since it dwells in the Soul; neither is he a Spiritual Creature, because Spiritual Creatures receive into themselves Virtues, Knowledge and Holiness, whereas the Holy Spirit produces them in others, being himself Substantially Virtue, Light, and Holiness. 2. Because every Creature is liable to Change and circumscrib'd within a place; but the Holy Spirit is immutable, and every where present, and therefore the Holy Spirit is not a Creature. 3. Because he who Sanctifies, and he who is Sanctified, are of different Natures; but the Holy Spirit Sanctifies all Creatures, and therefore he is not of their Nature. He adds, That 'tis never said that Men are fill'd with a Creature, as 'tis said that they are fill'd with the Holy Spirit. He shows, That the Holy Spirit is not divisible; but that it receives different Names according to the different Effects it produces, though it be always one and the same Spirit. In short, he shows, That the Apostle *St. Paul* puts an Essential Difference between the Holy Spirit and the Angels, which sufficiently discovers that it is not a Creature. Afterwards he refutes those that say the Holy Spirit is of the number of those things which were created by the Divine Word. He explains a place in the Fourth Chapter of the Prophet *Amos*, where 'tis said, That God created the Spirit, *Creans Spiritum*, by showing that this place is literally to be understood of the Wind, and that it cannot be applied to the Holy Spirit, but in an Allegorical and Figurative sense.

After he has thus shown that the Holy Spirit is not a Creature, he proves, That he is of the same Nature with the Father and the Son: 1. Because they have but one and the same Operation; and by consequence must be one and the same Substance. 2. Because to Lye to the Holy Spirit is to Lye unto God, as appears by the words of *St. Peter* to *Ananias*. 3. Because the Wisdom and Teaching of the Holy Spirit is call'd the Wisdom and Teaching of God. 4. Because the Holy Spirit is call'd the Finger of the Father. 5. Because 'tis said of him, that he is Wisdom itself. 6. Because we are to believe in the Holy Spirit, as we do in the Father and the Son, and we are baptiz'd in the Name of the Holy Spirit, as we are in the Name of the Father and the Son. 7. Because he is call'd Lord, as the Father and the Son are. 8. Because he is sent from the Father in the Name of the Son, as having the same Nature with the Son. 9. Because the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are never separated; every thing that agrees to one of the Three Persons, agrees to the other two, and whatever is said of one, is said of the other two, and whatsoever one does, is done by the others, &c. And therefore they have all three the same Nature and the same Substance. He concludes with these words, "Since there is no Pardon for those that Blaspheme against the Trinity, we must be very cautious in speaking of this Mystery, lest we be mistaken in the least Expression: And every one who desires to read this Book, must pursue himself, that to by an enlighten'd Mind he may understand what is contain'd in it, and by a Heart full of Charity and Holiness, he may Pardon us, if we do not always answer the expectation of the Reader. He must only consider the Mind wherewith we have written, and not tie himself up to our

Didymus of Alexandria.

our manner of Expression: For as the Testimony of our Conscience makes us boldly affirm, That our Doctrine is that of the Christian Religion; so our Sincerity makes us confess, That in the manner of Writing, we do not come near the politeness, fineness, and eloquence of others; because we have only attempted to give a religious Explication of what the Holy Scripture teaches us, without studying to polish and adorn our Discourse: But though he speaks thus of his Style, and *St. Jerome* says also, That this Author is not a very able Penman, yet this Treatise is very well written for a Dogmatical Treatise. I speak not this of the Words or Terms, since we have not now the Original Greek, but of the turn of his Thoughts, the methodizing of his Arguments, and the manner of expressing himself about a Mystery so difficult to explain as this of the Trinity. He treats of the Subject in a very clear Method, without diverting from the Difficulties of it. He proposes his Arguments plainly and smoothly: His Reasons are close and convincing, one may observe a Vein of Logic which runs through all his discourse without intermission. He quotes the passages of Scripture in their natural sense, and makes many very curious and profound Remarks. He uses the most proper and most fit terms for Explication of the Mysteries. He does not too nicely distinguish, and yet he clears up all Difficulties. In a word, it were to be wish'd that all the Schoolmen had taken this Treatise for their Pattern, and had follow'd his Method in treating of the Mysteries of Religion. I forget to observe that he speaks occasionally of the Incarnation, and that he says, Jesus Christ is God-man; and yet we must not affirm that there are two Persons in him, but believe, that he being God and Man both together, there is attributed to him what agrees to the Nature of God, and the Nature of Man. 'Twas good to observe this against the Error of the *Nestorians*.

We have in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Commentaries in Latin, upon all the Canonical Epistles which go under the Name of *Didymus*. They seem to be Ancient, and they may possibly be a Translation from a Greek Commentary of this Author. He speaks of the Opinion of those who thought that Spirits were from all Eternity, and he neither Condemns nor Approves it. He maintains, That Predestination is nothing else but the Choice which God made of those that he foreknew would believe in Jesus Christ, and do good Actions. He rejects the *Millennium*, and affirms, That the Pleasures and joys of Paradise are all Spiritual. He disapproves of servile Fear; He believes with *Origen*, That the Incarnation of Jesus Christ was profitable to Angels as well as Men; and that it Purifies them from their Faults. He observes, That the Second Epistle of *St. Peter* is not in the Canon, and believes that it is corrupted. These Commentaries are very clear and intelligible, and contain Useful and Judicious Instructions and Reflections, which are not unworthy of the famous *Didymus*.

There is also a little Tract, or rather the Fragment of a Tract against the *Manichees*, translated from Greek by *Turrianus*, printed by *Possevin* in his *Apparatus*, and inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, which goes under the Name of *Didymus*, which agrees well enough with the Treatise of the Holy Spirit written by this Author. There he refutes by Metaphysical Arguments, the Opinion of the *Manichees*, who admitted two Principles, the one Good and the other Evil. He explains the sense in which Men are call'd in Scripture *Children of Wrath*, by saying, They are so call'd, because they become the Object of the Wrath of God by the Sins which they voluntarily commit; as others are call'd Children of the Light, and Children of Wisdom, who are Purified by the Light of Truth. He says, That *Judas* is call'd a Son of Perdition, because he did those things that deserv'd Perdition. He is mightily perplexed when he explains the Reason why the Flesh of Man is call'd *Sinful Flesh*. He says first of all, That it is so call'd, because it was produc'd by the use of Marriage, which commonly was not free from Sin before the coming of Jesus Christ, who sanctified it: That there is none but Jesus Christ and the First Man, whose Flesh could not be called *Sinful*; for Jesus Christ was Born of a Virgin, and *Adam* was made out of the Earth; That all Men being begotten by Men after the Sin of the First Man, are subject to Sin; and that if the Body of Jesus Christ had been form'd in the ordinary way of Generation, it had been liable to Sin, to which all the Posterity of *Adam* are subject. He adds, That the Use of Marriage, though it is permitted, is called *Sin*, in Comparison of Virginity; which is a much more excellent state. After this, he proves that the Devil was not Wicked by Substance, but by Will; He demonstrates, That God is not the Author of Evil, because he created a free Agent, which could incline itself to Good or to Evil; That the Divine Conduct cannot be blam'd, and that those who commit Sin ought not to impute it to any but themselves, since it was in their own Power to do Good, and to shun that which is Evil. In a word, That Man is not naturally Wicked, but by his Will only; since he that has been Wicked and Impious, may change his condition by Repentance, and become Good and Vertuous.

PETER of Alexandria.

St. Athanasius dying in the Year 373, the Catholics chose in his room *Peter*, whom *St. Athanasius* had design'd for his Successor. He had no sooner taken Possession of his Church, but he was forc'd away from it by the Governor of the Province nam'd *Palladius*, and necessitated to fly to *Rome*. Some time after *Encomius* of *Antioch* brought with him one nam'd *Lucius*, whom he Ordain'd Bishop of *Alexandria*, and caus'd the Churches to be given to him. This Man being an Enemy to the Doctrine of his Predecessor, was hated by all the Christians of *Alexandria*, who would not afterwards come any more to the Assemblies of the Church: Whereupon *Lucius* was oblig'd to get a Guard of Pagan Soldiers, who committed by his Order infinite Outrages against the Catholics. *Peter* of *Alexandria* wrote at this time a Letter against the Exorbitances that were done by the *Adrians*, which

Peter of Alexandria.

Peter of A.
Alexandria.

Theodoret produces in the Fourth Book of his History, Chap. 22. It charges them with causing a Multitude of Infidel Souldiers to enter into the great Church of *St. Theonas*, who vomited up Thousands of Blasphemies, violated Virgins, and put to Death many Christians. He adds, That they had committed abominable Sacrilege, in making a Young Man dance upon the Altar in Womens Apparel, and making him go up into the Pulpit, where he utter'd Infamous and Impious words. Afterwards he charges the *Arians* with carrying away *Lucius* to place him in the Episcopal See, though he had neither been chosen by the Suffrages of the Clergy and the People, nor Ordain'd by a Lawful Synod, as the Ecclesiastical Canons requir'd. Afterwards he gives an account of the manner in which he entered into the Church, being accompanied with *Euzoius*, and the Chief Treasurer of the City; how he would have forc'd the Priests and Deacons to approve *Arianism*, to please the Emperour *Valens*; with what Boldness and Constancy they answer'd him, and how they were Imprison'd, Tormented, and sent a Shipboard without Victuals. In short, he relates the Cruelties committed against the People of *Alexandria*, against the Deacon sent by Pope *Damasus*, and against Eleven Bishops of *Egypt* banish'd to *Diocæsarea*, together with a great number of Priests and Deacons. We have in *Pamphilus*, two Fragments of another Letter written by the same Father to those that were banish'd. The first, is in Chap. 2. of the Fourth Book, against *Timotheus* the Disciple of *Apollinarius*, whom he accuses of having Anathematiz'd *St. Basil*, *St. Paulinus*, *St. Epiphanius*, and *Diodorus*, that he might communicate with *Petalus* only. The Second Fragment is in Chap. 2. of *B. XI.* where he commends the Epistle of *St. Athanasius* written to the *Antiochians*. We have not any other Fragment of the Letters of this Saint, though 'tis probable, that he wrote many more during the Space of Six Years that he stay'd at *Rome*. But when *Valens* being to march against the *Goths*, gave leave to the banish'd Bishops to return, he came to *Alexandria* with a Letter of Recommendation from Pope *Damasus*. The People receiv'd him and drove away *Lucius*. Sometime after, *Peter* indelicately Ordain'd *Maximus* the Cynick Bishop of *Constantinople*, though he had approv'd by a Letter the Case which *Gregory Nazianzen* took of that Church. He died about the End of the Year 381. The Style of the Letter produced by *Theodoret* is Simple and Natural, and also very Significant.

LUCIUS.

Lucius.

St. Jerom places this *Lucius*, the Adversary of *Peter of Alexandria*, among the Number of Ecclesiastical Writers, of whom we have already spoken. He says, That he govern'd the Church of *Alexandria* till the time of *Theodosius*: But we have observ'd that he was driven away a little while before the Reign of this Emperour. He adds, That he wrote Letters concerning the Solemnity of *Easter*, and some Books upon different Subjects.

AQUILIUS SEVERUS.

Aquilius
Severus.

AQUILIUS SEVERUS a Spaniard, of the Race of that *Severus* to whom *Laetantius* address'd two Books of Letters, wrote a Volume in the form of an Itinerary, which contains all the History of his Life in Prose as well as Verse. 'Tis entituled, *The Catastrophe, or the Experiment*. He died under the Reign of *Valentinian*, that is to say, about the Year 370. This is what *St. Jerom* has told us of this Author, and 'tis all that we know of him. This sort of Books which contain the Lives of Authors are pleasant when they are written of Great Men who had a share in the Management of Affairs, or of such Persons whose Lives were full of extraordinary and surprizing Accidents; and they are useful when they are written of Persons of great Vertue and Merit: But when no such thing is to be found in them, they are commonly tedious and useless Books. 'Tis probable that this Life of *Aquilius* was fill'd with Extraordinary Occurrences, which was the reason why he wrote it, and why he gave it the Title of *The Catastrophe, or the Experiment*. Wherein he probably gives us cause to admire the Providence of God in the wonderful Changes that happen'd to himself: This is all that we can say by Conjecture, having no certain Knowledge of this Matter.

EUZOIUS.

Euzoius.

EUZOIUS was the Scholar of *Theophrastus* the Rhetorician, together with *St. Gregory Nazianzen*. He Studied in his Youth at *Caesarea* in *Palestine*, whereof he was afterward Bishop. He repaired the Library of *Origen* and *Pamphilus*, causing the Books to be written out, upon new Skins, because the old ones began to rot. He was at last turn'd out of the Church in the time of *Theodosius*. He wrote many Treatises, which were easie to be known in *St. Jerom's* time. This is what this Father has told us of this Author. *St. Epiphanius* speaks of him in *Hæres.* 73. and places him among those Bishops that were purely *Arian*: And yet he is different from the famous *Arian* *Euzoius* Bishop of *Antioch*.

St. CYRIL

St. CYRIL of Jerusalem.

St. CYRIL was ordain'd Priest of the Church of *Jerusalem*, by *Maximus*, Bishop of that City; but if we believe *St. Jerom*, he would not do the Office of a Deacon, as long as that Bishop liv'd. After his Death*, he was plac'd in his room, by *Acacius* and the Bishops of his Party, which render'd his Faith suspected to the Catholics*. But he was not long a Friend to *Acacius*; for the Differences which they had about the Prerogatives of their Sees, quickly broke them in pieces. The Council of *Nice* had given the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the first place among all the Bishops of that Province, and yet left the Rites of the Church of *Caesarea* entire, which was Metropolis to the Church of *Jerusalem*. This Honour gave occasion to the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, to assume to himself some Privileges, and so *Maximus* of *Jerusalem*, took upon him to Ordain Bishops in *Palestine*, and to Assemble a Council of that Province. His Successor, *St. Cyril*, desiring to maintain himself in the Possession of those Privileges, was troubled by *Acacius* of *Caesarea*, who would not endure that the Church of *Jerusalem* should assume to it self a right which legally pertain'd to his own Church. To revenge himself for this Encroachment, he call'd a Council in the Year 356, wherein he depos'd *St. Cyril*, under pretence that he had Sold the Ornaments of the Church, and the Sacred Vessels to relieve the Poor in time of Famine. He plac'd in his room, *Eutychius*, who probably was Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*. *St. Cyril* appeal'd from the Sentence of this Synod, to a more numerous Council; but he was forced to retire to *Telus*, where he continued some time with *Silvanus*, Bishop of that City, who received him very kindly, and gave him leave to celebrate the Holy Mysteries, and to Preach in his Diocesis. At this time, there was a Synod held at *Melitina*, compos'd of Bishops of *Acacius's* Party, where *St. Cyril* was present. He came afterwards to the Council of *Seleucia*, wherein he took part with *Basil of Ancyra*, *Eustathius*, *Sebasius*, and the other *Semi-Arian* Bishops, who treated him as a lawful Bishop, and gave him a Seat in the Council, in spite of all the Opposition that was made by *Acacius*: And *Acacius*, that he might the better Oppose his Adversary, threw himself upon the Party of *Eudoxius*; and by this means, got *St. Cyril* depos'd anew in the Council of *Constantinople*. 'Twas about this time, that *Heraclius* was ordain'd Bishop of *Jerusalem*, because probably *Eutychius*, who was already Bishop of *Eleutheropolis*, would not leave his Church, to take the See of *Jerusalem*. After *Heraclius*, there was one named *Heraclius*, and to him Succeeded one *Hilarion*. But at last, *St. Cyril* was restor'd to his See, under the Emperour *Theodosius*; after his Ordination had been approved by the Council of *Constantinople*, held in the Year 380*. He died in the Year 386, and had *John* for his Successor.

St. Jerom assures us, That *St. Cyril* compos'd his Catechetical Discourses in his Youth: We have is of them extant, address'd to the Catechumens, whereof some are quoted by *Theodoret**, by *St. John Damascene*, by *Cyparistota*; and there are 5 others, call'd *Myagogick Lectures*, for the Instruction of those that are newly baptized. *Cook*, *Rivet*, *Aubertin*, and other Calvinistical Criticsks, do all that they can, to prove these Catechetical Discourses supposititious, because they contain many things that displease them*, and destroy their Errors. But the Conjectures which they alledge to

* After his Death.] *Socrates*, B. II. Ch. 30. and *Sozomen*, B. IV. Ch. 19. says, That *Acacius* of *Caesarea*, and *Parapholus* of *Sycephalia*, turned out *Maximus* of *Jerusalem*, and plac'd *St. Cyril* in his room: But *St. Jerom* who speaks of *St. Cyril*, after such a manner as sufficiently discovers, that he did not favour him, since he treats him as an *Arian*, tells us, That *Maximus* was dead, when he was Ordain'd. But he accuses *St. Cyril* of persecuting *Heraclius*, who was Ordain'd Bishop by the Catholics, in the room of *Maximus*, and of reducing him to the rank of Presbyters. *St. Epiphanius*, *Ruffinus*, and *Theodoret*, speak not a word of this *Heraclius*: But *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, place him as second of the Bishops whom the *Arians* set up in Opposition to *St. Cyril*. *St. Jerom*, calls the first *Trenour*, instead of *Eremitus*.

* His Faith suspected to the Catholics.] *Ruffinus* and *St. Jerom*, observe, That he oftentimes chang'd his Faith and his Communion. As to his Communion, 'tis true; for at first, he held Communion with *Acacius*, afterwards he separated from him; then he communicated with the Bishops of his Party, at the Synod of *Melitina*; after this he forsook them, to join with *Basil of Ancyra*, and the *Semi-Arians*; at last, he re-united himself to the Catholics. But for all this, he did not change his Faith, for he always believed the Son to be like in Substance unto the Father, without condemning the Term *Consubstantial*. 'Twas *Acacius* who was to be changeable in his Faith, for he sometimes signed the Doctrine, the Words being like in Substance, and some-

times condemn'd this Doctrine, and approved the Error of the *Anomæans*; but *Melitus* re-united them, and made them approve the Term *Consubstantial*. We must not believe *St. Jerom* about the Cause of *St. Cyril*, for he was address'd to *Paulinus* against *Melitus*, and against all those of his Party.

* The Council of Constantinople, held in the Year 380.] This appears by the Letter from the Council of *Constantinople*, produced by *Theodoret*, wherein the Bishops declare, That they had approved the Ordination of *St. Cyril*, because it was performed according to form by the Bishops of his Province.

* By *Theodoret*, &c.] This Father in his Second Dialogue, cites a long Passage taken out of the 4th. Catechetical Discourse of *St. Cyril*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, which is word for word found in the 4th. Catechetical Discourse to the Catechumens: *St. John Damascene*, relates also a Passage taken out of the 12th. in his *Orat. 3. de Imag.* *Cyparistota*, Dec. 6. cites the 10th. Catechetical Discourse.

* Many things that displease them.] The real Presence, Transubstantiation, the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Ceremonies, Prayers for the Dead, the Exorcisms, Invocation of Saints, the Honour due to Relicks, the Celibacy of Priests, the Veneration of the Cross, &c. are Opinions which the Calvinists cannot endure, and they are mightily troubled to see them established by an Author of the 4th. Age of the Church.

overthrow

St. Cyril of Jerusalem.

overthrow their Authority, are too slight^e, to call in question the Truth; and the Interest which they have to Oppose them, renders their Centure suspected. Their endeavours are chiefly against the 5 Mytalogical Catechisms, which are not indeed cited by the Ancients, as the first Discourses are. But the Agreement of the Stile^e shows, that they are the same Authors; and the End of the 18th. Catechetical Discourse^e, demonstrates it clearly: For there he promises to Compose 5 other Instructions after *Easter*, whereof he tells you the Subjects, which are very near akin to the Subjects of those which we still have. In short, he cites the first in the last; and since the last are promised in the first, and these again quoted in the last, Who can doubt but they are all the same Authors? And since they cannot deny, but the first which have gone under the Name of St. Cyril, ever since *Theodore's* time, are Genuine, they must by consequence confess, that the 5 last belong to the same Author.

The Eighteen first Catechetical Instructions are address'd to those of the *Catechumens*, who are call'd the *Elect*, or the *Enlighten'd*; that is to say, those that have pass'd through all the other degrees of *Catechumens*, and are now instructed in order to receiving Baptism within a little time: For the Ancient Church did not give Baptism immediately to all those who desir'd it, but only to those who had given signs of a sincere Faith, and of the change of their Life, by a long Trial, and by a course of Penance. So when an Infidel offer'd himself to be admitted among the number of Christians, they began with discovering to him in particular the blindness wherein he had hitherto been, but they did not permit him to enter into the Church to hear the Publick Exhortations. Afterwards when he was sufficiently undeceiv'd of his old Errors, and desir'd to be instructed in the Truth, he was permitted to enter into

^e The Conjectures which they all-ge are too slight. They say, That there is a Greek Catalogue wherein they are attributed to John of Jerusalem; but of what Authority is a Catalogue, the Antiquity whereof is not known? Can it be oppos'd to the Testimony of *Theodore*, who cites those Catechetical Instructions under the Name of St. Cyril, and to that of St. *Jerom*, who testifies, that this Father wrote one? There is no probability, says *River*, that the Care of Instructing the *Catechumens* should be entrusted to a young Man. Why not? If he was capable of it, as it appears St. Cyril was. If there was no probability of it, Why does St. *Jerom* assure us, that it was so? This said, adds *River*, That they were spoken ex-tempore, and St. *Jerom* says, that he wrote them. A pleasant Objection indeed! as if it were not known that Authors do often set down those Discourses afterwards in writing, which they spoke without premeditation at first: The same *River* is of Opinion, that those places which concern Celibacy, Virginity, Relicks, the Cross of Jesus Christ, &c. are added in these Catechetical Discourses; what proof has he for this, but only that those things do not please him? He accuses St. Cyril of Blasphemy, because he says, *If the Virgin Mary were so much honoured for carrying Jesus Christ the space of nine Months, we ought yet more to honour Christians for keeping their Virginity for very many years.* This thought is a little too blunt; but such things did often escape the Fathers in their Sermons, and it is capable of a good Sense. Another Objection of *River*'s is this: This Author says, That the Wood of the Cross is amongst us to this Day. Now these Words to this Day cannot agree, says he, to St. Cyril, who might be present at the finding of the Cross. To which I answer, That the Words, to this Day, respect the time which was already past, since the Passion of Jesus Christ. To conclude, All these Catechetical Discourses, have the Character of Antiquity; they are simple and natural, and explain the Doctrines of the Church after the ancient Way. The Author says at the beginning of his 6th. Catechetical Discourse, That he wrote 70 Years after the beginning of the Heresy of the *Manichees*: The Canon of the Sacred Books which he relates, is ancient; and the Creed which he makes use of, does not betray his Age: The manner in which he explains the Mystery of the Trinity, shows, that he was a Catholic, but that he managed himself slyly, for tho' he always confirms the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, he does not always make use of the Word *Consubstantial*. The Arguments of *River*, against the Mytalogical Discourses, are as weak as the former. The Ancients, says he, do not distinguish these two kinds of Discourses. But neither do they, that there was but one:

St. *Jerom*, who is the only Person that speaks of them all, says only, That St. Cyril wrote Catechetical Discourses, without telling how many: The other Authors speak of those which they had occasion to quote. 2. He says, That the last are short, whereas the first are very long. But this is no Argument why they should not be all the same Authors. The three first to the *Unlearned*, are shorter than the last, and are not much longer than the Mytalogical Discourses. The time, and Matter that he writes about, makes any Author longer or shorter; and after *Easter*, the Instructions ought not to be so long. *Auberin* adds, That *Prevostius* says he supplied many Letters, and corrected many places. And what follows from thence? Is there any one Book to which the first Publishers have not done the same thing? They have added sometimes half a word, or a whole one, or sometimes some words which they thought necessary. But they cannot be supposed to add whole Periods, Pages and Books; and indeed, if ye compare the Edition of *Prevostius*, with that of *Morrellus*, which preceded it, made by a Manuscript of *Monsieur De Mesmes*, and with the Latin Versions made from other Manuscripts, you may see that the Differences among them are of very small Consequence, and that they neither alter the Sense nor the Doctrine of this Father.

But the Agreement of the Stile, &c. There is the same Stile, the same Method, the same Air of Writing. The Stile both of the one and the other is familiar and unaffected: He explains the Myteries by Passages of Scripture, and moralizes them after the same manner in them all.

The end of the 18th. Catechetical Discourse. After *Easter*, says he, with the help of God, you shall hear other Catechetical Lectures; First, About what is done before Baptism. This is the Subject of the First Catechetical Discourse. Secondly, To explain how ye are purified from your sins by the Baptism of Water. That's the Subject of the Second. Thirdly, How ye have received the Seal of the Holy Spirit. That's the Subject of the Third. And lastly, Concerning the Holy Myteries of the Altar. That's the Subject of the Two last. But besides the Order which he promised to observe in speaking of Holy Myteries, is that which is observed in these two Catechetical Discourses.

Who can doubt but they are all the same Author? Since he cites the first Instructions in the last, and declares at the beginning of the first Catechetical Discourse, That he delay'd to instruct them perfectly in Divine Myteries, till they were baptiz'd; and toward the end of the same Discourse, he says, That he had explained the Creed in the preceding Discourses.

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the Church, but only to hear the Sermons, without being present, at any of the Prayers: This sort of *Catechumens* were call'd *Hearers*, because they heard the Instructions which were given in the Church. The Third Rank of *Catechumens* was, that of those that were present at the Prayers, who were called the *Supplicants* or the *Prostrati*, because they were present at the Prayers of the Church till the Offertory, and they kneel'd and prostrated themselves on the Ground to receive the Blessing of the Bishop. In the mean time they were instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, and their Behaviour and Actions were carefully inspected, and when they found them dispos'd to receive Baptism, they were permitted to desire it, and to give in their Names, that they might be admitted to it. Those who did so, were call'd *Competentes*, that is, *Competitors*; and if their Petition was admitted, they were call'd *Elect*; and then they were prepar'd to receive Baptism by Instructions, by Exorcisms, and by many Ceremonies. These are all the Degrees that can be distinguish'd among the *Catechumens*: But commonly the Fathers without insisting on these Distinctions, call'd those *Catechumens*, who were either *Hearers*, or *Partakers* only of the Prayers; and they gave the Name of *Competitors*, to those who were in a Condition to receive Baptism. The last are they whom St. Cyril calls *ἡγιασμένοι*, that is, *Enlighten'd*, because they were already instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, and had given in their Names at the beginning of Lent, to be baptiz'd at *Easter*, according to Custom. 'Twas to ground them well in our Myteries, and dispose them to receive Baptism with Purity, that St. Cyril compos'd those Instructions, as he himself testifies in his Preliminary Discourse, in which he treats of those Dispositions that they ought to bring with them to Baptism, and of the Necessity of hearing Instruction. He exhorts them to Purifie themselves from their Sins, and to embrace a truly Christian Life, if they would have Baptism profitable unto them. He admonishes them not to approach this Sacrament, if their Souls were still polluted with heinous Sins, and they perform'd still in their wicked Designs and their sinful Customs. He tells them that they deceiv'd themselves, if they imagin'd that they should receive the Fruit and Effects of Baptism while they continued in this state. If ye are still, says he, of the same wicked disposition of which ye have always been, in vain do ye think that ye shall receive the Grace of Baptism: Ye shall be wash'd with those Waters, but ye shall not receive the Holy Spirit. Therefore if any of you finds himself troubled with some secret Disease in his Mind, let him take a Remedy. Ye have yet time, the Church offers you a Penance of Four days. I may during this time, retire to do Penance, and after that re-enter into the Rank where ye were, to be baptiz'd at *Whitsuntide*. He adds, That since they cannot receive Baptism but once only, (for none he Heretics, says he, are Re-baptiz'd, because the Baptism which they have received out of the Church is no Baptism) they must take good heed that they do not receive it in vain. After this, he explains the Disposition which they ought to have, that this Sacrament may be profitable to them. God hath said, I require nothing of you but a Good Heart: Say not ye, How is it that my Sins shall be forgiven me? I believe it unto you, It is by Faith and a good Disposition. What is there more easily to be had? for sake the present your infamous Company, give over your Obscene Discourse, avoid Covetousness and the love of Riches, come and hear Instruction with diligence and delight, be careful to receive the Exorcisms, though ye have been already solemnly exorcis'd. Nothing is more wholesome than this Ceremony; for as the Gold is Purified by Fire, so the Soul is purified by Exorcisms. He exhorts them afterwards to hear Instruction with Attention. He makes them understand that there is a great difference between Catechizing and Sermons; for if it happens that any one does not apply his Mind to a Sermon, or neglects to hear it, 'tis easy to recover that loss, because he may hear to Morrow the same thing; but when all the Myteries which are necessary to be known for receiving Baptism are explain'd in their Order, by Catechizing, if perhaps you neglect to hear any one of them, you cannot return to it again; and there is such an Essential Connexion of all these Myteries one with another, that if you do not understand any one of them, you are in danger of understanding nothing of all the rest. He exhorts them, to say nothing to Infidels nor *Catechumens* of what they shall hear, to behave themselves modestly when they come into the Church, before the Exorcisms are begun, and not to entertain themselves with Profane News; but to read there some useful Book, to Sing or to Pray, and to consider themselves always as in the presence of God, while they are there. He exhorts them to Pray always, that they may shun the snares of the Devil, and to watch continually over themselves, lest they fall into Temptation. These are, says he in the Conclusion, the best Exhortations and Instructions which we can give you, that you may not Build upon Chaff, Hay or Stubble, lest your Building be consum'd when it shall pass through the Fire. All that I can do, is to exhort you, 'tis your part to Labour, and God's to Perfect. Raise up your Minds, direct your Intentions, prepare your Hearts, it is for your Souls that you fight, and they are Eternal Treasures which you hope for.

The First Lecture is also an Exhortation to those that are to be baptiz'd, to prepare themselves by a Holy Life and by Good Works, that so they may receive the Grace of Baptism. It is compos'd upon a Lesson taken out of the First Chapter of *Isaiah*, Verse 16. which begins with these words, Wash you, make you clean, put away the evil of your doings, &c. He exhorts them wholly to put off the Old man, sincerely to renounce all Sin, and to spend in the Exercises of Piety the 40 Days that are appointed to Prepare them for Baptism.

The Second is concerning Sin and Penance. He teaches them, That Sin is committed voluntarily by the bad use we make of our Free-Will; That the Devil was the first Sinner, that afterwards he made the first Man sin; That by the Sin of the first Man all Men fell under Blindness and Death; That he who rais'd *Lazarus* rais'd our Souls, and deliver'd them from Sin by his Blood; That therefore we ought not to despair, whatsoever Sins we have committed, but to trust to the Mercy of God, and to have recourse to the Remedy of Repentance. He relates many Examples of God's Mercy towards the greatest Sinners: He alleges also the Example of the Angels, to whom he thinks God pardon'd many

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many Faults. He adds towards the end, the Example of St. Peter, and concludes with these words; *These are, my Brethren, the many Examples of Sinners whom God hath pardoned, as often as they repented. Do you also Confess your Sins unto the Lord, and you shall obtain the Kingdom of Heaven, and enjoy the Heavenly Reward together with all the Saints in Jesus Christ, to whom be Glory for ever and ever.*

The Third Lecture is concerning the Necessity of Baptism, and of Penance which ought to precede it. *Thou must prepare your selves,* says he, *by Purity of Conscience; for you ought not to consider the External Baptism, but the Spiritual Grace which is given with the Water, that is; Sanctified by the Invocation of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. The Water washes the Body, but the Spirit sanctifies the Soul, that we being purified, may become worthy to approach unto God. You cannot be perfect unless you be sanctified by the Water and the Spirit. So, if any one be baptized without having the Holy Spirit, he receives not the Grace of Baptism, and likewise if any one receive not Baptism, though his Conversation were never so well order'd, he shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. This Discourse is bold, but it is not mine but Jesus Christ's, who has pronounced this Sentence, when he said, Except a man be born again of Water and the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. He proves this Truth by the Example of Cornelius, then he shows the Necessity of Baptism by Water, and says, That none but Martyrs only can enjoy the Kingdom of Heaven without being baptized. [The Ancients generally believed that Martyrdom was that Baptism by Fire which John Baptist foretold, *Mat. 3. 11.* and that was the Cup which our Saviour foretold *Zedekiah's* Children that they should drink, and the Baptism wherewith they were to be baptized.] He teaches, That since Jesus Christ was baptized to sanctify the Waters of Baptism, we must descend into the Water to be sanctified, and as the Holy Spirit did then visibly appear, so now he defends likewise, though after an invisible manner, upon those that are baptized, if they be well prepared for it. In short, he fills exhort those to whom he speaks, to prepare themselves in the remaining part of Lent, that so they may obtain by Baptism the Pardon of their Sins, and the Grace of the Holy Spirit.*

St. Cyril begins in the Fourth Catechetical Discourse, with the Explication of the Articles of our Faith. He says in his *Exordium*, "That the Worship of God consists in two things, in the belief of those Doctrines that Religion teaches us, and in the practice of Good Works; That Faith is unprofitable without Good Works, and that Good Works will prevail nothing without Faith. He observes, "That the Articles of Faith are opposed by Pagans, Jews and Hereticks; and therefore it is necessary to propose it, and explain it to those that enter into the Church." He says, "That before he explains them more largely, he will first give a summary of them, and prays those that are already instructed, to hear with Patience his Catechetical Discourses. Afterwards he summarily explains the chief Doctrines of our Religion. He instructs them concerning the Divinity. "That there is but one God "only, the Creator of all things who is every where present, who knows all things, who can do all things, who never changes, who will reward the Good and punish the Wicked, &c. He adds, That we must believe also in Jesus Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, God begotten of God, like in all things to him who begat him, who was from all Eternity, who sitteth now at his right hand and reigneth with him; That we must not believe, that the Son is of another Nature, than the Father, nor confound the Persons of the Father and the Son; That he is the Word, and the Word of God, but a Word subsisting, which is nothing like to the Word of Men; That this Word was truly and really united to the Humane Nature; That he assumed real Flesh from the Virgin; That he was truly Man, subject to Humane Infirmities, and to Death itself; That he was crucified for our Sins; That he was buried in the Grave, and that he descended into Hell to deliver the Just, who had been shut up there a long time with Adam; That he was truly risen from the Dead; That being ascended into Heaven, he was worship'd by all the World, and that he shall come again to Judge the Quick and the Dead, and to establish an Eternal Kingdom. Concerning the Holy Spirit, he teaches, That we ought to have the same Notions of him as of the Father and the Son: That he is One, Indivisible and Almighty; That he knows all things; That he defended in the form of a Dove upon Jesus Christ; That he spoke by the Prophets; That he Sanctifies the Soul in Baptism, and that he ought to be honoured as the Father and the Son, being one and the same Divinity. He exhorts his Auditors to hold fast this Creed, and gives them Notice, That he will prove it in the following Discourse by Testimonies of Scripture: For, says he, *we ought not to teach any thing concerning Divine Mysteries, but what we can confirm by the Testimonies of Scripture. Do not believe what I say, if I do not prove it by the Holy Scriptures.*

St. Cyril, after having inform'd those whom he instructs, what they ought to believe concerning the Divinity, acquaints them with the Knowledge of their own Natures, teaching them that they are compos'd of Body and Soul; That the Soul is Immortal, because of Jesus Christ who has given it Immortality; That it is free, and has the power of doing Good and Evil; That it did not Sin before it came into the World; That the Souls of Men and Women are of the same Nature; That the Body is the Work of God; That it is not Wicked by Nature; That when it meets with a holy Soul, it is the Temple of the Holy Spirit, and that we ought to be very watchful lest we defile it by Uncleanliness. He occasionally takes Notice, "That Virginity is the more perfect state, but that we ought not to blame Marriage; That Married Persons may hope for Salvation, provided they use Marriage aright; That in Order to their living holily in this state, they must abstain sometimes from the use of Marriage to give themselves unto Prayer, and that their Intention should not be to satisfy a brutal Passion, but to have Children. He adds, That we ought not to condemn even those that proceed to Second Marriages, and that this weakness should be pardon'd in those who stand in need of this Remedy to avoid Fornication."

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As to what concerns Abstinence from Meat, St. Cyril says, "That Christians do abstain during their Fasts from Flesh and Wine; but that they have no averation to those things, as if they were themselves Abominable; That they do not abstain but to Merit the more, by desisting what is agreeable to our sense, that they may enjoy the heavenly Feast. He absolutely forbids the Eating of things Sacrificed to Idols, and things Strangled." As for Clothes, he desires that they may be modest, and such as may serve not to adorn but to cover the Body, and defend it from the Injuries of the Weather. He speaks afterwards of the Resurrection, and brings Examples to show that it is not impossible. The Holy Scripture is the last thing of which he treats in this Lecture: He says, That the Old Testament is part of the Holy Scripture, and exhorts them not to read the Apocryphal Books: He informs them, That there are but 22 Canonical Books of the Old Testament, and observes, That they have been translated by the LXX. He believes that this Translation was made by Inspiration, and that the Seventy Interpreters being shut up in separate Cells, all their Versions were found to agree together. He recommends the Reading of the Canonical Books, and Meditation upon them; He reckons amongst this Number in the Old Testament the Book of Ruth, that of *Ezher*, *Jed* and *Baruch*; but he does not reckon those other Books which are not in the Hebrew Canon. The Canonical Books of the New Testament are according to him, The Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Seven Canonical Epistles, and the Fourteen Epistles of St. Paul, which in his time and in his Country were at the End of the New Testament, after the Canonical Epistles. He says nothing of the Revelation. He condemns Judicial Astrology, Necromancy, Publick Spectacles, Games, Lluxury, Coverousness, the other Superstitions of the Jews and Pagans, and the Assemblies of Hereticks.

In the Fifth Lecture, after he has prov'd by many Examples the Necessity, and Vertue of Faith, he says, *That we must continue in that Faith which we have received from the Church, and which is fortified with the Testimony of Holy Scripture. But, says he, because Men cannot read the Scripture, some being hindered by their Ignorance, others by their Worldly Business; therefore all that we are oblig'd to believe is compriz'd in a few words. I pray you then to remember to fix it upon your Minds, and to be fully perswaded that this is the only true Faith. Afterwards at your leisure ye may search for the Proof of it in the Holy Scripture. But at present do you acquiesce in the Doctrine which you have learn'd by Tradition, engrave it upon your Hearts, that you may persevere in it with Piety: for if you remain in doubt and uncertainty, it is to be fear'd, that the Enemy will work your Perdition, and that Hereticks will grow that Doctrine which I have taught you.*

The Sixth is concerning the Monarchy, or the Unity of God, against Pagans and Hereticks. He describes the Errors both of the one and the other, and more particularly enlarges upon the Heresie of the *Manichees*, and gives an account of its Original, Progress and Impiety. He produces a Fragment of the Dispute of *Archelaus* against the Heretick *Manes*. He observes, That Men cannot comprehend the Nature and Essence of God.

In the Seventh, he explains how the Name of Father agrees to God. He observes that he has only one Son by Nature, who is Jesus Christ, and that Men are his Children by Adoption. He takes occasion from hence to Exhort his Hearers to live worthy of the Title of the Sons of God, and to honour him, though of his good Pleasure he chose them to be his Children. At the same time he admonishes them to have a Reverence for their Fathers and Mothers.

In the Eighth he shows, That God is Almighty because he can do all things, and all things depend on his Power.

The Ninth is upon these words, *the Creator of all things visible and invisible*. There he shows what cause we have to admire the Greatness and Beauty of God's Works.

The Tenth is upon these words, *in Jesus Christ our only Lord*. He says, That in order to the Pious Adoration of the Father, we must adore the Son also. He explains all the Names that are given him, Remains, That 'twas the Son who appear'd to Adam and *Moses*. He makes Moral Remarks upon the Name of *Jesus*, and that of *Christ*. He produces many Proofs concerning Jesus Christ, and places in this number the Wood of the Cross, which, says he, *is seen to this day amongst us, and with those who having taken of it here, have fill'd the whole World almost with it.*

The Eleventh is concerning the Divinity of the Word, and his Eternal Generation. There he refutes the Error of the *Arians*, and proves that the Word is of the same Nature with the Father; That he was from all Eternity, and that he made all things: There he calls St. Peter the Prince or the Chief of the Apostles, and the Sovereign Preacher of the Church.

The Twelfth is concerning the Incarnation, where he shews by many Testimonies of Scripture, That Jesus Christ was made Man for the Salvation of Mankind. He quotes some of the Prophecies that foretold the Incarnation of Jesus Christ; and shows, That the time of the Messias's coming, the place where he was Born, his Condition, and the manner of his coming into the World, were foretold; he praises Virginity, and observes, That those who perform'd the Sacerdotal Office, observ'd Celibacy.

In the Thirteenth, he relates the Prophecies which concern the Death and Passion of Jesus Christ. He recommends to the Faithful, the signing themselves with the Sign of the Cross on their Forehead, in Eating and Drinking, at their going out and coming in, at their lying down, &c. He calls this Sign, the Terror of Devils, and the Mark of the Faithful. He says, That it drives away Devils; That it cures Diseases; That it defeats Incantments, and that at one day, it will appear in the Heavens when Jesus Christ shall come to judge the World.

He proves in the Fourteenth, the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ, where he commends the Piety of those Emperours, who built the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, where he was, and adorned it with Gold and Silver.

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The Fifteenth is concerning the Second coming of Jesus Christ, of the End of the World, and of Anti-Christ, who will come, says he, after the Destruction of the Roman Empire. He says many more particulars of him, which he endeavours to prove by Prophecies, but the explications he gives of them are not very Solid. He observes, That the Schisms which he then saw in the Church, made him fear that the Reign of Anti-Christ was not far off. After this he Discourses of the last Judgment, and of the Eternal Kingdom of Jesus Christ. He refutes the Opinion of *Marcellus of Ancyra*, who had said, That the Son should not Reign any more after the Day of Judgment. He makes very curious Remarks upon the particle *Until*, and shows, that it is not always exclusive, as when it is said, *That Death reigned from Adam until Moses*, where the meaning is not, That it did not Reign after *Moses*.

The Sixteenth Lecture, is concerning the Holy Spirit. He observes, That we ought to take good heed, lest we say any thing through Ignorance or Error, which is contrary to the Belief we ought to have concerning the Holy Spirit, because 'tis written, That the Blasphemies which are spoken against him, are unpardonable. Therefore he declares, That he will say nothing of the Holy Spirit, but what is said of him in the Holy Scripture, and that he will not enquire by an indecent Curiosity after that which is not written. 'Tis the Holy Spirit, says he, who dictated the Holy Scripture: he hath said of himself, *what he would have us to know, and what we are capable of knowing about him*. He begins with giving an Account of the Errors of Hereticks concerning the Holy Spirit, and afterwards recites what is said of him in the Holy Scripture; he describes his Effects, and attributes to him all the good Thoughts and good Actions of the Faithful.

He continues the same Subject in his 17th. Lecture, where he produces the Testimonies of our Lord concerning the Holy Spirit. He has exactly Collected in these Two Catechetical Lectures, all that is said of the Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testament. He teaches, That the Holy Spirit is not a Breath form'd by the Mouth of the Father and the Son, but that he is a Person subsistent of the same Nature with the Father and the Son. He calls St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and the Porter of Heaven. He observes, That the Determination of the Council of *Jerusalem*, was a General or Oecumenical Law, which all the Earth had, and did still observe.

The Last of those Lectures which are address'd to the *Enlighten'd*, is of the Resurrection, of the Church, and of Eternal Life. "In the beginning he shows, That the hope of the Resurrection is the Foundation of all good Actions, because the expectation of this reward, excites Men to labour for it. 'Twas this that made him say, that the Faith of the Resurrection is a great encouragement, and a very necessary Doctrine." He brings for proof of the Resurrection, the Justice of God, which requires, that Sinners which are not punish'd in this World should be punish'd in another, and that the Righteous who are miserable here below, should be recompens'd in another Life. He says, That all Men have naturally some Knowledge of the Resurrection, and that upon this Account, they have a horror of those who rob the Dead. He brings many Illustrations of it taken from the changes in Nature. He does not forget the Example of the *Phoenix*, for which he cites St. *Clement* for his Authority. He observes, That the Generation of Man, is no less wonderful than the Resurrection, and that God who could Create the Universe of nothing, can easily raise a dead Man. After he has employ'd these Reasons against the Pagans, he alleges against the Samaritans the wonderful Effects of the Divine Power related in the Old Testament, and proves the Resurrection of the Dead by many passages of the Prophets. [This seems to be a mistake; the Sadducees were the only Sect of the Jews that denied a Resurrection.] In speaking of the dead Man, rais'd at the Sepulchre of *Elisba*, he says, *That by this Example we may know, that we ought not only to honour the Souls of the Saints, but also to show Reverence to the Relicks of their Bodies, since they have such Power and Virtue*. The Second Part of this Instruction, is concerning the Catholic Church. He says, "It is so called, because it is spread over all the Earth; Because it universally receives all the Articles of Faith; Because it generally cures all Sins; and Lastly, Because it possesses all Graces, and all Vertues." He says, It is called the Church, because it is an Assembly of the Faithful; That the Hereticks have also their Assemblies or their Churches; That to discern the one from the other, when you go to any place, you must not ask barely where is the Church, or the House of the Lord, because the Hereticks give this Name to their Temples; but you must ask, where is the Catholic Church, because this is a Name proper to this Holy Mother of all faithful Christians, which is the Spouse of Jesus Christ." In short, The last part of this Lecture, is of Eternal Life. 'Tis very Remarkable that in the Creed which St. *Cyril* used, there is found *Life Everlasting*, because as we have observed in the First Volume of our *Bibliotheca*, almost all the ancient Creeds, end with the *Resurrection of the Flesh*. St. *Cyril* adds to it *Baptism*, whereof he had already spoken, the *Catholic Church and Life Everlasting*. He says upon the last Article, That the Eternal Life of Christians is the Possession of the most Holy Trinity. He concludes this Lecture with a Promise to his Auditors, that he would explain after *Easter*, the Sacred Mysteries which they were to receive upon the Christian Altar, and with an Exhortation to rejoice, because the time of their Redemption, Salvation, and Regeneration approach'd.

The Five other Lectures which are call'd *Mystagogical*, are address'd by St. *Cyril* to the same Persons, after they had received the Grace of Baptism. The first is about the Vow which is made in Baptism to renounce the Devil, his Works and all his Pomps. He declares to his Auditors, the Importance of performing this Vow. He says, That the Works of the Devil are Sins, and that his Pomps are Shows, Plays, and profane Feasts. There is in this first Lecture a Passage expressly for Transubstantiation: For, says he, as the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist, which are nothing before the Invocation of the most Holy Trinity, but Bread and Wine, become after this Invocation, the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. So those Means which serve for the Pomp of the Devil, tho' they be pure of their own Nature, be-

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come impure by the Invocation of Devils. [All these Passages are necessarily to be understood, according to those Notions wherein the Christians of that Age had been usually instructed.]

In the Second, he treats of the Ceremonies and Effects of Baptism: He says, That the Catechumens after they were unclothed, were anointed from the Feet unto the Head, with exorcised Oyl; That after this they were conducted to the Laver; That they were ask'd, if they believed in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; That after they had made Profession of this Faith, they were plunged three times into the Water, and that they retir'd out of it by degrees, at three times likewise. He teaches them, That the Baptism of Jesus Christ, does not only remit Sins as that of *John the Baptist* did, but also fills the Soul with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, and makes us the Children of God by Adoption.

The Third is of Holy Chrism, wherewith the Faithful were anointed immediately after they came out of the Waters of Baptism. He declares to them, That we ought not to imagine this to be common Oyl. For, says he, as the Bread of the Eucharist after the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, is no more common Bread, but the Body of Jesus Christ. So the Holy Chrism after Consecration, is no more common Oyl, but it is a Gift of the Holy Spirit, which has the Virtue to procure the presence of the Divinity. So while the Forehead and other Parts of the Body are anointed with this visible Oyl, the Soul is sanctified by this holy and quickning Spirit. He observes afterwards, That they anointed the Forehead, the Ears, the Nostrils, and the Breast.

The Fourth Lecture is of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; and the Fifth, of the Celebration of the Eucharist. These two Catechetical Lectures, are so clear, and so strong, for establishing the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church about the Eucharist; That we cannot excuse our selves from setting them down almost entire. Take then as follows the Translation of them which has been printed in the Office of the Holy Sacrament.

"The Doctrine of the blessed St. *Paul* alone, is sufficient to give certain proofs of the Truth of the Divine Mysteries, and the Church having judged you worthy to partake of them, ye are by this means so closely united to Jesus Christ, that ye are no more as one may say, but one and the same Body and Blood with him. For this great Apostle says, in the place which we have already read, 'That our Lord in the same Night wherein he was delivered up to his Enemies, having taken Bread and given Thanks to God his Father, broke it and gave it to his Disciples, saying to them, *Take and Eat, This is my Body*. Afterwards he took the Cup, and having given Thanks, he said unto them, *Take and Drink, This is my Blood*. Seeing then, that he speaking of the Bread, declared, 'That it was his Body, Who shall ever dare to call in question this Truth? And since that, he speaking of the Wine, has assured us so positively, That it was his Blood, Who can ever doubt of it? And who shall dare to say, 'Tis not true that it was his Blood?'

"Jesus Christ being at a certain time in *Canis of Galilee*, changed there the Water into Wine by his Will only; and shall we think, that it is not as worthy of Credit upon his own Word, that he changed the Wine into his own Blood? If he being invited to a humane and earthly Marriage, wrought there this Miracle, tho' no Person expected it from him there, ought not we much rather to acknowledge, that he has given to the Children of the heavenly Spouse, his Body to Eat, and his Blood to Drink, that his Body and Blood may be nourishment to their Souls? For under the species of Bread, he has given us his Body, and under the species of Wine, he has given us his Blood, that so being made partakers of this Body and Blood, ye may become one Body and one Blood with him. For by this means we become, as one may say, *Christiferti*, that is to say, we carry Jesus Christ in our Body when we receive into our Mouth, and into our Stomach, his Body and his Blood: And thus according to St. *Peter*, we are made partakers of the Divine Nature.

"Jesus Christ speaking at another time to the Jews, says to them, Unless ye Eat my Flesh and drink my Blood, ye shall have no Life in you. But these gross and carnal Men not understanding the Words spiritually, were offended with them, and withdrew from him, because they imagined, that he would make them eat humane Flesh by morsels. [These Words do so fully explain St. *Cyril*'s Sense, that they need no Comment. If the Jews were offended because they did not spiritually understand those Words of Jesus Christ, when he talked to them in the 6th. of St. *John*; how much more according to this Father's way of Reasoning, would the Disciples have been offended, if they had understood Jesus Christ literally, when he Instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist?]" "There were in the Old Dispensation Loaves of Bread which were offer'd before God, and because they pertain'd to that Old Dispensation, they have ceas'd with it: But now in the New Dispensation, there is Bread from Heaven, and a Cup of Salvation, which Sanctifies Soul and Body. For as the Bread is the Nourishment which is proper to the Body, so the Word is the Nourishment which is proper to the Soul. Wherefore I conjure you, my Brethren, not to consider them any more as common Bread and Wine, since they are the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ according to his Word. For tho' your Sense inform you, that 'tis not so, yet Faith should persuade and assure you, that 'tis so. Judge not therefore of this Truth by your Taste, but let Faith make you believe with an entire certainty, that you have been made worthy to partake of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

"Let your Soul rejoice in the Lord, being perswaded of it as a thing most certain, that the Bread which appears to our Eyes is not Bread, tho' our taste do judge it to be so, but that it is the Body of Jesus Christ, and that the Wine which appears to our Eyes is not Wine, tho' our Sense of Taste takes it for Wine, but that it is the Blood of Jesus Christ.

"Ye have seen that a Deacon gives Water to wash the Hands to the Priest that officiates, and to the Priests that are about the Altar of God. Think you that this was done to cleanse the Body? No, not at all; For we do not use to be in such a Condition, when we enter into the Church, as to stand

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"in need of such washing to make us clean; but this washing of the Hands signifies, that we should be clean from all our Sins; for the Hands signifying Actions, to wash our Hands is nothing else but to purify our Works. Afterwards the Deacon having said with a loud voice, *Embrace and kiss one another with a kiss of Peace*, we do all mutually salute with a holy Kiss, because it is the Token of the perfect reconciliation of our Hearts, and of forgetting all the injuries that have been received. After this, the Priest that officiates, says with a loud voice, *Lift up your Hearts*, because in this tremendous Moment chiefly, our Hearts should be raised up to God, and not depressed towards the things of this World. Therefore the Priest requires all those that are present at the Sacrifice, to banish from their Minds at this time, all Thoughts of the World, and all the Cares of their Domestic Affairs, that their Hearts may be in Heaven, in the presence of God who hath testified to great Love to Mankind. At these words of the Priest, ye Answer, *We lift up our Hearts unto the Lord*; and so ye profess to do what he has said. The Priest adds, *Let us give thanks unto the Lord*. And we ought indeed, to give thanks to him, that we, unworthy as we are of so rare and so excellent a Gift, are honoured with the participation of it; that he of his Goodness has reconciled us who were Enemies to himself, and that he designs to make us who have been so great Sinners, become his Children by the spirit of Adoption which he communicates to us. Ye answer at these words of the Priest, *'Tis just and reasonable to give Thanks unto him*: For when we give Thanks to God, we do a thing that is just, and which we are obliged to do; but when God bestows upon us so great Blessings, he does it not out of Justice, but out of pure Grace and Favour.

"Afterwards, we repeat the Sacred Hymn which the Seraphims sing in Heaven, in honour of the Three Persons of the Trinity, that so by this most heavenly Song, we may communicate with the sublime Host of Angels, and that being Sanctified more and more by these most Spiritual Hymns, we may become the fitter to pray unto God and so Gracious a God, that he would send down the Holy Spirit upon those things that we offer unto him, and that he would make the Bread become the Body of Jesus Christ, and the Wine his Blood: For whatsoever receives the Impression of the Holy Spirit, is sanctified and changed. [This shew's against those who urge St. Cyril's Words for Transubstantiation, that he did not think the change of the Elements (whatever it is) depends solely upon the Priest's repeating the Words of Consecration.] "Now when this Spiritual Sacrifice is ended, and this unbloody Worship which is given to God by means of the Expiatory Victim is concluded, Then we pray to him for the universal Peace of all the Churches, for the Tranquillity of the whole World, for Kings, for their Armies and their Allies, for the Sick and Afflicted, and in a word, for all those that need God's help. And we say unto God, Lord, we all pray unto thee, and offer up this Sacrifice, that by commemorating those who are dead before us, *viz.* the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, you may receive our Prayers Graciously, for the merit of their Prayers: Then we pray for the Holy Fathers and the Bishops that are dead, and in short, for all those that are departed this Life in our Communion, believing that their Souls receive very great Relief, by the Prayers that are offered for them in this holy and tremendous Sacrifice which is upon the Altar. This I shall easily make you understand by an Example: For I know there are many who say, What good can it do to a Soul which is departed out of this Life, whether with Sins or without them, to remember at this Sacrifice? But tell me, I pray you, if a King had sent into banishment some Persons that had offended him, and their Friends and Relations should present him with a Crown of great Price to appease his Anger, Don't you think, that upon their Account, the King would show some Favour to the guilty Persons, and at least mitigate their Pains? So do we address our Prayers to God for those that are dead, who they were Sinners, not by presenting to him a Crown, but by offering up to him Jesus Christ himself, who was sacrificed for our Sins, that so he who is so Merciful and Good, may become Gracious to them as well as to us. After this you say, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, &c.

"When the Lord's Prayer is ended, the Priest says, *Holy things are for the Holy*; that is, The things which are offered upon the Altar, being sanctified by the descent of the Holy Spirit, are for you that are Holy, by the Infusion of the same Holy Spirit which has been given you; and thus it is, that Holy things are for them that are Holy. Then ye answer, *Jesus Christ alone is Holy; He only is the Lord and Master*. And 'tis not without reason, that ye speak after this manner, because indeed, there is none truly Holy, but he only who is so of himself, and by his own Nature; and as for you, how Holy soever you be, you are not so by your own proper Nature, but only by the participation of Holiness, by the spiritual Exercises which you perform, and by the Prayers which you address to his Supreme Majesty. After this, you hear most heavenly and divine Music, inviting you to partake of the Sacred Mysteries, by chanting forth these words; *Taste and see how good the Lord is*. Think you now that you are required to discern this by the Sense of Taste? No, by no means; but by the Testimony of Faith which is certain, and leaves no doubt. For when you take them, ye are not commanded to take the Bread and Wine, but to take the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, which they represent. (One that believes with the Church of Rome, cannot say that the Bread and Wine represent the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.) "Now when you approach to Communicate, you must not come there with your Hands expanded, nor your Fingers open, but supporting your right Hand which is to contain so great a King, with your left; you receive the Body of Jesus Christ, into the hollow of this Hand, saying *Amen*. Then after you have taken Care to Sanctify your Eyes by the Touch of so Holy and Venerable a Body, you Communicate of it by eating it. But take heed that nothing of it falls aside, considering the loss of the least crumb, as if you lost some of your Members. If any one should give you Ingots of Gold, What Care would you take to watch them, that nothing of them should be lost? What Precaution then ought we

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"to use, to keep the least Crumb of a thing that is infinitely more dear and precious than Gold and Diamonds, from falling down? After you have thus communicated of the Body of Jesus Christ, approach to the Cup of his Blood, not by stretching forth your hands, but by bowing your selves as it were to Adore him, and do him Homage, and then say, *Amen*. Then sanctify your selves by the Touch of the Blood of Jesus Christ which you receive, and while your Lips are wet, dry them with your hand, and carry it immediately to your Eyes, your Forehead, and your other Organs of sense, to consecrate them. In a word, while you wait for the last Prayer of the Priest, return thanks to God that he has made you worthy to partake of so great and so sublime Mysteries.

"I shall not stay to make all the Reflections upon these Passages which have been already made by the most able Defenders of the Church, being persuaded that the Plainness of these words exceeds all that can be said, and that Men need only Eyes to convince them that St. Cyril taught the Real Presence, and to make them acknowledge, that the Ceremonies of the Mass are very ancient in the Church.

We have a Letter of St. Cyril to Constantius, upon the Wonderful Apparition of a Luminous Cross, which was seen over the City of Jerusalem, mention'd by Sozomen in Ch. 4. of the 4th. Book of his History, where he also observes, That the Emperour was advertis'd of it by St. Cyril. In this Letter he gives great Commendations to the Emperour Constantius; he says, That the Cross of Jesus Christ was found in the time of the Emperour Constantine; he describes the Apparition of the Sign of the Cross, and concludes with glorifying the Consubstantial Trinity. *River* rejects also this Letter as a Superstitious Writing, and gives no other Reason for his Opinion, but the great Praises which it gives to the Emperour Constantius. [Nazianzen commends Constantius in his Inveictives against Julian in as high terms as 'tis possible, and yet they were never questioned.] But this is not a sufficient Proof, since we commonly speak so to Princes, and St. Athanasius and St. Hilary did not use to do otherwise, even after this Emperour had declar'd himself more openly against the Faith of the Church: For this Letter, if it is true, was written a little after St. Cyril was Bishop of Jerusalem.

We have also a Letter of the Presentation of Jesus Christ in the Temple, which goes under the Name of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, and nothing hinders us to attribute it to him. But we cannot say this of the Letter written in the Name of St. Cyril of Jerusalem to St. Augustin, concerning the Miracles of St. Jerome. Though this Letter were not so ridiculously written as it is, the Title alone would show that it is a gross imposture, since St. Cyril was dead before St. Jerome.

The Style of St. Cyril's Catechetick Lectures, is Simple and Natural. 'Tis easie to perceive that they were written in haste, and without much Premeditation. Though they do not dive deeply into the Mysteries, yet they explain them very clearly, and they contain much Learning. One may see there upon every Subject a most exact and exquisite Collection of Passages of Scripture. He sets down the Opinions of the Heretics and refutes them solidly. He makes very Judicious Remarks, and explains many Passages of Scripture. I say nothing particularly of his Doctrine, because it is sufficiently explain'd in the Extracts, which we have taken out of his Lectures.

James Grodecius was the first who translated and publish'd the Catechetical Discourses of St. Cyril, from a Greek Manuscript of Cardinal Hosius, the Pope's Legat at the Council of Trent. They were printed in the Year 1564. at Antwerp and at Paris; In the Year 1560. at Vienna, and in 1584. at Paris. The Original Greek appear'd quickly after the Latin Version, for Morellus printed the 11 first Catechetical Discourses, and the Five last in the Year 1564, from a Manuscript out of Monsieur de Meuse's Library: They were also printed with a Latin Translation in the same Year at Cologne 1564. But at last Prepositus having found the Greek of all the Catechetical Discourses of St. Cyril in the Manuscripts of the Vatican Library, he printed them at Paris by Morellus in the Year 1609. This Volume is in Quarto, and the Version of Grodecius in one Page, answering to the Greek Text in the other. 'Twas this Edition which was follow'd by that of Paris in the Year 1631.

The Letter concerning the Sign of the Cross, was printed apart by Morellus, and since join'd to the Catechetical Discourses of St. Cyril. The Oration concerning the Presentation of Jesus Christ, was printed at Cologne by Birchmannus in the Year 1598. These Discourses are all in the Bibliotheca Patrum.

St. EPHREM the Syrian, Deacon of Edessa.

ST. EPHREM was of Nisibis a City of Syria, or of some place thereabout. He was Born under the Reign of Constantine, he embrac'd a Monastick Life from his most tender Youth, and became in a little time the Governor and Superior of many Monks. Coming often to Edessa to visit the Church of that City, he was there ordain'd Deacon. He came also as far as Cesarea of Cappadocia, where he was known and very well receiv'd by St. Basil, who had a most particular esteem for him. 'Tis said, That this Saint taught him Greek, and that he conferr'd upon him the Order of Priesthood; but this Report is not very certain, since the Ancients assure us, that he died a Deacon. Sozomen tells us, That when he was chosen Bishop of a City, he feign'd himself to be Mad, lest they should carry him away by force, and ordain him against his Will. I shall say nothing here of his Piety, his Charity, his Humility, the Austerity of his Life, nor of his other Christian and Religious Vertues, no more than of his remarkable Actions and his Miracles, because those things do not concern my Subject. I shall only apply my self to speak of his Writings, which were so famous according to the Testimony of St. Jerome, that they were publicly read in some Churches after the Reading of the Holy Books,

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Books, and which were so numerous that the whole World was full of them. He wrote them in Syriack, and they were translated into Greek in his own time. *Sozomen* observes, That though he had never studied, yet he had so many Beauties in his Style, and so many Sublime Thoughts, that the Tracts of his Eloquence might be discern'd even in the Greek Translation: and *St. Jerome* assures us, That having read the Version of his Treatise concerning the Holy Spirit, he perceiv'd in the Translation the Fineness of his Sublime Genius: *St. Gregory Nyssen*, who wrote a Panegyric upon this Father, insists chiefly upon his Doctrine and Writings. He praises the Purity of his Faith, and the Aversion he had to the Heresies of *Sabellius*, *Arius*, and *Apollinaris*. He says, That he refuted the *Ante-nicenes* and the *Novatians*; and all his Writings are full of solid and convincing Proofs. He adds, That he had read and meditated more than any Person upon the Old and New Testament, and that he had wrote Expositions upon all the Holy Scripture, from the Beginning of *Genesis* to the End of the New Testament; That he had also compos'd many lively and Pathetical Exhortations; That Tears and Sighs were very common and familiar with him, as may be seen in his Writings. For, says he, he does not only sigh, when he speaks of Morality and the Precepts of Life, but even in his Panegyrics; all his Discourses are mix'd with bemoaning and compassionate Expressions, which are able to move even the hardest Heart. For what is Proud, adds he, would not become the humblest of Men, by reading his Discourse of Humility? Who would not be inflam'd with a Divine Fire, by reading his Treatise of Charity? Who would not wish to be chaste in Heart and Spirit by reading the Praises he has given to Virginity? Who would not be frighten'd by hearing the Discourse he has made upon the Last Judgment, wherein he has represented it so lively, that nothing can be added to it but the same thing? God gave him so Profound a Wisdom, that though he had a wonderful Facility of Speaking, yet he could not scruple Expressions for the multitude of Thoughts that came into his Mind. We have seen, as the same Father still goes on, one of his Sermons, where he calls *Apollinaris* a Madman. He tells a very pleasant Story of a trick that *St. Ephrem* put upon this Heretic. He says, That the Heretic had written two Books, wherein were all the Reasons and Passages of Scripture, that he made use of to defend his Error, and which he had committed to the Custody of a Woman; That *St. Ephrem* pretending that he was of the same Judgment with *Apollinaris*, had borrow'd them of this Woman, and that before he restor'd them, heglu'd all the Leaves fast to one another: That this Woman seeing the Books bound up after the same manner, perceiv'd nothing of what was done, but gave them as they were to *Apollinaris*, to make use of them in a Publick Conference which he was to have with a Catholick, and that then the Heretic not being able to open them, was forc'd to withdraw with shame. The quickness of *St. Ephrem's* Wit appear'd also in the Syriack Verses which he made in his own Language, in imitation of *Flavianus* the Son of *Bardeanes*, who had compos'd many Hymns which the Syrians sung with Delight. *St. Ephrem* perceiving that this Author had cunningly interspers'd in those Prayers, some Errors of his Father, and of the Greek Philosophers, fearing lest the Christians of Syria, might fall insensibly into these false Opinions, he endeavour'd with all his might to comprehend the Metre of these Verses, and wrote other Books agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church, as Hymns and the Encomiasticks of the Saints, which were so well received by the Syrians, that they sung them to the same Tunes with those of *Flavianus*. 'Tis said, That he compos'd almost 100000 Verses of this Nature. *Sozomen* says also, That he wrote the Life of *St. Julianus*. To conclude, *Photius* in Volume 197 of his *Bibliotheca*, observes that he had read 50 Sermons of this Father.

It appears by what we have already said, That *Ephrem* wrote Commentaries upon all the Bible, Treatises of Controversy against many Heretics, a Book of the Holy Spirit, 3 great many Discourses and Instructions to the People, and to his Monks, some Panegyrics, many Treatises of Morality, and a great number of Hymns to be sung in the Church: That all his Writings were compos'd in Syriack, and that the greatest part of them were translated into Greek while he was living. We have none of his Commentaries upon Scripture, nor his Treatises of Controversy; but we have a great number of Discourses, of Moral Precepts, and of Hymns which have been translated into Greek, and publish'd by *Vossius* towards the end of the last Age, under *St. Ephrem's* Name. Some Critics, to whom the Books concerning a Monastick Life are not agreeable, have pretended that all those Books are Supposititious. Notwithstanding 'tis very probable, that the greatest part of them are truly *St. Ephrem's*, because all the Characters that the Ancients give of the Writings of *St. Ephrem*, agree to these; so that 'tis easy to know them. 1. The Treatises of *St. Ephrem* were full of Figures and Ornaments, but yet without Fineness and Art; now these are all fill'd with Exclamations, Interrogations, Comparisons, Antitheses and other Figures, which are grossly enough employ'd and without choice. 2. He had much Vivacity and Fire, which these are all full of. 3. *St. Ephrem* related many Passages of Scripture, and these Writings are oftentimes nothing else but a Collection. 4. *St. Gregory Nyssen* says, That they were mix'd with bemoaning Expressions, with Sighs and Tears; That he spoke continually of Weeping even in his Panegyrics: This is properly the Character of the greatest part of the Discourses publish'd by *Vossius*. 5. The same Father says, That he wrote Discourses of Humility, Charity, in Praise of Virginity, and of the Last Judgment. There are Discourses upon all these Subjects amongst those that were publish'd by *Vossius*, and have the same Character which this Father observ'd in *St. Ephrem's* Books; that is to say, that they are pathetical and moving. 6. He wrote many Hymns upon divers Subjects, and there are among the Books which go under his Name, many Pieces written in Verse, and of a Poetical Style. 7. His Testament which is related in this Edition, is the same with that which is quoted by *St. Gregory Nyssen*, who produces two Passages out of it, which are word for word in that which was publish'd by *Vossius*. 8. We have among these Books, The Life of *Julianus* cited by *Sozomen*, B. III. of his History, Ch. 14. In fine, The 49 Sermons of *St. Ephrem*, whereof *Photius* made an Extract, are found in these Works of *St. Ephrem*. The same *Photius* quotes a Discourse

of Humility divided into a 100 Chapters, which is in the second Tome, a Discourse upon the same Virtue which is in the first Tome, and a Treatise of Virtues and Vices to the Antiseptic Monks, which is also in the first Volume, and which contains the same Matters in the same Order. These Reasons plainly show, that the greatest part of the Books, which at present go under *St. Ephrem's* Name, are the same with *Gregory Nyssen*, *Theodoret*, *Sozomen* and *Photius*, attributed to this Saint. Now what probability is there, that they should take the Works of another Author for those of *St. Ephrem*? *St. Gregory Nyssen*, could not be deceiv'd herein, who lived at the same time. What probability is there, that *Photius*, who was a very able Critick, and who distinguishes our *St. Ephrem* from the Patriarch of Antioch, who mentions the Works of the one and the other, in two different places of his *Bibliotheca*; What probability is there, I say, that he should quote a false *Ephrem* for a true one?

'Tis objected 1. That there is not found in his Works that Fire and Loftiness which are mention'd by *St. Jerome* and *Sozomen*, and that they seem to be rather Pious than Learned, according to the Judgment of Cardinal *Bellarmin*. I answer, That tho' there were not found in a Latin Version of the Works of any Author made from another Greek Version, all that Beauty and Loftiness which they had in their Original Language, we should not wonder at it: But those who object this, do not rightly apprehend the Sense of *St. Jerome* and *Sozomen*, and have neither a very nice Relish, nor a very right Judgment in this matter. For first of all, *St. Jerome* and *Sozomen*, tacitly confess, that the Translation of the Works of *St. Ephrem* made them lose some part of their Loftiness; but they only observe, That one might perceive some strokes of his Vivacity and Eloquence, even in the Translation it self. *St. Jerome* says the same of the Book of the Holy Spirit, and not of the others. Now it may so happen, that this sublime Reasoning of *St. Ephrem*, appear'd more in his Dogmatical Books, than in his Discourses of Devotion, and in his Edifying Exhortations; such as all those are which are now extant. adly, 'Tis true, that no Vein of Eloquence is to be discern'd in them. The learned *Photius* did not think so, on the contrary, we may admire, says he, in the Exhortations of this holy Man, (which are a part of this Book which we now have) the force wherewith he persuades, his agreeable manner of expressing things, and the pathetical Phrases that he makes use of. It is no wonder, that his Style and his Figures, resemble those Homilies which are made off hand, and without premeditation: Neither must we throw his fault upon the Author, but upon the Interpreter, because those that are learned in the Syriack Tongue, know that they excel in abundance of Words, and in Figures of Rhetorick; so that 'tis hard to say, whether it be from their Language, or from his own Invention, that the strength and elevation of his Discourse proceeds. Moreover, we ought not in reading to look only upon the meanness of the Words, but to consider what Advantage and Profit may be reaped from the things that he has written. [Mr. Du Pin, seems to have forgot that he had named Cardinal *Bellarmin* just before.] This Reflection of *Photius*, who was a better Critick in this kind, than *Rivet* and the other Critics of his way, informs us, that several strokes of the Elevation and Quickness of his Spirit, might be discern'd in the Version of *St. Ephrem's* Discourses, and that one might there perceive the Genius of the Syriack Tongue; and that whatever meanness there may be in his Style, it ought to be attributed to the Interpreter, and not to the Author.

'Tis objected also, That those Treatises, were written by an Author who understood Greek, since he cites *St. Irenaeus*, Ch. 8. of the Treatise of *Verine*, and the Life of *St. Anthony* written in Greek by *St. Athanasius*, in Ch. 10. of the Treatise upon these words, Take heed to your selves: Now *St. Ephrem* did not understand Greek, say they, and by consequence these Treatises are none of his.

'Tis easy to answer this Objection. 1. 'Tis not certain that *St. Ephrem* did not understand Greek; on the contrary, 'tis probable that a Man who was often among People that spoke Greek, did understand their Language, tho' he was not able enough to write in that Tongue. 2. That though he did not understand Greek, yet he might get the Books of *St. Irenaeus*, translated into Syriack; and 'tis probable, that for the use of the Monks of his Country, he procur'd a Syriack Version of the Life of *St. Anthony*, who was look'd upon as the Rule of all the Monks in the East.

adly, They object to us the little Credit that ought to be given to those that have publish'd his Books: They say, We have them not, but as they come through the hands of the Modern Greeks, who are too much given to Cheat; and that the Latin Versions were made by *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*, and *Vossius Tungrensis*, who were Persons devoted to the Interests of the Court of Rome.

But why is it sufficient thus to alledge general and uncertain Reasons for rejecting any Books? If this be sufficient, What is there that we shall not doubt of? The Protestants will have Reason to reject all the Books of the Fathers, which have been publish'd by Catholics, and Catholics will have reason to reject all those that have been publish'd by the Protestants. Where shall we be then? This therefore is not the way. But we must suppose that both the one and the other have publish'd the Books which they found in the Manuscripts that fell into their hands; for there is no probability that the Man should be so impudent as to forge many Pieces, and pretend that he found them in Manuscripts, and tho' some Persons should be found capable of doing this, yet 'twere impossible, but their imposture must be quickly discover'd. They must therefore have other Proofs, besides these general Insinuations, to reject any Books as supposititious. But besides, when it is said that we have none of *St. Ephrem's* Writings, but through the hands of the Modern Greeks, that's a mistake. They were translated while he was alive, as appears by what we have already said. And whereas *Ambrosius Camaldulensis* and *Vossius*, are accus'd of being Impostors, 'tis easy to justify them by the ancient Greek Manuscripts which are to be found in Libraries.

Lastly, Some places of the Books of this Father are produc'd, which seem to be mean and unworthy of him. 'Tis said, that there is nothing more ridiculous, than what he introduces the damnd speaking, We salute you, O Saints, we salute you, O Apostles, &c. They add, That there are contra-

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ditions in them, for in his Confessions, he accuses himself of many Sins, and in his Testament he makes himself Innocent.

To answer this Objection in a word, I might say, That 'tis a very hard matter to avoid, but some weak Thoughts will be found in to great a Number of Books of Piety and Devotion. That if one would compare these Books with those of our Age, which are of the same kind, they might see that the latter are infinitely more fill'd with false Thoughts, than those of St. Ephrem. But the places which *River* has chose to oppose to us, are very weak Proofs. The wicked do not Salute the Saints in the Treatise of Hell-Torments; on the contrary, they bid them eternally adieu, after they had heard the Sentence of Condemnation: Neither is there any Contradiction between his Testament and his Confessions. He confesses both in the one and the other place with much humility, that he had spent his Life in Sin and Vanity. 'Tis true, that he says in his Testament, that he had not reproach'd any body, and that he had no quarrel with any of the Faithful; but then he says nothing contrary to this in his Confessions, and though he should have said it, yet he might speak so in humility, as many pious Persons do in this kind of Confessions, wherein they speak oftentimes in the Person of another.

I shall now draw up a Catalogue, with an Account of the Subjects of St. Ephrem's Works, which are divided into three Tomes.

The 1st. Discourse of the first Tome, is of the Dignity of the Priesthood, which he exalts as high as it can be exalted. Towards the latter End, he speaks against those who intrude into the Priestly Office, without being worthy of it, and without being call'd to it. He observes, that the Sacerdotal Dignity is conferr'd by imposition of Hands.

The 2^d. is an Answer to one of his Monks, who had ask'd him, who they were that might use that Liberty which St. Paul gives to Marry, rather than to Burn. He answers, That it concerns only those who are not bound, and who live in the World, but not those who have renounced the World, and embraced a Religious Life.

The 3^d. is concerning the Softness of *Eli* the High-Priest, who would not chastise his Sons.

In the 4th. he exhorts Christians to celebrate the Festivals, and to approach the Holy Mysteries with Purity.

The 5th. is concerning Charity towards our Neighbour.

The 6th. is concerning the usefulness of Singing Psalms. There he condemns idle Songs and Dancing.

The 7th. is of the Value and Necessity of Prayer.

The 8th. is of Love of the Poor, and of Alms.

The 9th. of Fasting.

The 10th. explains that Passage in the Gospel, *There shall be two Men in the field, the one shall be taken, and the other left.* He is of Opinion, that the Just are those who shall be taken, and the Wicked those who shall be left. He seems to explain Hell Fire, Mystically.

The 11th. is concerning the Miseries of this Life.

The 12th. is of the inequality of Happiness. He observes, that tho' all the Happy enjoy the same happiness, yet there are different Degrees of it. He assures his Auditory, *That there is no middle between Hell and the Kingdom of Heaven.* [Here then by our Author's own Confession, is a positive Proof, that an Eminent Father of the Fourth Century, disbelieved a middle State, which not only destroys Purgatory, but also the Necessity of Praying to the Saints.]

The 13th. is also of Blessedness.

The 14th. of the Contempt we ought to have of the Riches and Pleasures of this World.

The 15th. is against those who every day do Penance, and always relapse into the same Sins.

After these Discourses follows a Treatise divided into many Chapters, concerning Vertues and Vices. In the Preface he shows great Humility in debasing himself below those that had prayed him to instruct them. Afterwards he discovers to them the good Effects of the Fear of God, of the Love of our Neighbour, of Meekness, Patience, Sincerity, Obedience, Hope and Continence; and the bad Effects of the contrary Vices.

After these Instructions, follow 91 Maxims of Piety, and 96 Advices concerning a spiritual Life, directed to a young Monk.

The 16th. Discourse is against those who forsake a Monastick Life after they have once embrac'd it, to return into the World.

The 17th. is concerning perfect Self-denial, and concerning the Peace of Mind, which every one should have in Solitude.

The 18th. is of the Sighing of a Soul under Temptation, and of the Tears of Repentance.

The 19th. is of the Fear of Death.

The 20th. is an humbling Discourse, wherein he acknowledges himself guilty of many Faults, and prays his Brethren to implore the Divine Mercy for him.

The 21st. is an Exhortation to Christian Vigilance.

The 22^d. is an Exhortation to the Practice of good Works.

The 23^d. is concerning the Grace of Jesus Christ. He exhorts those to whom he addresses himself, to follow the attractive of Divine Grace, if they would attain to perfection.

The 24th. is concerning Faith, or rather concerning Trust in the Providence of God.

The 25th. is against those who say, that Earthquakes are caused by the Concussions of the Earth, and not by the Providence of God. This discovers that the Author of those Discourses had not much Learning, since it may be truly said, that Earthquakes proceed from natural Causes, tho' they are order'd by the Providence of God.

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The 26th. is against the Superstitions of the Pagans. There he relates, that when the Plague was at *Constantinople*, a Physician nam'd *Domnus*, being desirous to preserve himself by the Superstitions of the Pagans, was seiz'd with the Plague and died, tho' he dwelt in a high place where there was very good Air; that one of his Companions nam'd *Macedonius*, feeling his lamentable Death, quitted the Pagan Religion, and became a Monk. After this, he brings many Passages of Scripture, to prove that the Plague, and those other Calamities wherewith Men are afflicted, are the Effects of God's Vengeance, and that we must make our Application to him, to preserve us from them. He observes, that God sends these Miseries upon Men, to bring them to the knowledge of themselves, and to Repentance.

The 27th. is against Pride and a good Opinion of one's self.

The 28th. is against those who having enter'd into Monasteries, are guilty of Vices, and particularly of Ambition, Laziness, and Disobedience. At the latter end, he exhorts his Brethren to discharge all the Offices of a Religious Life.

The 29th. is against Detraction.

The 30th. is upon those Subjects which Christians ought to lament.

The 31st. is against Plays and Shows. There he blames those who after they have been present at Divine Offices, go to Dancing, and Sing idle Songs. To Day, says he, they are United to Jesus Christ, and to Morrow they Dishonour him, they Deny him; to Day they are Christians, and to Morrow Pagans; to Day they have Piety, and to Morrow they are Impious; to Day they are Faithful, and the Disciples of Jesus Christ, and to Morrow they are Apostates and the Enemies of God; to Day they hear the Word of Jesus Christ, and to Morrow they apply themselves to hear the Voices and Instruments of Musick, which sing or play profane Songs.

The 32^d. is against the Unchast.

The 33^d. is of that Charity wherewith we should reprove our Brethren that are fallen into any Sin.

The 34th. is against Curiosity, and of flunning the occasions of Sin.

The 35th. is against Lewd Women.

The 36th. is of the means of avoiding the Sin of the Flesh.

The 37th. is of the Praise of Charity.

The 38th. is of the Preservation of this Vertue, and of the Unhappines of those that lose it.

The 39th. is a Description of that unhappy State to which a Man is reduc'd by Conscience. He pays the Lord to give him Grace to preserve him from Shipwracks, amidst the Storms of this Life. He requests of him, That his Heart and his Mouth, may be a pure Temple and without Stain, by the Heavenly Grace; and that it may make his Tongue and Lips to move continually, in Singing forth the Praises of God. This Discourse is one of the Noblest and most Beautiful of them all.

The Four following Discourses are concerning Compunction, or the Remorse we ought to have for offending God. In the 1st. he says, That the Grace of God is always ready to enter into our Hearts, whenever they are dispos'd to receive it, or when our evil Thoughts do not put a Bar to it; That in the mean-time, it touches our Soul by the Sweetness of its Light, and makes it return to it self, and seek after the Light; That the Grace of God does never wholly forsake us, and that without Grace, we cannot Repent.

In the 2^d. he shows, That we ought not to Despair, and that every one may obtain Pardon of his Sin, provided his Heart be pierc'd with a sincere Sorrow for his Offence against God, and that he change his course of Life.

In the 3^d. he shows, That we ought to bewail this Life, and to rejoice at Death.

The 4th. is also of the Sorrow we ought to have, and the Tears we ought to shed in this Life.

The 44th. and 45th. Discourses are about Penance.

The 46th. is about Repentance and Conversion.

The 47th. is of Penance and Patience.

The 48th. is of Patience under the Crosses, and Adversities of this Life.

The 49th. is of Contancy and Compunction.

In the 50th. he exhorts to Perseverance and Watchfulness, from the dread of the Last Judgment, and the Pains of Hell. He says, That we must always pray, even while we labour with our Hands, we must continually resist Temptation, read the Holy Scripture with Attention and Preparation, and live in Silence and Tranquility: He enlarges particularly, on the Praises of this last Exercise.

After these Discourses, follow several Sentences, call'd the *Beatitudes* of St. Ephrem, in which he recommends above all things, Christian Vigilance to his Brethren.

After these Beatitudes, follow Questions and Answers upon several Subjects, as about the Renunciation promis'd in Baptism; about the Last Judgment; about the Different Punishments of the Damned. This is follow'd with a Treatise of remembering Death, wherein he lays open the Vanity of Riches. The Second discourse of Death, is attributed to St. Basil, and is of a different Stile from St. Ephrem's Discourses.

The following Treatises are of the Resurrection of the Last Judgment, and the things which shall happen when Anti-Christ shall come; and of the Apparition of the Cross at the time of Christ's second Coming. This Relation is ended with Lamentations and Prayers, which are attributed to St. Ephrem.

The Second Tome contains the Life of St. Ephrem, written by *Simoon Metaphrastes*, choice Sentences drawn from the Books of St. Ephrem; a Discourse of St. Ephrem about his Conversion; a Spiritual Song concerning the praise of Learning and Wisdom; an Epistle to a Monk about Patience; four Exhortations to a young Monk concerning a Monastick Life; six Chapters of Vertues, necessary to a Monk; twelve Chapters upon these words, *Take heed to your selves*; fifty Exhortations to the young Monks, wherein

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wherein he exhorts them to Humility, Obedience, Watchfulness, to Labour, Devotion, Meekness, Patience, to Charity, Reading, Prayer, Temperance, and the Practice of the other Monastick Virtues.

The 49th. is of the Excellencies of a Monastick Life above the Secular. Then follow 100 Maxims, Apophthegms, or Examples of the means for acquiring and preserving Humility, and the other Monastick Virtues; a Discourse against Covetous Monks; another of the Perfection of a Monk; a Treatise of Spiritual Arms, of the Spiritual Combat; an Instructive Exhortation about an Affective Life; another Exhortation to Repentance from the second Coming of Jesus Christ; nineteen Advertisements of the Abbot Ammon, and the Apophthegms of the ancient Fathers, wherein he speaks of St. Benedict.

The Third Tome is divided into three Parts. The I. contains a Treatise compos'd in imitation of the Book of Proverbs, which is a Collection of Sentences and Maxims for a Spiritual and Monastick Life, a Treatise of a Religious Life, a Treatise of Repentance [or Penitence]; a Discourse of the Communion of the Heart; Another Discourse wherein St. Ephrem accuses himself of his Faults, and asks Forgiveness; A Discourse of the Resurrection, of Judgment, and the Pains of the Impious, with an humble Prayer to God. The II. Part contains Panegyrics upon Just and Holy Men, whom he proposes as Examples and Patterns of Virtue: The first is upon Noah, where he speaks of Continence; The 2d. is upon Abraham and Isaac, where he exhorts to Obedience; The 3d. upon Lot, and against false Confidence; The 4th. in Praise of the Patriarch Joseph; The 5th. upon Daniel, against those that say, *The times are Evil, we cannot save our selves*; The 6th. upon Jonah and the Repentance of the Ninevites; The 7th. upon Elijah and the Widow of Sarepta; The 9th. upon the Precious Stone that's mention'd in the Gospel; The 10th. against those that search into the Greatness of the Divine Nature; The 11th. a Discourse upon our Saviour's Transfiguration; The 12th. of the Passion of Jesus Christ; The 13th. the Lamentation of the Virgin upon the Passion of her Son; The 14th. upon the Cross of Jesus Christ, where he speaks of the manner of celebrating Festivals among Christians, of the Verities of the Cross of Jesus Christ, and the Usefulness of the sign of the Cross; The 15th. is of the Praises of the Virgin, after which follows a Prayer to the Virgin; The 16th. on the Woman that was a Sinner; The 17th. is a Discourse of St. Chrysostom about the same Woman and a Pharisee; The 18th. is a Panegyrick upon St. Basil, which is publish'd in Greek by Catechizers, in the last Volume of his *Monumenta Ecclesie Græcæ*; The 19th. is in Praise of the Forty Martyrs; The 20th. is upon all the Martyrs in the World who have suffer'd for Jesus Christ; The 21st. is upon the same Subject; The 22d. is upon Abramius; The 23d. is upon Julianus the Hermit; The 24th. is upon the Holy Fathers that died in his own time; The 25th. is upon the same Subject: Two Hymns upon the same Subject; A Discourse of the Happiness of those that died in Christ, and of the Vanity of this World, of the Uncertainty of Life, and the different kinds of Death. The last Monument of St. Ephrem is his Testament cited by St. Gregory Nyssen, which is properly an Exhortation to this Father, upon his Death-Bed, address'd to his Monks; He desires them to remember him in their Prayers; He forbids them to keep his Garments as Relicks; He desires that they would Bury him after a plain manner, and without any Pomp; He conjures them to offer the Sacrifice of the Mass for him, and enlarges also upon the Usefulness of Prayers for the Dead, and upon the Virtue of Sacrifice to blot out Sins: Lastly, he gives them many wholesome Advices, and heaps Blessings upon his chief Disciples that were present at his Death, which happen'd under the Reign of Valens, in the Year 378, on the First Day of February.

The first that publish'd any of the Books of this Father was Ambrosius Camaldulensis, who translated some of them into Latin, which were printed at Brescia in 1490. at Strasburg in 1509. and at Cologne in 1547. Afterwards Gerard Vossius, or Volken of Borchloon in Germany, search'd out all the Works of this Father, and translated and publish'd them in Three Tomes. The First, is dedicated to Sixtus the 5th. in 1581; The Second dedicated to Clement the 8th. in 1593, and the last in 1598. These three Tomes were printed in one Volume at Cologne in 1603, and at Antwerp in 1619. Eschellensis publish'd at Rome in 1645, a Song of the Virgin and the Wilemen attributed to St. Ephrem, translated from the Syriack. Catechizers publish'd the Greek of the Panegyrick upon St. Basil, made by St. Ephrem, in his last Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, printed at Paris in 1686. 'Twere to be wish'd that some body would publish the Greek Versions of all the Books of St. Ephrem, which are to be found in Libraries; as also the Syriack Text of some of his Books.

DAMASUS, Bishop of Rome.

Damasus,
Bishop of
Rome

AFTER the Death of Pope Liberius, which happen'd in the Year 369, the See of Rome being Vacant for some time, by reason of the Caballing of those that pretended to fill it, Damasus at last was chosen by the greater part of the Clergy and People, and Ordain'd by the Bishops. But on the other side, Ursinus or rather Ursicinus, who was his Competitor for the Popedom, got himself Ordain'd by some other Bishops in the Church of Sciscinius. This Contest caus'd a great Division in the City of Rome, and stirr'd up to great a Sedition there as could hardly be appeas'd. The two Parties came from Words to Blows, and a great many Christians were kill'd in the Churches of Rome upon this Quarrel. The Governor of Rome call'd Prætextatus, being desirous to allay the heat of this Contention, sent Ursicinus into Banishment by the Emperor's Order: But his Banishment did not perfectly appease the Quarrel; for the Partizans of Ursicinus Assembled still in the Churches of which they were possess'd, without ever communicating with Damasus; and even, when the Emperor had order'd that their Churches should be taken from them, they still kept up their Assemblies without the City,

so that it was necessary at last to drive them quite out of Rome. And yet all this did not hinder Ursinus from having his secret Associates in Italy and at Rome. The Bishop of Puteoli call'd Gaius, and the Bishop of Parma, were most zealous for his Interests: They were condemn'd by the Council held at Rome in the Year 372, and afterwards banish'd by the Authority of the Roman See. However they found means to return into their own Country, and stirr'd up new troubles there. They got Pope Damasus to be accus'd by one Isaac a Jew. This Accusation was examin'd by the Council of Bishops held at Rome in the Year 378, which declar'd Damasus innocent of the Crime he was laid to his Charge. This Council wrote a Letter to the Emperor Gratian, praying him to give them Order for the Peace of the Church of Rome. The Emperor wrote to them, that Ursicinus was detain'd at Cologne, that he had given Order to banish Isaac into a Corner of Spain, and to send the Bishops of Puteoli and Parma, out of their Country. This did not hinder Ursinus from returning into Italy in the Year 381, where he stirr'd up new Tumults, and endeavour'd to re-engage the Emperor: But the Bishops of Italy being assembled in a Council at Aquileia, in the Year 381, wrote to inform him, that he banish'd Ursinus for ever, and left Damasus in peaceable Possession of the See of Rome, in which he continued until the Year 384. St. Jerome places him among the Ecclesiastical Writers, because of his writing: But there are many other Letters which go under his Name, that are supposititious. I shall first set down those of which there can be no doubt.

The Two Letters of Damasus, directed to St. Jerome, are amongst the Works of this Father. In the first, he exhorts this Saint to write to him; and to oblige him by fixing a Subject, he proposes to him some Difficulties about the Holy Scripture. He observes in this Letter, That he took no pleasure in reading the Books of Lactantius, because they were too long, and were not fill'd with the Doctrines of Religion. In the second Letter, he desires to tell him the meaning of *Hosanna to the Son of David*: But there is another Letter attributed to Damasus, and written to St. Jerome, with the Answer of this Father that is not to be placed in the same rank; for the Style of these Two Letters is very different from that of Damasus and St. Jerome, and they contain many Impertinencies and Follies in the Judgment of Belandus and Baronius. 'Tis said in the first, That St. Jerome was Ordained by Alexander; and 'tis certain, that Paulinus Ordained him. In the second, 'tis suppos'd, That St. Jerome exhorted Damasus to Order the Gloria Patri to be sung at the End of all the Psalms, as was ordain'd by the Council of Nice, and as it was practis'd in the East: But if Cassian is to be believed, this was not practis'd in the East.

The 3d. Letter of Damasus is written in the Name of this Pope and other the Western Bishops, assembled at Rome, in the Year 370, concerning the Condemnation of Auxentius, to the Bishops of Illyricum. It is related by Theodoret also, in Ch. 22. B. II. of his Hist. and by Sozomen, Ch. 23. of B. VI. and it is in Latin in the Collection of Hossienus. These Bishops do here confirm the Faith of the Nicene Council, and declare, that Auxentius was condemn'd by the Bishops of France, because of his Heresy. They observe, That the Decision of the Council of Ariminum could not prejudice the Decrees of the Council of Nice, because neither the Bishop of Rome, whose Judgment was chiefly to be waited for, nor Vincentius of Capua, nor many others, had ever consented to it. They say at the End of this Letter, That those who taught another Doctrine, should quickly be turn'd out of their Bishopsicks. They exhort the Bishops of Illyricum to Defend the Faith of the Nicene Council, with Boldness and Constancy.

The Letter of Damasus to Paulinus, about the Cause of Vitalis, is also Genuine, and has a respect to History, and to what St. Gregory Nazianzen, says in his Letter to Cledonius, that Vitalis the Disciple of Apollinarius, coming to Rome, surpris'd Damasus, but that afterwards, this Pope had condemn'd him. The Letter of which we now speak, was written sometime after Vitalis departed from Rome, about the Year 373. It acquaints Paulinus, "That he had written to him by this Vitalis, leaving him to manage all things; That he had allsent him word of the same thing before, by the Priest Petronius; but that he was a little troubled when Vitalis was ready to depart; That to take from him all kind of Scruple, lest too great Precaution should hinder those from being receiv'd into the Church, who had a mind to return, he had sent to him a Confession of Faith, not to much for his own sake, as for theirs who desired to be re-united to the Church of Rome, and embrace its Communion; that they might Sign it." Wherefore, adds he, if Vitalis will joyn himself to us, you must oblige him to Sign the Nicene Creed, and to profess that he believes, That Jesus Christ took a Body, a Soul, a Mind, and in a Word, a Nature in every thing like to ours, Sin only, and Concupiscence, excepted; and to Anathematize those that should say, that the Word was instead of a Soul in the Person of Jesus Christ, or should dare to affirm, That there were two Sons of God in Jesus Christ, and deny, that he was the same Son of God before and after his Incarnation. He says, That he could freely receive those that should Sign this Letter, provided they had before approv'd the Ecclesiastical Canons, and the Faith of the Council of Nice. He concludes with telling Paulinus, That he doubted not but he had Power to propose the same things to those that were willing to be restor'd, and that he had written to him only for this End; that his Consent and Example might render him more Bold and Free to do it.

'Twas probably at the same time, and perhaps in consequence of this Letter, that Damasus sent to Paulinus, the Anathematisms that are set down in Greek by Theodoret, Ch. 11. of the Vth. B. of his History, and in Latin by Hossienus. They establish the Faith of the Church concerning the Mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, by condemning the contrary Errors. There is one of them against the Translation of Bishops. Vitalis having refused to Sign the Declarations which Damasus would have him to Sign, this Pope assembled a Council at Rome, in the Year 375, where Peter of Alexandria

of the Church of the East, and the History of the Holy Church. So that understanding this, the Author has written these Letters against *Eusebius* and *Epiphanius*.
 There are the principal Circumstances of St. Basil's Life, and the Affairs which took up the greater part of his time while he was Bishop. The other Circumstances which are of less consequence may be learnt from his Letters. So that upon the Part of *January*, in the Year 359.
 The Letters of St. Basil are the most learned and the most curious of all his Books, and perhaps of all the Christian's Antiquity. They are written with an unspeakable Purty, Majesty and Eloquence, and contain an infinite Number of things. There may be all the History of his time, deduced from the Life, the different Characters of Men's Tempers, the contrary Interests of each Party, and the Motives which acted both sides. And the Arguments which they made use of for carrying on of their Designs. The State of the Eastern and Western Churches is there described, briefly and exact. Count. He handles an infinite number of Questions of Doctrine, of Discipline and of Morality, which he decides with much Learning and Prudence. There one may find many Letters of Consolation or Exhortation, which are very Eloquent and Pathetical, and even those which are only Complements are full of Wit, and of very bold and useful Thoughts. They are indeed as precious in this great Confusion, that it is not an easy thing to read them in order with Delight, and so all translations, that they are almost wholly disguised, and can hardly be known by those that understand the Beauty of the Original Language. I have made a Translation of them in Latin and French, which I may perhaps Publish some time or other with Notes. In the mean time, I shall now make some Extracts out of them, according to my usual Method. But by these I shall make more useful, I have rank'd the Letters according to the Order of Time. If they are not according to the Subject Matter, they may be divided into Ecclesiastical and Domestic, Letters of Discipline, Apologetical Letters, Letters of Instruction or Morality, Letters of Consolation, and Letters of Civility. But I thought it more proper to follow in the Body of our Book the Order of Time; which I have examined as exactly as I could. They shall be divided then into Two Classes: The First, shall comprehend the Letters that were written in his Solitude, before he was Bishop; And the Second, which will contain far the greater Number, shall consist of those which were written after he was Bishop, which I shall dispose in this Order of Time from Year to Year, as near as I can.

The First of the Letters written by St. Basil in his Solitude, is the 19th. directed to St. Gregory Nazianzen; wherein he acquaints him with the Resolution he had taken up to live strictly, and describes the place which he had chosen for his Retreat, very Pleasantly, and very Elegantly. This Letter was written in the Beginning of the Year 338.

St. Gregory having received this Letter, did not approve of the Habitation which his Friend had chosen, and from the Description which he had given of it, he imagin'd that it was a very Melancholy and Frightful place. He signified also his Thoughts of it in his 7th. Letter to him, and relies pleasantly upon the Description he had sent of it. Wherefore St. Basil having a mind to draw him to himself by some more powerful Motive, represents to him in his 2d. Letter, which is commonly put the 1st. the Manner of Life which he had embraced.

He complains at first, That he could not yet reap all the Profit from his Retirement which he would have wish'd; which Unhappiness he attributes to the Habits that he had contracted while he liv'd in the World; from which he could not yet disengage himself. And he desires him to believe, that he describes in his Letter the manner after which he should live, and not that in which he did live at present. After this, he represents the Privileges of a Secular Life, and the Delights of Solitude. He shew how profitable this Retreat is, misleads one's Mind be not too much fastned to the World, after he is parted from it. He gives an account of the Exercises of so Happy a State; which consist in Study, in labouring with our Hands, in Reading and Meditation upon the Holy Scripture; and gives Rules concerning the Discourse, the Habits, the Eating and Behaviour of a Monk. This Letter was written in the Year 338.

There are also some other Letters of St. Basil, which are very near upon the same Subject, and were written probably about the same time. The Four first, which are not rank'd in the other Class, are of this Number.

The First, is address'd to one *Chilon*; who having renounc'd the World, had written to St. Basil, to desire some Advice of him, how he should behave himself; which is done in this Letter. He exhorts him to persevere in his Resolution: He Counsels him not to Aspire at first to the highest Perfection of a Religious Life, but to ascend to it by degrees. He particularly recommends to him to abide in Solitude, without going out of it upon any pretence whatsoever, though it were even to be present at the Instructions of the Bishops in the Publick Assemblies of the Church.

After this Letter, follows a short, but very instructive Exhortation to Young Monks; which contains in few words many Precepts of a Religious Life.

The Second Letter, is to a Monk who had abandon'd his Solitary state, to return into the World, that he might put himself in a way of Trade. He deplores his Fall, and Exhorts him to acknowledge it, and to do Penance for his Fault.

The Third, is to a Monk of *Jervuland*, who had given a horrible Scandal by carrying away a Virgin consecrated to Jesus Christ. He sets before his Eyes the Happiness of that state from which he was fallen, and the Misery of that to which he was reduc'd by his Crime. He charges him very sharply for his Enormity, and covers him with Confusion for his Infamous Action. Nevertheless, he concludes with Exhorting him from the Consideration of Death and of Judgment, to beg Pardon of his Fault, to Turn and Repent.

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The Fourth of these Letters is address'd to a Virgin, who being consecrated to God by a Vow of Virginity, had suffer'd her self to be corrupted by a Miserable Man. He represents to her the Enormity of her Crime. He endeavours to terrify her by the Fear of Judgment and of Hell, and gives her hope, that she shall obtain Mercy, if she will change her Life and Repent.

The 41st. Letter, ought to be join'd to this. It contains many Precepts of a Monastick Life; which, for the most part, are drawn out of the Holy Scripture.

The 165. Letter to *Eusebius* the Philosopher, was written some time after St. Basil's Retirement. He acquaints him, That since his return from *Athens*, he had search'd for him in all places, but could not meet with him; which Unhappiness he Attributes to the Providence of God, and not to Fortune.

The 166. to one nam'd *Julianus*, seems to have been written about the same time. He says, That in a Man's Power to lead a happy and quiet Life, by governing his Passions, and submitting his Mind to all Events that can happen. Neither Loss of Goods, says he, nor Sickness of Body, nor any other troublesome Accidents of this Life can hurt a Vertuous Man, while he designs to walk in the Ways of God, and Meditates upon another Life, who submits to all the Troubles and Crosses of this World; for those who are wholly taken up with the Cares of this Life, are like those Carnivorous Birds, who stoop down to the Earth with the Beasts, though they have Wings to fly in the Air.

The 167. Letter to *Dionorius* a Priest of *Antioch*, was also written about the same time. In it he commends the Two Books which this Author had sent him. He says, That the Second was very acceptable to him, not only because of its Brevity, but because of the many Thoughts, Arguments and Answers which it contain'd in a very good Method. He commends the plainness of its Style, which is agreeable, says he, to the Profession of a Christian, who ought much rather to write for the Publick Good, than to acquire Glory to himself. As to the First Book, which was compos'd by way of Dialogue, he says, That though it was more adorn'd with Figures, and had greater Variety of Matter; yet he found it tedious to read, and difficult to understand. He takes notice, That the Calumnies of Heretics, and the Defences of the Catholics are very useless, and interrupt the Thread of his Discourse.

To this we may join the 168. Letter to *Eunomius*, wherein he rallies this Heretic, who boasted of understanding all things, by putting to him many difficult Questions about things Natural, to which was impossible to Answer.

The 41. and 42. Letters to *Maximus* the Philosopher, who is, in all probability the same that got himself Ordain'd Archbishop of *Constantinople*, were also written by St. Basil, when he was in his Solitude.

The 1st. is concerning the Opinions of *Dionysius of Alexandria*. He accuses him of Writing some things in his Books, which seem'd to be the Seeds of the Error of the *Anomæans*; yet he confesses that he did it not designedly; but that in disputing against the Heresy of *Sabellius*, he had too much inclin'd to the opposite Error, and in proving the Distinction of the Persons, he seem'd to admit a Difference of Nature between the Three Divine Persons. After this, St. Basil explains his own Judgment concerning the Trinity. He does not condemn the Opinion of those who say, That the Word is like to God the Father in Substance; nor even of those who say simply, That he is like to his Father, provided they add, That he is in nothing unlike to him; because this Sense falls in with their Opinion who call him *Consubstantial*. He adds, That this last term is less capable of an ill fence. He condemns the Bishops of the Council of *Constantinople*, who contented themselves with declaring, That the Son was the Image of the Father, without adding, That he was in nothing unlike. At last, St. Basil invites *Maximus* to come and see him, and directly charges him with having too great an Affection for the City and the Grandeur of this World. This Letter was written after the Council of *Constantinople* in 360.

In the 2d. Letter to the same Philosopher, he commends him, and recommends to him the love of Virtue.

The 2d. 3d. and 33d. Letters address'd to St. Gregory, who was gone to *Nazianzum*, were much about the same time.

In the 2d. he observes, That no words are capable of expressing our Thoughts of God, and Admonishes St. Gregory to use all his Eloquence in the Defence of the Truth.

In the 3d. Letter, he pleasantly rebukes St. Gregory, for writing none but Laconick Letters to him; that is to say, such as were short and concise.

His plain, That the Letters of St. Basil to the Emperor *Julian*, if they are Genuine, were written by this Saint in his Retirement, since the Death of *Julian* happened before he came out of his Solitude. He had known this Prince at *Athens*, where they had studied together under *Libanius*. After he was return'd to his own Country, he received a very obliging Letter from this Prince, who had not yet forsaken the Christian Religion. This Letter is the 206. But after he had renounc'd Christianity, he did no longer treat St. Basil after the same manner: but on the contrary, he wrote a Proud Letter to him, and commanded him to send him 1000 l. of Gold for restoring of the Temples. This Letter is the 207th. among those of St. Basil, to which is subjoin'd the Answer that *Julian* made when he had read the Book of *Apollinaris*, I have read it, underfoot it, and condemn'd it. But it appears, that those words were added to the rest of the Letter, to which they have no reference at all. The Two following Letters contain the Answer of St. Basil to this Letter of *Julian*; yet they are not two Answers, nor two different Letters, but one and the same Answer, of which some have made two. *Cotelerius* hath publish'd a little while ago the whole entire and in one Letter only, from a Manuscript of the King's Library. It is in his Second Volume of the *Monuments of the Greek Church*. This Sen

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these which is put at the beginning of the *Epist.* You did not understand what you read, for if you had understood it, you would never have committed it; was added after the writing of this Letter, as that was, which is at the end of *Julian's* Letter. I doubt also, whether the Answer that is attributed to *St. Basil*, be truly his; and I know not but it may be written by some other Person, who would make a trial how he could Answer *Julian's* Letter to this Father: And indeed, the Style of this Letter is not so elegant as that of the Letters of *St. Basil*. He writes to *Julian*, That he is horribly vex'd, when he thinks that he is clothed with the Royal Purple, and that his infamous Head is adorn'd with a Crown. It is credible that *St. Basil* should write to an Emperor with so little respect, and should treat him as a ridiculous, senseless and impertinent Person, as the Author of this Letter does: In short, There is at the end of this Letter, an Inference drawn from an Opinion of *Julian's*, which is extremely wide, and has scarcely any fence, and not according to the Genius of *St. Basil*, who is nice and exact in his Thoughts, and moderate in his Expressions.

As to the 205. Letter address'd to the same Emperor, 'tis evident that it is Supposititious. The Title of it is, To *Julian the Apostate*. Would *St. Basil* ever have directed a Letter to him with this Inscription: 2. The Style of this Letter is very different from that of *St. Basil*. 3. This Letter is nothing but a Confession of Faith. Now to what purpose should *St. Basil* send a Confession of Faith to *Julian*? 4. He adds to this Confession of Faith, the Invocation of Saints, and Worship of Images. Who ever heard that these Points were put into the Confessions of Faith of the First Ages? 5. He says, That he Honours and Adores the Images of the Saints, because it is an Apostolical Tradition. Would *St. Basil* have spoken thus? And is it not plain that this Letter is the Work of some Greek, who liv'd after the Seventh Council?

The Six Letters publish'd by *Hefchelius*, which are the 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, being written to different Persons, were also compos'd by *St. Basil* while he was in his Solitude. They contain nothing remarkable.

The 141. Letter of *St. Basil* was written in the Year 363. after the Difference which he had with his own Bishop. The Inhabitants of *Cæsarea* complain'd that he had retir'd after his Ordination, and recall'd him with very Importunate Letters. *St. Basil* wrote to them, to thank them for their Goodness to him, and to give them an account of the Cause of his Retiring. He admonishes them not to suffer themselves to be surprized by the Artifices of Hereticks; and for a Preservative against them, he explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Trinity, and answers some Objections which they alledg'd. He blames those that said only, the Son of God was like his Father; without adding any thing for Explication.

The 4th. Letter to *St. Gregory*, is the last of those which *St. Basil* wrote in his Retirement before he was Bishop. It is directed to *St. Gregory Nazianzen*; wherein he Exhorts him to be very careful to procure the Choice of a Bishop, in the room of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, lately Dead, who might be worthy to fill that Bishoprick. *St. Gregory* had resolv'd to come himself to *Cæsarea*; but for fear lest the giving of his Saffrage in favour of *St. Basil* should render him suspected, he contented himself with sending Two Letters written in his Father's Name; whereof one was address'd to the Church of *Cæsarea*, and the other to the Council Assembled in that City, wherein he recommended *St. Basil* as most worthy to Succeed in the room of *Eusebius*. Some Authors attribute this Letter of *St. Basil* which we have already mention'd, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*: And indeed, it is not very probable, that *St. Basil* should so openly pray *St. Gregory* to do that which look'd so like soliciting that himself might be made Bishop.

We should joy to this the Two Letters of *St. Basil* to *Apollinarius*, which were publish'd by *Catelerius*, if they were Genuine; but they are Forg'd by the *Apollinarians*, since *St. Basil* himself testifies in the 59, 79, and 82 Letters, That he never wrote concerning the Faith to *Apollinarius*; and that the Letters which were publish'd under his Name, were Supposititious: Which plainly shows, That the Two Letters, which go under *St. Basil's* Name, and are address'd to *Apollinarius*, which Treat of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, and which suppose that *St. Basil* and *Apollinarius* held a great Correspondence by Letters, are Forg'd, as well as those of *Apollinarius* to *St. Basil*, which contain Errors not only about the Incarnation, but also about the Trinity.

The Second Class of *St. Basil's* Letters, ought to be of those which were written after he was Bishop of *Cæsarea*; There are far more numerous and more considerable. The First, are those which he wrote for the Reconciliation of *Meletius* with *St. Athanasius* and the Western Bishops.

To compass this design, he wrote about the End of the Year 369. the 56. Letter to *Meletius*, to dispose him to enter upon a Treaty about it. He did not openly acquaint him with his Design, lest he should be discover'd; but he signified to him, that he desired that he might see him to treat about an Affair of great Importance; but being detain'd by his Brethren, he sent *Theophrastus* to communicate it to him. The Secrecy which he observes in this Letter, plainly discovers that this was the first which he wrote about this Negotiation.

'Tis probable, that about the same time, to conciliate the favour of *St. Athanasius*, who had written to him immediately after his Promotion; he wrote an Answer to him by Letter 47. wherein he gives him an Account of the share that he had in the Persecution which the Governor of *Libya* rais'd against this Holy Pastor; and he acquaints him, That all the Faithful of his Church, look'd upon this Governor as an Excommunicate Person; That they would have no Correspondence with him; because 'tis fit, that the Powers who will use Violence, should find themselves unanimously condemn'd by all the Churches.

Meletius having signified to *St. Basil*, that he would willingly hearken to an Accommodation; this Father wrote to *St. Athanasius* at the Beginning of the Year 379. the 48. Letter; wherein he ex-

horts

him to procure the Peace and Union of the Eastern and Western Churches; and prays him to begin with receiving the Church of *Antioch*. He supports this Proposal in Three Letters, which in the common Edition are 49, 50, and 51. The 50th. was written at the desire of *Dorotheus* the Deacon, whom *Meletius* sent to Negotiate this Affair. In it, he gives great Commendation of *Meletius*, and says, That all the other Parties which are in the Church of *Antioch* ought to re-unite to him; and to those who adhered to him, as to the principal Body of the Church of *Antioch*; whereof the rest are but separate Members. He assures him, That the West w'd for this Reunion, as well as the East; as appeared by the Letters brought from the West by *Silvanus*. He conjures him afterwards to use his usual Prudence for procuring the Peace of all the Churches. In Letter 51. he exhorts *St. Athanasius* to write a Letter of Communion to all the Eastern Bishops; and prays him to send it, either by some Persons in his own Name, or even by the Deacon *Dorotheus*. He assures him that the Bishops are Orthodox, and that they desire to be Re-united to him; and he promises them, That he will not deliver his Letter, till he has received their Answers, and those Assurances that he shall desire.

St. Athanasius having received these Letters, would not write at all, but he sent one of his Priests call'd *Peter*, to dispose their Minds to Peace. This Priest was very well received by *St. Basil*, and he perform'd his Message as well as he could. But this Affair being of too great Consequence to be so easily determin'd; *St. Basil* thought it necessary to write to Pope *Damasus*. Having taken up this Resolution, he sent the Deacon *Dorotheus* to *Meletius*, by whom he wrote the 57. Letter, wherein he tells him his Design which he had of sending this Deacon to *Rome*, and of desiring some Deputies out of *Italy*. He prays him, if he thought it convenient, to give him necessary Instructions, and to write a Letter in his own Name, and in the Name of all the Bishops of his Communion, and to direct it to the Western Bishops. He writes at the end of this Letter, That the Affairs of the Church were in the same state; That the Civil Powers would not meddle with them, to restore those that were banish'd; That *Eusebius* an *Arian* Bishop was come, but that he had done nothing, yet in Publick, though he had threaten'd to fetch the Bishops of his Party from *Tetrapolis* and *Cilicia*, to Condemn the Orthodox.

Meletius sent back *Dorotheus*, and thought it necessary for him to go into the West. 'Tis not certainly known, whether he wrote at that time to the Bishops of the West, but 'tis certain that *St. Basil* then address'd his 220 Letter to *Damasus*. It has no Superscription, but 'tis easy to see, that 'twas address'd to the Bishop of *Rome*. He begins with shewing the Advantage which that Bishop had to restore the ancient Union between the Eastern and Western Churches: After this, he describes the unhappy State to which the Persecution of the *Arians* had reduc'd the Churches of the East. He represents to *Damasus*, That he might give them Ease and Comfort, by writing and sending Deputies to them, to re-establish Peace and Union in the Church. He remonstrates to him, that what he desired, was not extraordinary, since it had been the practice of the Saints, and particularly of the Church of *Rome*. He observes to him, That *St. Dionysius* had formerly Comforted the Church of *Cæsarea* by his Letters, and that he had sent some of his Brethren to deliver Christians from Captivity; That now there was more Reason to complain of the Misery of the Church, since not only the Captivity of the Body, but that of the Soul also was to be fear'd. *St. Basil*, gave this Letter to *Dorotheus*, to carry into the West, and he sent this Deacon to *St. Athanasius*, to confer with him about the means of procuring Peace, that so after he had met with him, he might Embark from *Alexandria*, to go into *Italy*. He charg'd him also with a Letter for *St. Athanasius*, which is the 52. And tho' in it, he says, That he refer'd himself wholly to the Prudence of *St. Athanasius* as to the Management of this Affair, yet he says, That his Advice should be to write to the Bishop of *Rome*, and to pray him, since there was no probability of calling a Synod, that he would send by his own Authority, Deputies into the East: He observes, That he must chuse such Persons as were able to endure the Fatigues of Travelling, and who had much Meekness and Moderation to Correct the Eagerness and Passionate Heats of some of the Bishops of the East: And in fine, who could speak at a fit Season, and accommodate themselves to the Times. He would have them carry with them the Acts of the Council of *Ariminum*, and an Account of the Transactions in the West, that they may be null'd; That they should come by Sea, without letting any body know of it; That at first they should address themselves to those of his own Communion, before they were engaged by the Associates of *Paulinus*, the Enemies of Peace: and, in short, That they should condemn the Heresy of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. This Letter is the 52. At the end, he conjures *St. Athanasius* to send forthwith the Deacon *Dorotheus* into the West; that so the Business might be done the next Year, which was 371. He advertises him also, That he must take care to recommend to the Deputies from the West, that they be very Cautious lest they encrease Divisions instead of allying them, and that they prefer to all things the Good of Peace; and that they do not maintain a Schism in the Church of *Antioch*, out of Affection to some particular Persons.

The desire of Peace, and the Fear that *St. Basil* had of bringing Persecution upon the Church, oblig'd him to be very cautious in his Discourse. Wherefore, though he profess'd to Believe, and to defend the Divinity of the Holy Spirit; yet he said nothing of it unless he was oblig'd. And therefore when he was in an Assembly of Bishops held in the Year 370. at the Feast of *St. Eusebius*, in the City of *Cæsarea*, he discourag'd largely of the Divinity of the Father and the Son, and said nothing almost of the Holy Spirit. Whereupon a Religious Person who was present at this Assembly, accus'd *St. Basil* of betraying the Truth by a Cowardice unworthy of a Bishop, and publish'd this Accusation at a Feast where he was present, some time after. *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, who was one of the Guests at this Feast, endeavour'd in vain to defend his Friend; for all the Company blam'd him,

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him, and at last St. Gregory himself was offended with his Conduct, and wrote to him his Judgement about it in Letter 26. St. Basil having received this Letter by *Helenus*, was a little offended with it, and answered him in Letter 33. That he was surpris'd, that he should so lightly give credit to a Calumniator. He signifies a great Contempt of these kind of Accusations. He invites St. Gregory to come and see him, and says, That what was quickly to come to pass, would serve for his justification before all the World; because it might be foreseen, that he must suffer for the defence of the Truth, and perhaps should be forc'd away from his Church and his Country. Which discovers that this Letter was written before the Persecution of *Valens*, in the Year 370.

This Emperor had a Design to divide the Province of *Cappadocia* into two. St. Basil thought that it was his Duty to defend the Rights of his People, and his Church. For this Reason, he wrote to a great Man of his Country called *Martinianus*, the 376 Letter, to pray him to go to Court and hinder this Division. This Letter was written in the Year 370, as well as the 362, which was plainly written upon the same Occasion. The 309 Letter, wherein he declares, That he continued unshaken, though he had been attack'd by the most powerful at Court, refers to the Solicitations which the Prefect *Modestus* had us'd to him this Year 370, by Order of the Emperor *Valens*. 'Tis probable, that the Letter 409, wherein he thanks an Eastern Bishop call'd *Innocentius*, for what he had writen to him, is also of the same Year; for 'tis likely that this Bishop wrote to him a little after his Ordination, and that St. Basil took no long time to Answer him.

The Deacon *Dorotheus*, departed in the Year 371, but his Journey had not all the Success, that might have been hop'd for. However, the Western Bishops wrote a Letter to the Bishops of the East, which was sent to them by St. *Athanasius*, but the Contents are not known. It appears also by the Letter of St. Basil, That there came from the West a Deacon nam'd *Sabinus*, who carried the Letters of the Bishops of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*.

The Eastern Bishops answer'd the Letter of those of the West, which they received by St. *Athanasius*, and that which was brought them by *Sabinus*: There Answers are the Letters 61, and 69. In Letter 61, after they have restituted their Joy, that they had, when they understood that the Western Bishops, were all at present United in one and the same Doctrine, they desire of them help and relief in their Miseries, which they describe in a most lively and natural manner. "Our Miseries, say they, are known to you, though we should not write them, being publish'd over all the Earth. The Doctrine of our Fathers is despis'd; The Tradition of the Apostles is overthrow'n; The new Inventions of some particular Persons prevail in the Churches; They treat Religion as Sophisters, not as Divines: The Wisdom of this World Dominiers, and the Glory of the Cross is abhor'd: The true Pastors are driven away, and ravening Wolves are entred into their places, who tear the Flock of Christ in pieces; The Churches are abandon'd; The Desarts are fill'd with desolate Christians; The Old Men fish when they compare the times past with the present, and the Young Men find themselves miserable, because they never saw the Good things of which they are now destitute. These things ought to affect those who have any Love for Jesus Christ and his Church: But what we have said of them, is very far short of the Truth; wherefore, if you have any Charity for us, if you be of the same Mind, if you have any Bowels of Pity, come speedily to our help; Arm your selves with Zeal for Piety, and deliver us from this Raging Tempest." At the end of this Letter, they make a short Confession of their Faith; wherein they acknowledge that the Holy Spirit is ador'd together with the Father and the Son: And they conclude with the Approbation of what the Western Bishops had done in Conformity to the Canons.

The Second Letter upon the same Subject, is written in the Name of *Meletius*, *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, St. Basil, and many other Eastern Bishops, to the Bishops of *Italy* and *Gaul*, that is the 69th among those of St. Basil. There they give a Description of their Miseries yet more large, and more moving than the former, and conjure the Western Bishops to help them and bring them relief; and to send to them speedily a great number of Deputies, who may take their Seats in a Synod, hoping by this means, that they may restore the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, destroy Heresy, and re unite the Orthodox; who at present are divided in Communion, though they hold one and the same Doctrine. They compare the state of the Churches of the East, to that of *Jerusalem*, during the Siege of *Septimus*; and they say, That as the *Jews* ruin'd themselves then by their Intestine Seditions, while the Enemies Army reduced them to the last Extremity; so their Churches were now brought to Desolation, not only by the War of the Hereticks, who openly attack'd them; but also by the Divisions of the Orthodox: That if they desire Assistance of the Bishops of the West, it was for this particular Reason, That Peace might be restor'd; and in this, they say, consisted the Relief of their Churches. They conclude their Letter with saying, That they commend and approve the Confession of Faith that was made by those of the West, and that they consented to all that they had lawfully and canonically determin'd in their Synodical Epistle. These two Letters were sent by *Sabinus*, who they say, is a Witness of all that they affirm.

St. Basil wrote particularly by the same *Sabinus* to *Valerianus* Bishop of *Illyricum*, or rather of *Aquileia*, the Letter 324; wherein he Thanks him for the Charity he had testified in the Letter he had writen, and prays him to assist with his Prayers the Eastern Churches, that were afflicted with Heresy and Schism. These are all the Letters of St. Basil writen in this Year 371, concerning the Union of the East and the West.

The Letters which he wrote in favour of *Eusebius* of *Sebastea*, against *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*, are also of this Year 371; because he was at Difference with the former in the Year 372.

The First Letter writen upon this Subject is the 26th, address'd to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*: He acquaints him, That *Meletius* and *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*, invited him to be present towards the

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Middle of June, at a Synod which was to be held at *Phrygama*: He prays St. *Eusebius* to be present there: He sent him this Letter by *Eusebius* of *Sebastea*, and tells him, That he waited for St. Basil's Answer.

Eusebius came not to this Synod, but *Eusebius* was present there, and St. Basil, before he did Communicate with him, would have assurance of his Doctrine; and having had two Conferences with him, he made him agree to the Doctrine of the Church. Being thus perswaded that he was Orthodox, he joynd his Prayers with those of this Bishop, to thank God, who had given them Grace to think and speak after the same manner. The Design of St. Basil was to have a Confession of Faith drawn up by *Theodotus*, or those of his Party, which *Eusebius* should Sign: But *Theodotus* without enquiring into the Conduct of St. Basil, refused to admit him to his Synod, because he had communicated with *Eusebius*. St. Basil being to go into *Armenia*, pass'd by a Country House of *Meletius* called *Gerasa*, where *Theodotus* was present; and after a free Conference between them, it was agreed, That if St. Basil could make *Eusebius* sign a Confession of Faith, which plainly contain'd the Doctrine of the Church, he should then continue in his Communion; but on the contrary, he should separate from him, if he refus'd to sign that Confession. *Meletius* and his Priest *Diodorus*, having approved this Proposal, it was also agreed to by *Theodotus*, who invited St. Basil to go with him to *Nicopolis*: But when he was arriv'd there, he would not communicate with him contrary to his Word which he pass'd to him; which oblig'd St. Basil to withdraw, and to go to *Satala*, there to regulate some Affairs of *Armenia*, and Ordain some Bishops. He wrote from thence to Count *Tenentius* the 187 Letter; wherein he gives him an account of those Transactions which had pass'd. Letter 78, is the Confession of Faith which St. Basil caus'd *Eusebius* of *Sebastea* to sign at this time. It contains the *Nicene* Creed, and rejects the Error of *Sabellius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. He speaks also of those Differences in Letter 364, to *Araribus*.

He wrote also a little while after, the Letter 239, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*; whom he acquaints with the disgraceful manner wherein he was treated by *Theodotus*. He says, That he had also a Conference with *Eusebius*, and that he found him very Catholic. He complains, That the Bishops of the second *Cappadocia*, lately advanced into a Province, refused to have any Correspondence with him. He rallies his Brother *Gregory*, and says, It were to be wish'd that he had a Bishoprick that would agree to his Mind; That he is so zealous and watchful, that he could Govern all the Churches of the World; That he was not only capable of great Things, but that he gave weight to Small Matters, and made Affairs of no Importance, pass for Matters of the greatest Consequence, by his manner of treating of them. He complains of a Bishop nam'd *Palmatius*, whom *Maximus* had made use of to Persecute the Church. He invites *Eusebius* to come and see him, giving him notice that his Presence was necessary to regulate the Affairs of *Cappadocia*.

He invites him also by Letter 256, to be present at the Feast of St. *Euphrosinus*, which was the 7th of September, to Ordain Bishops, and to give him Advice, about the Cause which his Brother *Gregory Nysen* had undertaken against him in the Assembly which was held at *Ancyra*.

Probably *Eusebius* of *Samosata* came not to this Synod of *Caesarea*, but he sent thither a Bishop nam'd *Sabinus*, whose Presence comforted St. Basil under the Afflictions which he had met with at *Nicopolis*, as he acquaints *Eusebius* by Letter 253; where he excuses the too great Zeal which *Theodotus* had testified for the observation of the Canons. He says in this Letter, That he passionately wish'd to see and embrace *Eusebius*. The Letters 252, 255, 260, were almost at the same time.

The 254th, is to the same Person, and in the same Year; but it was written before that which we just now mentioned, and at the Beginning of the Year. He writes to him, That *Demophilus* was upon the Throne of *Constantinople*, and that he was a Hypocrite; and yet that he had reunit'd the two Parties; and that some Neighbouring Bishops were joynd with him. He deplors the miserable state of the Eastern Churches; and says, That God only knows when there Condition may be better.

We have already seen that St. Basil went this Year to *Satala*, to regulate the Affairs of this Church, and that he Ordained a Bishop there, at the desire of the Inhabitants. He recommends him to them in Letters 296, and 183; and in 183 he writes to the Church of the *Parnassians*, upon the Death of their Bishop; and in 186, he does with much Eloquence and Christian Charity comfort the Widow of the Praetor *Anatheus*, upon the Death of her Husband. This Letter may pass for a perfect Pattern of true Christian Consolation.

Athanasius Bishop of *Ancyra*, dying in the Year 372, it follows that the Letter 53 of St. Basil which is address'd to him, was at least in the Year 371. He complains in this Letter of the Conduct of this Bishop, who accused him of teaching Errors in his Writings, or subscribing to those of others. The Complaint of this Bishop, made St. Basil apprehend that some Heretic had prefix'd his Name to his Works. He declares, That he had writen against the *Anomaeans*, and against those that say, The Holy Spirit is a Creature.

The following Letter is written to the Father of this Bishop, praying him to admonish his Son charitably, not to defame his Colleague without reason.

'Tis credible that the Letter 381, address'd to the Suffragans, was also written in the same Year with the preceding Letters, and probably soon after St. Basil was a Bishop. He complains in this Letter, That some neglected to observe the Canons, and to follow the Discipline of the Church in the Ordination of Ministers exactly: He observes, that formerly none were chosen, but those whose Probity was well known, and of whom the Priests and Deacons gave a good Testimony to the Suffragans; and that neither were these Ordained until the Bishops of the Dioceses were first advertis'd of it: He complains, That now the Suffragans did not write to the Bishops; and that they also permitted

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mitted the Priests and Deacons to choose whom they pleas'd, without enquiring into their Behaviour: *From whence it comes to pass, says he, that there are many Ministers, and but very few who are worthy of their Ministry.* To avoid this Abuse, he Ordains, That there should be presently sent to him a List of all the Ministers that are in the Villages containing the Names of those which have been admitted, and an account of the Life which they lead; That they should be reduc'd to the Condition of Lay-men, who should be found incapable, and those who had been admitted by Priests since the time of the first Prohibition; and that for the future, none should be admitted but those whose Life and Conversation had been well examin'd. In fine, he declares, That those who should be admitted into the Clergy, without his Approbation, should be thrust down to the station of the Laity again.

The 392 to *Amphilochius*, was written before he was made Bishop of *Iconium*, and by consequence towards the End of 371, or the Beginning of 372. 'Tis written in the Name of *Heraclides*, an ancient Friend of *Amphilochius*. It acquaints him with the Life which he leads under the Conduct of St. Basil, and invites him to come and stay with them.

The 310 to *Innocentius* may be also about the same time. He refuses to charge himself with the Care of the Eastern Churches, which this Bishop would have him to do.

'Twas probably in the same Year that St. Basil undertook to build a Church and an Hospital in *Caesarea*. Some would have hindered the going on of this Work; whereupon he writes to *Elias* Governor of the Province in Letter 372; praying him for leave to proceed in his Buildings. The 373, was written to the same Person in favour of a Receiver, who had neglected to send an Account of his Receipts. In the 305, which is to some Receiver-General, St. Basil determines, That an Oath should not be exacted from the Collectors of Taxes; because these kind of Oaths bring no great Profit to the Receivers, and accustom Men to make false Oaths. In the 304, he writes to the same Person, That the Monks ought to be exempted from paying of Tribute.

In the Beginning of the Year 372, St. Basil having found out the Frauds of *Eusebius* of *Sebastea*, separated from him, and re-united himself to *Theodosius*. This Separation was begun by two Friends of *Eusebius*, call'd *Basil* and *Empronius*, who were sent to St. Basil, as Spies upon him. These two Persons having created some trouble to this Saint, he wrote about it to *Eusebius*, and pray'd him to put a stop to the Disorder which they caus'd in his Diocese. This Letter is the 307, which I believe was written to *Eusebius* of *Sebastea*, though some think that it was address'd to another *Eusebius* Bishop of *Himeria*, to whom the preceding Letter is address'd. Some time after, *Eusebius* being invited to a Council held by St. Basil, not only refus'd to come thither himself, but hinder'd all those of his Party from going, and declared himself in his Discourses, and in his Letters, against St. Basil. He had also the Insolence to write him a Letter, wherein he declared, That he had withdrawn from his Communion, and publish'd a Writing or Manifesto against him; wherein he accuses him of the Error of *Apollinarius*. St. Basil understanding these things, acknowledg'd, but too late, that he had too easily given Credit to one of the greatest Cheats in the World. He began to commend the Prudence of *Theodosius* of *Nicopolis* and to reconcile himself perfectly to him, he wrote the Letter 196, wherein he gives him a faithful account of all that we have said, and testifies the regret he had for refusing to this Impostor. He observes, That he had publish'd a Confession of Faith, which was perfectly agreeable to the Opinions of *Arius*, and accuses him of re-ordaining Bishops.

A Bishop of *Cilicia* nam'd *Theophilus*, join'd himself with *Eusebius*, against St. Basil. 'Tis to him that Letter 310, is address'd; wherein St. Basil acquaints him, That though he had great Cause of Grief upon his account, yet he would not cease always to remember him.

The Letter 31, to *Eusebius* the Physician, was written upon the Separation of *Eusebius* of *Sebastea*: for therein he testifies what Trouble he endur'd for the Separation of those who had withdrawn from his Communion; but yet he was oblig'd rather to suffer their Division from him, than do any thing against the Truth and against his own Conscience; because there was nothing more dear to him than the Faith, and Hope in Jesus Christ.

In Letter 82, to *Patrophilus*, who had objected this Separation to him; He shows him, That his Enemies were the Causes of this Division, and justifies himself from two Accusations which *Eusebius* had form'd against him; Whereof the first was, That he had formerly written to *Apollinarius*: And the Second, That he had received *Diodorus* into his Communion. With reference to *Apollinarius*, he confesses, That he had formerly written one Letter only to him; but he says, That he did not then believe him to be in an Error; That he could not be responsible for his Faults; And, That he had not read his Writings. As to *Diodorus*, he confesses that he received him into his Communion, as a good Catholic, being Educated by *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, and who could be charg'd with nothing. He vindicates himself also from the Crimes that were imputed to him in a Writing address'd to *Dazicus*; and at last, he accuses *Eusebius* of *Sebastea*, and describes his Life in such a manner as is very much to his disadvantage. *Patrophilus* having received this Letter, sent St. Basil word that he would not separate from him. St. Basil thanks him in Letter 85, and admonishes him, That for keeping Peace, we must make choice of such Persons with whom we may be United; and that we are oblig'd to break with some Persons with whom Peace cannot be had.

But St. Basil did not only defend himself by Letters written to his Friends; but he wrote also a very smart Letter upon the same Subject to *Eusebius*, which is the 79. There he gives an Account of his Conduct and his Doctrine, during the whole time of his Life: He shows him, That he could not be accus'd without Injustice, for having written almost Twenty Years ago to *Apollinarius*: He takes *Eusebius* himself for a Witness of his Faith, and asks him, If he could accuse him of promoting any Error in the Conference which he had with him. He accuses him of being the Disciple of

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Arius and *Azizus*. At last, he observes, That the true Cause wherefore he had made this Separation, was not because of the Letter which St. Basil wrote to *Apollinarius*, as is pretended; but because his Communion might be prejudicial to those who would acquire Favour and Authority.

'Twas at the beginning of this Year, that St. Basil wrote to his Brother *Gregory Nysen*, upon a Complaint that he had against him. He acquaints him in Letter 44, That he was surpris'd, that there were three Letters written to him, under the Name of his Uncle *Gregory*, which were none of his. He gives him to understand, That he would come and see him, and the Bishops his Friends, provided they would receive him Honourably. The 45 and 46, are to this Uncle *Gregory*, upon the same Difference.

The Letter 42, goes under the Name of St. Basil, and is address'd to the same St. *Gregory Nysen*, in the Editions of St. Basil: But 'tis in the Second Volume of St. *Gregory Nysen*, under the Name of that Father, and is address'd to their Brother *Peter*; and indeed, it has more of the Style of St. *Gregory*, than of St. Basil. The Author of it, explains with much Subtlety, the Difference between the words *Hypostasis*, and *Essence*; and shows, That *Essence* signifies that which is common to the Three Divine Persons; and *Hypostasis*, that which is peculiar to each Person.

The Letter 263, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, was written before Easter, in the Year 372. It contains excuses for not writing to him so often as he would. St. Basil fell sick about Easter, and was afflicted with a Fever, which tormented him till Winter, as appears by the Letters 257 and 258, written at the same time, to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, and by 270, 271, to *Antiochus*.

This same Year the Persecution of the *Arians* was begun anew more fiercely than ever. St. Basil speaks of this Persecution in his Letter 5, to *Eusebius*, wherein he acquaints him, That 'twas rais'd against the Catholics of the Church of *Tarsus*, which was the Centre of Unity to *Isauria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*; That the Church was ruin'd by depraved Persons, and that all things went on from bad to worse, while the Catholics were amus'd, and did nothing but look on.

Eusebius answer'd him, That they must write again to the Bishops of the West, to desire of them some Relief. St. Basil wrote also about it to *Meletius*, without whose Advice, he would undertake nothing. This Letter is the 58, wherein he complains, that *Anthimus*, Bishop of *Tyana*, would have Ordinain'd one *Fasellus*, in the room of a Bishop whom St. Basil had Ordinain'd in *Armenia*. He sent this Letter by *Sancletimus*, whom he charg'd also with a Letter to *Theodosius*, wherein he complains of the Ordination of *Fasellus*. This Letter is the 195. Afterwards, he gave to the same Person, three Letters: The first for the Priests of *Antioch*; the second for the Monks of that City; and the last to *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*. These Letters are the 199, 200, and 312. There is also a Letter upon the Ordination of *Fasellus*, address'd to *Poemenius*, Bishop of *Satala*, which is the 313.

A little while after, he wrote to *Meletius* the Letter 59, wherein having defended himself from the Accusation of *Eusebius*, who accus'd him of the Errors of *Apollinarius*; he says, That he had receiv'd Information, that it was resolv'd at Court, to deliver him up to the Fury of his Enemies; but that this Order was suspended for some time.

He earnestly prays *Meletius* to answer the Letter which he had written to him by *Sancletimus*; and to send him a Letter for the Bishops of the West, Sign'd by those who were united with him in Communion and Judgment. He signifies, that the Western Bishops must be advertis'd not to receive into their Communion indifferently, all those that come from the East.

The Letter 273, to the Priest *Antiochus*, who was Nephew to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, which *Emestus* believes to be directed also to *Meletius*, is upon the same Subject. He prays him to Order, together with the Deacon *Dorotheus*, what must be done for a Re-union with the West. He Comends him to dictate the Letter himself, that was to be sent thither. He says, That he had written some time ago to the Bishops of *Ilyricum*, of *Gaul*, and *Italy*, by the Deacon *Sabinus*; but he adds, That it would be convenient to send one into the West, in the Name of a Synod of the East. As to what concerns *Athanasius*, he says, That he is very well inclin'd to Peace; but he can do nothing, unless Letters of Communion be sent to him: Moreover, That he does ardently desire the Re-union, and will do all that's possible for him to procure it. This Letter was written before Easter: He signifies, that he waited for his Answer.

'Twas at this Time, and upon this Occasion, that Letter 70 of St. Basil, was written; address'd to the Western Bishops, wherein he prays them to inform their Emperor of the Miserie which the Orthodox suffer'd in the East, and to send them Deputies. This Letter was to be carried by a Priest nam'd *Dorotheus*.

While Matters were thus order'd in the East, St. Basil, who was now recovering, as appears by the Sixth Letter to *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, fell sick again in Winter. He speaks of this Sickness in his Seventh Letter, and excuses himself for not visiting St. *Eusebius* from the sharpness of the Winter, and the Death of his Mother. He deplores in this Letter, the unhappy State of the Church, and says, That some would have plac'd *Arians* at *Ancyra* and *Neocesarea*, in the room of the Orthodox; but that at last, they had left the Churches in tranquillity.

In the mean time, *Evoagrius*, a Priest of *Antioch* being return'd from the West, brought a Letter; which he would have oblig'd the Eastern Bishops to Sign; saying, That those which they had written before, were not approved in the West. St. Basil having received Advice of this, wrote to *Eusebius* of *Samosata* by his Eighth Letter. There he speaks against *Eusebius* of *Sebastea*, and enquires if he was to be present at the Ordination of a Bishop for the City of *Iconium*, which had formerly depended upon his Metropolis, but did not now since the Division of *Cappadocia*.

He wrote also at the same time to this *Evoagrius*, who was come from the West, and who had written to him, that he was suspected, because of his Communion with *Meletius*. St. Basil answer'd

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him by Letter 342. That he was very little troubled at what the World thought of him, but that he would labour hard for Peace, and Exhorts *Evagrius* to do the same. He signifies to him, That he was troubled to understand by *Dorotheus*, That he would not Communicate with *Meletius's* Party. He declares to him, That as things now stand, he could not send any body into the West.

He writes the same Account of the Journey to *Rome*, to that *Dorotheus*, whom he had charg'd with Letter 120. He could not forbear taking Notice, how angry he was with the Pope, and saying, That his Brother *Gregory*, was not a proper Person to be deputed into the West, because he was too simple to have any thing to do with a Proud Man, and one exalted in Dignity, who by consequence would hardly have patience to hear him speak the Truth. This Letter is the 150. The Priest went to *Rome*, however, as appears by Letter 311.

In the mean time, *Eusebius of Samosata*, who passionately desir'd the Peace of the Church, believing that St. Basil neglected to labour in it, wrote a Letter to him, wherein he complains of two Things: First, That he had not come to see him; Secondly, That he had abandon'd, as one may say, the Church to its Enemies, by his Slothfulness and Negligence. St. Basil answer'd him by Letter 262, That he could not come to see him, because of his Sickness, and that the thing which hinder'd his Good Success, was not the want of Care, but because the Bishops did not agree among themselves, about Matters of Consequence, and he alone could not regulate Affairs, since the Catholics did not allow one Bishop alone, to make Regulations of this Nature.

The Letter 265, is almost upon the same Subject. He wrote to him, That he ardently desir'd Peace, but that it must be a real one. He advises him to take heed of those that seem to be Catholics; and yet are not. He declares to him, That he would never Communicate with those who did not receive the *Nicene* Faith, or who believ'd that the Holy Spirit was a Creature, because he was not willing to approach the Altar, with a Heart full of Diffimulation and Hypocrisy, for for this Reason, he had withdrawn from the Communion of *Eusebius*; That they ought to be treated with all mildness, who had not receiv'd this Faith; That we should invite them to own it, and show great Charity and Moderation to them: but that we ought never to be Trimmers, nor remain Neuters in Matters of Faith.

About the End of this Year, the Church of *Antioch* being afflicted with a rough Persecution, he wrote Letter 60, to comfort it. He proposes the *Nicene* Creed, as the Rule of Faith. He says, That the Divinity of the Holy Spirit was not there expressly determin'd, because it was not then directly oppos'd, but that we ought to condemn all those who admit a Creature in the Trinity.

The Letter 62, to the Church of *Neocesarea*, is also of the same Nature; he comforts it upon the Death of its Bishop. It was written before the foregoing Letter, and at the beginning of the Year. There are some other Letters of St. Basil, which probably were written the same Year 372, that have not so much reference to History.

We may place in this Number, the Letters 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, and 279, to the Governor *Modestus*, who began to be his Friend about this time. He prays him in this last, to preserve the Exemptions of Priests and Deacons.

We may place also in this time, the Letter 86, to *Euphorus*, wherein St. Basil gives an Account of the Difference which he had with his Predecessor, *Dianius*, Bishop of *Cesarea*. He says, That he had not anathematiz'd him, but that he was extremely troubled, when he understood, that this Bishop had Sign'd the Creed of *Constantinople*; and that for this Cause, he separated from him, but that he returned to his Communion before he died, when he declared, that he had Sign'd this Creed by Surprise, and without knowing any evil by it.

There is another Letter, wherein he speaks of this Bishop *Euphorus*. It is Letter 300, address'd to the Nuns. There he confutes those who accus'd him of not receiving the *Nicene* Creed. He approves it, and yet confesses, that there are Catholics who do not allow of the Word *Consubstantial*, because they believe that it has an ill Sense. He says, That they ought to be pardon'd, because this Term did very much displease the Bishops, who condemn'd *Paulus Samosatensis*. He explains the good Sense of this Word, and the distinction of *Hypostases*. Lastly, He proves the Divinity and Equality of the Father and the Son.

St. Peter of *Alexandria*, having Succeeded St. *Athanasius*, in the Year 373, St. Basil did not fail to write to him immediately after his Promotion to the Bishoprick. This Letter is the 320. He Congratulates his Exaltation, and exhorts him to follow the Footsteps of St. *Athanasius*.

Soon after this, *Peter* was forced away, and the Church of *Alexandria* was persecuted most violently by the *Arians*. Immediately, St. Basil comforts them in a Letter, wherein he deplors their Misery. This Letter is the 71.

Amphilochius was Ordain'd Bishop of *Iconium* at the End of the Year 372, as appears by the Eighth Letter of St. Basil. 'Twas therefore towards the End of the last Year, or rather at the Beginning of this, that St. Basil congratulated him by Letter 393, and 'twas certainly in 373, that he invited him by Letter 344, to the Feast of St. *Eusebius*, which was September the 5th.

The 395, to the same, is also of the same Year. He acquaints him, That he had finish'd the Book of the Holy Spirit.

The Letter 363, to *Eusebius of Samosata*, was written before Easter of the same Year, during the sharp Winter-Season. St. Basil acquaints him, That he was dangerously Sick.

Towards the End of this Year, St. *Eusebius of Samosata*, was banish'd into *Thrace*, and St. Basil wrote to him the Letters 9, and 251, to Comfort him in his banishment; and the Letter 269, to his Nephew *Antiochus*, who accompanied his Uncle. The Clergy of *Samosata*, being troubled by the *Arians*, and by the Division of some particular Persons, he Comforts them, and Exhorts them to Peace

Peace

peace by Letter 280, and praises the Senate of that City, by Letter 294. He wrote also to *Orreus*, Bishop of *Melitine*, the Letter 316, where he speaks of the Banishment of *Eusebius*.

It was towards the End of this Year, that St. Basil wrote to the Bishops of the Sea-Coasts, and of the Ills, the Letter 77, wherein he complains, that they had sent no body to him for Relief in their Miseries, and prays them to send their Deputies and Letters of Communion. 'Twas also about the same time, that he wrote the Letter 321, upon the same Subject to *Elpidius*. We may place also in the same time, the Letter 87, which he wrote to a Heretical Woman call'd *Simplicia*, who concern'd herself to make Remonstrances to him. He tells her with some warmth, That it does not belong to her to judge: That he expected his Judgment from God. He adds, That he should not want Witnesses to justify his Conduct, and that he would not make use of Slaves or Eunuchs, whose Testimony ought not to be taken. He gives a dreadful Character of the Eunuchs of his time.

We cannot find a Year wherein we can better place, than in this, the Letter 184 to *Palladius*, and to *Inuentinus*, Priests and Monks. He informs them, That he is a lover of Peace. He prays God to restrain the Authors of Division, and recommends himself to their Prayers.

St. Basil being recovered of his Sickness, which had tormented him during the two Winters of the Years 373 and 374, went into *Pisidia* and *Isauria*, to regulate the Affairs of those Countries, as it appears by Letter 272. It was before this Journey that he wrote to *Amphilochius*, the Letter 396, wherein he acquaints him with his Disease, and prays him to delay their meeting for some Days; so it was also in the same Winter, that he wrote the first Canonical Letter to *Amphilochius*, which he could not send to him because of his Sickness; and St. *Amphilochius* having sent to him some more Questions, wherein he desired to be inform'd, St. Basil answer'd him by the Second, written in the beginning of the Year 374. The last of these Letters was probably written towards the end of this Year, after St. *Gregory* was retir'd from *Nazianzum*. We shall speak severally of these Letters.

The Affairs which he had in *Pisidia*, concern'd the Churches of *Isauria* or *Isauria*, which had been dismembr'd from their own Province, to be join'd to the Churches of *Pisidia* and *Lycania*. St. *Amphilochius*, who was Bishop of *Iconium*, the Metropolis of *Lycania*, had written about it to St. Basil, and pray'd him to come thither. This Saint, before he went into that Country, acquainted him by Letter 406, That he did well to take Care of these Churches; but yet he did not approve of the Design which he had of sharing them amongst many Bishops, lest the Dignity of a Bishop should thereby become contemptible. He says, That it would be better to chuse one Man worthy of a Bishoprick, who might take some Priests to his Assistance, than thus to divide a small Territory into many Bishopricks. He advises him to place Parish Priests in the Towns where there had formerly been Bishops, before any Bishop was Ordain'd, lest if there should be one Ordain'd before, he would not approve of this Regulation. In fine, he admonishes him to confine the Church of *Isauria* within its own Bounds. He adds, That the Affairs of the Church of *Nyssa* are in the same Condition, and that some of his Enemies were gone to Court. He subjoyns a Question of Doctrine about the Opinion of *Philo*, who affirms, That Manna had all sorts of Tastes. He says, That this Opinion was grounded only upon a Jewish Tradition. He advertises *Amphilochius*, that *Symonis* had sent him notice of Communion, and that he had answer'd him. This Letter is probably the 398, directed to *Amphilochius*, but it could not be address'd to him, since it appears by this Letter, that he to whom St. Basil wrote, had been at difference with him, and was reconciled some time before, since he thanks him for his Reconciliation.

In all probability it was about this Affair of *Isauria*, and some others of the like Nature, that St. Basil went into *Pisidia* and *Isauria*; and in the beginning of the Year 374, from *Pisidia* he went to *Iconium*, a Canton whereof called *Dazimona*, was furiously troubled by *Eusebius of Sebastea*, who had persuaded many Bishops to separate from the Communion of St. Basil. This Saint, thought he have found one of his Friends call'd *Hilary*, in that Country, but he was gone. He signifies in Letter 370, how much he was troubled, that he could not find him. He acquaints him also, That the *Acemonians* and *Semi-Arians* hated him, and loaded him with Calumnies, because of some Writings that were fallily attributed to him. In his return he went to see his ancient place of retirement, near *Neocesarea*, where his Brother *Peter* dwelt. The Inhabitants of *Neocesarea*, believing that he was come to concern himself about their Affairs, conceiv'd an Aversion to him, and accus'd him of many things. To refute their Calumnies and undeceive them, he wrote to them three Letters upon this Occasion.

The first, which is the 63, is address'd to the Clergy. He says, That they were to blame, to accuse him of Error, who themselves propagated those things which were asserted by none but *Sabellius* and *Marcellus of Ancyra*; That they could have but two Pretences for the Aversion they had testified against him; First, The changing of the way of singing of Psalms; and Secondly, The Affection which he had for those that profess'd a Monastick Life. As to the last Accusation, he says, That it was very much to his Advantage, that they had this Opinion of him, since there were Monks in *Egypt*, in *Palestine*, and in *Mesopotamia*; and Monasteries of Nuns in all Places. As to the singing of the Prayers of the Church, he maintains, That in that he follow'd the ancient Custom of the Church; That on the great Festivals the People came before Day into the Church; That after Prayer they stood up to sing to two Chorus's, which answer'd one another; That thus the Night was spent in singing and praying; That at break of Day all the Faithful rehear'd the Penitential Psalms. He maintains, That this Custom took place in *Egypt*, in *Libya*, in *Phoenicia*, in *Palestine*, in *Syria*. As to what they objected to him, That this was not in use in the time of St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, he answers them, That the Letanies or the Prayers which the Faithful used at *Neocesarea*, were no more in use in his time, than this Custom. He adds, That tho' he did not condemn them, yet he thought it more convenient

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convenient to ask God's Pardon of Sins, by using the Words of the Holy Scripture, than employing those of Men's devising. He maintains also, That it cannot be proved, that the singing of Psalms was not used in St. Gregory's time. He blames them, because they themselves did not observe what this great Man did. He tells them, That he pray'd with his head uncovered; That he did not swear at all; That he did not reproach his Neighbour; That he did not bear Envy against him; That he was neither proud nor quarrelsome, &c. whereby he tacitly objects these Faults to those of *Neocæsarea*. Towards the latter end, he admonishes them to lay aside those Innovations that had crept in amongst them, to admit the three Hypostases in God, not to deny the Name of Jesus Christ, and not to misinterpret the Expressions of St. Gregory.

The 64. is directed to the most Learned of this Church of *Neocæsarea*. There he describes the Opinion and Cause which obliged him to come near *Neocæsarea*. He accuses them of *Sabellianism*, because they admitted but one Hypostasis. He answers what they had said in a Letter address'd to *Antimius*, wherein they alleg'd a Passage of St. Gregory *Thaumaturgus*, who says, That the Father and the Son were Two by Conception, but One in Substance. He maintains, That this Father did not say this, as an Article of Faith; That this Expression escap'd him in the heat of Disputation, and that he never intended to explain his Doctrine about the Mystery of the Trinity exactly, in a Treatise which was made for the Instruction of an Infidel. At last he asserts, that 'tis not sufficient to say, That there are Three Divine Persons, unless it be added, that each of them has a particular Subistence by it self.

The Letter 75 is address'd to all the Faithful of *Neocæsarea*, whom he treats with more mildness. He complains of them, that having given Credit to the Calumnies which were publish'd against him, they had separated from his Communion. He represents to them, That he was Educated by his Grand-Mother *Macrina*, who had been amongst them, and had been Instructed in the Doctrine of St. Gregory of *Neocæsarea*; and that since that time, he had never Patroniz'd the *Arians*; That he had Letters from St. *Athanasius*, wherein he said, That those who'd be received into Communion, who returned from their Error. St. Basil adds, That he Communicated with all the Orthodox Churches, and so those that would not Communicate with him, were separated from the Church. In short, He does not refuse to be judged by a Synod. He would even submit himself to their Judgment, but upon Condition that they should not lightly believe, but examine the Accusations that were form'd against him, and his Defences. There is in this Letter a very fine Sentence against Calumny. The 20th. Letter to *Eustathius*, the Physician, was also written by St. Basil, about the same time, to vindicate himself against those that accused him of teaching, That there were Three Gods, because he admitted Three Hypostases. He justifies this Doctrine, and proves the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. This Letter in some Manuscripts is attributed to St. Gregory *Nysien*, and 'tis found among his Works; but 'tis rather St. Basil's, than St. Gregory *Nysien*'s, for it agrees better to him; the Style is more like his, and the Doctrine is different from that of St. Gregory, since the Author of this Letter maintains, That the Soul of *Sammel* did really come from the Invisible State to speak unto *Saul*; and St. Gregory expressly teaches the contrary in his Book of the *Witch of Endor*. In the 382, written to *Olympas*, he complains, that his Enemies had written against him, and had imputed to him the Error and the Writings of *Apollinaris*. He confesses, That this Man was a Heretic. A Bishop nam'd *Eulancius* had taken Part against him with those of *Neocæsarea*; but he came to himself at last, and wrote to St. Basil, whom he thanks by Letter 281. He defends himself also from the Calumnies of *Eustathius*, in Letter 346 to *Genethlius*.

St. Basil being returned to *Cæsarea*, received there Letters from the East, wherein they acquaint him, that *Paulinus*'s Party had received a Letter from the West, which confirm'd to him the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. This Letter foisted the Spirits of those of that Party, that they would have forced every body else to Sign a Confession of Faith, that they might be re-united with them. They did also shake Count *Terenius*, who had formerly been of *Meletius*'s side, and would have obliged him to Consent to this Union. St. Basil being inform'd of this News, wrote immediately to him the Letter 349, to persuade him not to abandon *Meletius*. He says, That those of the West were ignorant of the State of the Eastern Churches, and that they knew not the Reasons which St. *Athanasius* had to Communicate with *Paulinus*. He declares, That he accuses no Man; That he desires nothing but Peace; That he congratulates those who had brought these Letters from *Rome*; but that he could not forsake *Meletius* and his Church, to join with a Party that had caus'd the Schism. Lastly, He refuses the Opinion of those of that Side, who admitted but One Hypostasis in the Trinity.

He sent an Account immediately to *Antiochus*, who was at *Samofata*, of all that had been done since the beginning of this Year, and a Relation of what he had learn'd from *Antioch*: This Letter is the 272. About the same time, the Priest *Dorotheus*, who was gone into the West, contrary to the counsel of St. Basil, return'd into the East, very much dissatisfied with the manner of Treatment that he had met with from *Damasus*; who reckon'd *Meletius* and *Eusebius* of *Samofata* among the *Arians*. *Peter* of *Alexandria* who was then at *Rome*, wrote about it to St. Basil, signifying to him, That he was troubled that he had received no News from the East, and that *Dorotheus* had not satisfied the Bishops of the West. St. Basil answer'd him by Letter 321, wherein having excus'd himself for not writing to him before, he complains of the Conduct of *Damasus*, excuses *Dorotheus*, and justifies *Meletius* and *Eusebius* of *Samofata*. Some time after St. Basil advises St. *Amphilochius* by Letter 403, to send a Man of Gravity and Judgment into *Lycia*, to inquire into the Inclinations of the Bishops of that Country; because he was assur'd, that they were for the most part Orthodox, and desired nothing more than a re-union with them. He names to him those whom he certainly knew to be Catholics, to be first consulted. He thanks God that *Asia* was Purge'd from the poison of Heresy, and

and exhorts *Amphilochius* to take care of his Church. The Letters 402, and 403; to the same *Amphilochius*, are written in the same Year, before the 5th. of September.

About the End of this Year, *Demophilus*, the Lieutenant to the Pretorian Prefect, renew'd the Persecution against the Churches of *Asia*. He caus'd a little Council to be assembled at *Ancyra*, wherein he procur'd *Hippus* to be turn'd out, and *Ecdicius* the *Arian* to be Ordain'd in his room.

Demophilus came afterwards to *Nysa*, to force away from thence St. Gregory, whom he would have Arrested, under pretence that he waited the Church's Money. St. Basil thought himself oblig'd on this occasion to write for his Brother to *Demophilus* in the Name of all the Bishops of his Province. He gives him to understand, That if he would treat about the Money, the Treasurers were ready to give him an Account of it; but if he accused him of Ecclesiastical Matters, that he himself would examine it, and that he should not send his Brother to be judg'd out of his own Country. He wrote also the Letter 358 to *Aegyrius*, wherein he prays him to assist his Brother. This happen'd about *Christmas* in the Year 374; for St. *Amphilochius* having sent Presents to St. Basil at the time of this Festival, St. Basil thanks him by Letter 404, and tells him, That his Brother was forced to fly.

Demophilus was not satisfied with forcing away St. Gregory *Nysien* upon the Accusation of a profigate Person, but called a Synod of the Bishops of *Galatia* and *Pontus* at *Nysa*; wherein he got a Bishop ordain'd in the room of St. Gregory. From thence the same Bishops went to *Schæstæ*, to place one of their own Party at *Nicopolis* in the room of *Theodotus*, who was dead. They chose one *Fromo*, but the *Nicopolitans* would not receive him. This happen'd in the beginning of the Year 375; and St. Basil wrote an Account of it to *Eusebius* of *Samofata* by the Letters 264, and 10. In this last Letter he complains of the Pride of the Bishops of the West, and says, That their Faith was suspected by him, since they acted as they had done formerly, with reference to *Marcellus* of *Ankara*. In the Letter 405 to St. *Amphilochius*, he describes and deplores the Misery of the Churches, and says, That *Aclepius* was kill'd because he would not communicate with Heretics. And he does the same in the Letter 348. to *Epilidius*. He speaks also of the Unhappy State of the Church in Letter 266. In Letter 297 written to those of *Chalcis*, he exhorts them to continue firm and constant in the time of Persecution; He tells them, That it was violent in the East, and that it threaten'd *Cappadocia*. The Letters 298, and 299, to those of *Berea*, are upon the same Subject, as well as 303; wherein he comforts the Monks that suffer'd for the Faith. He says, That their Sufferings shall not be less recompens'd than those of the ancient Martyrs. We must join to these the 326, and 327, address'd to *Basilius* Bishop of *Edessa*; who was Banish'd, and the 306 to *Eusebius* of *Himeria*.

He wrote at the same time the 72 against *Eustathius* of *Schæstæ*, address'd to the *Edessenians*. There he describes the lightness and changes of this Heretic; and there he speaks of a pretended Council held at *Ancyra* at the end of the Year 374.

The 73 is written against the same Person and at the same time; for there he observes, That it was now Three Years since he was accus'd by *Eustathius*. He says, That he was unjustly blam'd upon the Account of the Errors of a Person [*Apollinaris*] to whom he never wrote but once, and that it was now Twenty Years since he did it; That those who accus'd him, did it to please the Powers, to whom they are, and always have been devoted; That the true Reason why *Eustathius* and those of his Party were offend'd with him, was not because he refus'd to receive their Suffragans, as they pretended, but because they would please *Euzoins*; That they were join'd to the *Eudoxians*, and called the Orthodox *Homo-ousians*, though they had formerly made Profession of this Faith, and had also preceded it to the Synod of *Tyana*. Lastly, That they had destroy'd the Churches which they had invaded. He concludes this Letter with a Profession of Faith, which rejects the Errors of *Arius* and *Sabellius*.

The Letters 190, 191, 192, are written to the People and Clergy of *Nicopolis*, to comfort and exhort them in the Persecution which they suffer'd during this Year 375, after the Death of their Bishop. In the last he declares to them, That they ought not to acknowledge him for their Bishop, whom the *Arians* had Ordain'd among them, though he calls himself Catholic, which he cannot be, being Ordain'd by the Hands of profane Persons, for the Destruction of the Faith: That this was his Opinion, which, if they would hold Communion with him, they should follow; "Which he had written to them, says he, not that he distrust'd them, but to remove the doubt of some, and that if any Person should get himself Ordain'd Priest by this Bishop, he should have no hope to continue for the future in this Dignity."

Pemius, Bishop of *Satala*, went after this to visit the Church of *Nicopolis*, about the end of this Year, or the beginning of the next, and confirm'd them in the Resolution of taking a Bishop, and Counsel'd them to choose *Empronius*, Bishop of *Colonia*. St. Basil approv'd of this Choice by Letter 193, and admonish'd them not to irritate those of *Colonia*, who were mightily troubled for the loss of their Bishop. These he comforted by the Letters 290, 291, wherein, after having praised the Zeal and Affection they had for their Bishop, he shows them, that this Translation was necessary for the good of the Church, and exhorts them not to Contest the Matter with the Church of *Nicopolis*, since that Church was their Metropolis, and what respect'd it concern'd them also. In the Letter 164 he exhorts the *Nicopolitans* continually to adhere and submit to the Bishop which had been lately sent them.

While the Eastern Churches were toss'd with these Tempests, those of the West being at last mov'd with some Compassion for them, sent Priests to Comfort them, and to Testify, that they did sympathize with them in their Sorrows. St. *Epiphanius*, Bishop of *Cyprus*, who perhaps had seen the 77th. Letter of St. Basil, did the same. St. Basil thanks the former by Letter 74, which is written in the

Name of all the Eastern Bishops, and he continues still to desire their Assistance, not so much against the *Arians*, as against those who under Sheep's clothing were Ravenous Wolves, and rent the Flock of Christ in pieces without Punishment. He accuses Three Persons in particular. *Eusebius* of *Sebaste* is the First; and to render him Odious, he describes all his Life, and says, That he was instructed by *Arian*, and was one of his most wicked Disciples at *Alexandria*; That being returned to *Cæsarea*, and seeing himself condemn'd by his Bishop *Hermogenes*, he had sign'd an Orthodox Confession of Faith, and afterwards was Ordain'd Priest; but then after the Death of *Hermogenes*, he went to *Constantinople*, where he again made Profession of *Arianism* under *Eusebius*; That being driven out of this City, he returned into his own Country, where he was forc'd to retire; That soon after he was made Bishop purely by Chance; and then he presently condemn'd the *Nicene Creed* in the Council of *Amcyra*; That the Party whom he join'd with at *Seleucia*, was known to all Men; That at *Constantinople* he Consented to the Creed of the Hereticks; That at last being gone into the West, he carried from *Librius* Communicatory Letters to the Synod of *Tjane*; by means whereof he was reſtor'd; That it was not known what *Librius* had oblig'd him to sign; but presently after he became the Patron of the Hereticks, who oppos'd the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, and persecuted the Orthodox. The Second, whom *St. Basil* accus'd to the Western Bishops, was *Apollinaris*, whom he spared more than he had done *Eusebius*; yet he says, That he had very much troubled the Churches, because he had so great a Facility of Writing, that he had fill'd the World with his Books; That in so great a Number of Writings, some Errors could not but creep in; That what he had written of Theology, was not founded upon Scripture, but upon humane Reasoning; That he had written Fabulous Things of the Resurrection; That he hath so perplex'd the Doctrine of the Incarnation, that few of his Acquaintance have retain'd the Form of ancient Doctrine; but on the contrary, almost all of them have abus'd themselves with useless and contentious Questions. Lastly, *Paulinus* was very much esteem'd by those of the West; yet *St. Basil* spares him not, for he is the Third Person whom he accuses in this Letter. He leaves it to the Bishops of the West to judge, whether his Ordination was lawful or no. But he adds, That that which vexed the most part of the Eastern Bishops against him, was his following the Error of *Marcellus* of *Angora*, whereby he maintain'd, That the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, were but One Hypostasis. He desires Assistance of those of the West against those who followed these Three Men, and prays them to send Letters, wherein they might declare, That those who are of their Party ought not to be received into Communion, until they have renounc'd their Errors. He concludes with saying, That it were to be wish'd, that the Eastern and Western Bishops could Assemble together to Consult about those things: But since the present juncture of Affairs would not permit them to do it, and a Business of this Nature would not admit any longer delay, they were content to send some of their Brethren to their Western Brethren, to inform them of that which could not be put into a Letter, and to invite them to assist the Churches of Jesus Christ. Father *Combes* says, That it is observ'd in some Manuscripts, that this Letter was never sent; but we ought not to give much Credit to those kind of Observations made by Transcribers.

The Letter 325 to *St. Epiphanius*, is also written to thank him, that he had sent some Priests to Visit and Comfort the Churches of the East: He signifies to him, That he deserv'd so much the more acknowledgment, because it was a rare thing to find Bishops at that time, who had Compassion on their Brethren. And because *St. Epiphanius* had written to him, That he was troubled for the Difference which was risen in a certain Country which he calls *Eleona*, *St. Basil* answers in this Letter, that he had Reason to wish that this Breach were healed; but that he would not have such People made use of, who were fit for nothing but to embroil Matters, because they were not acted by the Love of God. ('Tis probable that he speaks of *Paulinus*'s Party.) He adds, That there had been already sent into that Country, *Palladius*, a Priest of *Cæsarea*, and *Innocentius*, a Priest of *Rome*, to satisfy the Demands of those of this Country, and determine their Differences, which were probably about the Incarnation; That they had been told, that nothing must be added to the *Nicene Creed*, but the Doxology of the Holy Spirit; That he would add nothing about the Incarnation, because these Questions transcend'd the Capacity of his Understanding. He sets it down for a Maxim, That when once Men depart from the Simplicity of Faith, by reasoning about it, then there is no End of the Dispute, and all the Questions which they handle, serve for no other use, but to trouble the Minds of the humble. Afterwards he exhorts *St. Epiphanius* to join with *Meletius*, and assures him, That *St. Athanasius* intended to do it, and that their Union was retarded only by the Malicious Counsel of some particular Persons. He confesses, That he did not Communicate with those that were after *Meletius*, that's to say, with *Paulinus*, and those of his Party, not because he thought them unworthy of his Communion, but because they condemn'd *Meletius*, in whom there was nothing to be reprehended. He praises *St. Epiphanius*, because he acknowledged Three Hypostases. He exhorts him to cause his Brethren of *Antioch* to confess the same thing, if they had not already acknowledged it. He prays him to procure the Peace of that Church, by re-uniting the Two Parties. Last of all, He speaks to him about the Errors of a Sect of Hereticks, call'd *Magysians*, concerning which *St. Epiphanius* had desired of him some Account.

The Letter 55 to *St. Ambrose*, was at the same time, and probably was sent by the Deputies, who carried Letter 74 into the West. He writes to him, That he had known of a long time his Judgement, Learning and Vertue; That he blest'd God for drawing from the Court, a Man illustrious for his Wisdom, his Dignity and Eloquence, to charge him with the Government of Christ's Flock. He exhorts him wholly to extinguish the remainders of *Arianism*, if there was any in his Diocese, and prays him to continue the Friendship which they had begun. These Letters are written at the Beginning of the Year 376. 'Twas in this Year also, that he wrote the Letter 293 to *Eulogius*, and to the other

other Bishops of Egypt that were banish'd into *Palestine*: 'Tis against *Apollinaris* and *Marcellus* of *Angora*, whom he charges with the same Errors which he had spoken of in Letter 74.

The Letter 295 to the Monks, might also be at the same time, as well as the Letters 337, 338, 339 to *Agolius* of *Thebais*.

The Letter 182 written also in the Name of the Churches of the East to the Western Bishops, was in the Year 377, or 378. For the Eastern Bishops who describe there in a most Elegant manner, the Persecution which they suffer'd, observe that it had lasted 13 Years: But it could not begin before the end of the Year 364, or till 365. They implore in this Letter the Assistance of the Bishops of the West, which they declare they had in vain expected and desired for a long time.

We refer to those two last Years of the Life of *St. Basil*, some Letters of Doctrine and Discipline, the time whereof is not certainly known, but which seem to be written towards the End of his Life. We may place in this Number the 65 to those of *Jesepolis*, which is written against those who affirm'd, That Jesus Christ brought a Body from Heaven, reviving hereby the Error of *Valentinus*, and who attributed to the Divinity of Jesus Christ the Properties of the humane Nature. He refutes their Errors, and proves that Jesus Christ had real Flesh. He speaks also of Redemption by Jesus Christ, and of the Fall of Man by the Sin of *Adam*.

The 195 to *Diodorus* then Bishop of *Tarus*, was written before the Second Letter to *Amphilochius* wherein it is cited at Canon 63. There a Question of Importance is handled, *viz.* Whether it be lawful for a Man to marry his Wife's Sister after her Death? A Man of *St. Basil*'s Diocese had done it, and alleg'd for his Justification a Letter of *Diodorus* who defended his Action. *St. Basil* answers it in this Letter, and opposes to *Diodorus* the Custom of the Church which did not at all permit it. He answers a Passage of *Leuiticus*, Ch. 18. which seems to allow those Marriages. He answers, I say, First, That tho' that were so, yet there are many things forbidden in the Gospel, which the Law permitted; and Secondly, That the Levitical Law does not indeed forbid, but neither does it positively allow these kind of Marriages. He adds, That if it is not lawful to a Son to marry his Mother-in-Law, nor for a Father to espouse his Daughter-in-Law, neither ought it to be allowed to a Man to marry his Sister-in-Law, no more than to a Woman, to marry the Brother or the next-a-kin to her Husband; because Man and Wife are so closely united by Marriage, that the Kindred of one become the Kindred of the other. He would not have them object that Passage of Genesis, *Encrease and Multiply*, because it does not respect the New Testament. He observes, That second Marriages are a Remedy against Fornication, and not an in-let to immoderate Lust.

The following Letter to *Parergorius* is upon a like Subject. He admonishes this Priest who was 70 Years old, to put away a Maid that lived with him, as was Ordain'd by the Canon of the Council of *Nice*. He protests, That tho' he should write to him an Hundred Letters, he should always continue Suspended from his Ministry, till he had put her away; and that if notwithstanding this, he would still intrude upon the Exercise of his Office, without amending this Fault, he should be Excommunicated, and so should those also that receiv'd him.

We may join to these Two Letters, the 76 Epistle of *St. Basil*, to the Bishops under his Jurisdiction, wherein he reproves a thing which was practis'd by some of them, who under pretence of Piety, received the Money which was offer'd them by those whom they Ordain'd. He condemns this Practice as Simoniacal, and threatens to depose those that should do it for the future. He observes, That those Bishops excus'd themselves from Simony, because they received not this Money before Ordination, but only after it. But, says he, to receive Money before or after, is always to receive it, and under what Pretence soever they do it, they always make a gain of Spiritual Gifts: Now to do this in the Church of God, wherein we believe, that we have the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ; to do this here, I say, is a shameful Traffick: There are the very Words of *St. Basil*; I add nothing to them.

The 203, and 204, are address'd to those of *Tarus*. In them he Ordains, That the *Macedonians* in order to their Reception into the Church, should make profession of the *Nicene Faith*; and he anathematizes all those that believ'd the Holy Spirit to be a mere Creature.

The 244 is against a certain Bishop who neglect'd to Punish a Rape. He enjoins him to cause search to be made after the Maid; to restore her to her Parents; to declare him Excommunicated, who had Ravish'd her; to throw him out of the Church, him and his Family, for the space of three Years; not to suffer him to be present at the Publick Prayers; and in case he should sculk in some little Village, with the Woman he had Ravish'd, and the Inhabitants would not deliver them, or would defend them, that then they also should be interdicted Divine Offices. In the 345, he speaks of a Crafty Man, who being Summoned before the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, defended himself with so much Eloquence, that he made himself pass for an Innocent Man. In the 245 he speaks of the manner of Excommunication in his time; he says, That the Sinners ought first to be rebuk'd privately. Secondly, in the presence of two Witnesses; and Lastly, ought to be accus'd to the Church; and if he did not then obey, he ought to be Excommunicated. He says, That his Soul was set upon it to separate this Impostor, him and all his Family out of the Church.

The Letter 289 address'd to *Cæsarea*, a Lady, is about frequent Communion. He begins it, with declaring, that it is Good and Profitable to Communicate every Day. He says, That in his own Church there was a Communion four times a Week, on *Sunday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday*, and also on other Days, when the Anniversary of some Martyr is Celebrated; That in former times the Faithful themselves Communicated in their Houses, and that this Custom cannot be blamed. That it is still in use, in Egypt, and at *Alexandria*, where the Faithful carry the Communion to their Houses; That all the Hermits do the same thing; That we must believe, that the Priest having offer'd the

Sacrament, and distributed the Eucharist as those that are present, tho' they take it one after another in parcels, yet 'tis always the same. For, says he, in the Church it self, the Priest gives one part of it into the hands of the Faithful, and they put it into their Mouth; and is not this the same thing, as for them to receive all at once many parts of it from the Hand of the Priest?

It was in one of the last Years of his Life, that he invited the Bishops of *Pontus*, by Letter 291, to come to his Synod which he held at the Feast of St. *Euphrosinus*. There is also a Letter, which is the 337, wherein he blames one of his Suffragans, because he did not come to this Synod, and orders him to come thither for the future. In Letter 302 he commends a Lady call'd *Theodora*, whom he calls a Nun: wherein he observes, That 'tis an easy thing to embrace that kind of Life which is conformable to the Gospel, but 'tis not so easy to observe it even in the smallest things, to do nothing but to please God, to preserve her Modesty always in all her Conversation and Behaviour, to Eat no more but what is precisely necessary, and to keep nothing that is superfluous: That 'tis not sufficient to attain a perfect Humility, not to be lifted up when we are admired or commended, or when we have some excellency either of Mind or Body; but in order to Perfection, we must preserve an inviolable Purity, we must pray continually and fervently; in short, we must have Charity for our Brethren, a contrite Heart and an humble Spirit; we must manage our Auferities with Discretion, and always have the thoughts of a future Judgment present before our Eyes.

The 317 to a Bishop named *Optimus*, contains an Explication of that Passage of Genesis, *Whosoever shall kill Cain, &c.* where he first gives the natural Sense of it, affirming, that this Passage means only, That whosoever should kill *Cain*, should deliver him from the Vengeance of God which was seven times more severe than Death. He enlarges afterwards upon the Mystical Sense, and upon the Signification of the number Seven, which he takes to denote Remission of Sins. He finds out seven Sins in the Actions of *Cain*, and seven Punishments of his Sins. He refutes those that think that *Lamech* kill'd *Cain*, and says, That when 'tis said in Genesis, *Whosoever shall kill Lamech, &c.* the meaning is, that *Lamech* was more guilty than *Cain*, because that he having before him the Example of God's Vengeance against a Murderer, was not thereby deterred from this Crime. He adds another Mystical Explication, that for the Expiation of *Lamech's* Crime, there was not only a necessity of the Deluge which happened in the Seventh Generation after *Cain*, but also of the Death of Jesus Christ which happen'd Seventy Seven Generations after *Lamech*. At last he explains that Passage of the Gospel, wherein *Simon* tells the Virgin when he saw the Infant Jesus, That a Sword should pierce through her Heart; where by a Sword he understands the anxiety and trouble of Mind, that the Virgin was to endure during the Passion of Jesus Christ. As these Explications will not be relish'd by all the World, so St. Basil gave them only for the Satisfaction of that good Bishop who had consulted him.

In the 323 to *Nestorius*, St. Basil admonishes him to hinder all Canvassing at the Election of the Bishops.

In the 335 he Congratulates the Bishop *Sophronius*, because he continued in the Simplicity of the Faith of his Ancestors. He says, That to maintain this Simplicity we must revive the Credit of the Primitive Christians; but now there were few Persons that were free from Curiosity, and would confine themselves to that Simplicity of Faith, which teacheth us to believe in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In the 340, he reproves a Suffragan Bishop, call'd *Timotheus*, for concerning himself about Civil Affairs, after he had embraced a Monastick Life. The 343, and 344, are address'd to a Monk call'd *Orbicius*; in the Second he refutes the Error of those who affirm that the Divinity of Jesus Christ was changed into his Flesh.

The 383 to a Superior, treats of the manner how he should admit a Person who would make Profession of a Monastick Life: He orders him to receive him according to the Rules of the Holy Fathers, after he had taught him to understand the Obligations, the Duties and the Troubles of a Monastick Life.

In Letter 387 he presents the Creed of the Council of *Nice* to all the Creeds that had been made since that Council. He says, That it did not expressly determine the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, because no Body had then expressly oppos'd it; and then he proves that the Holy Spirit is not a Creature.

In the 388 he informs *Callisthenes*, That he was not oblig'd to keep the Oath which he had made in heat of Passion to punish his Servants.

In the 391 to *Ambrosius*, he answers many Questions which this Bishop had put to him. First, He explains that Passage of the Gospel, *No Man knoweth of the Day of Judgment, but the Father only*; and says, That the Sense of this place is, that the Father knows it of himself, because he is the Fountain and first Principle of this Knowledge, whereas the Son of God receives this Knowledge from his Father, in which Sense it is also said, *That there is none Good but God only*. He explains in what Sense the *Scorpion* was always in the Tribe of *Judah*, tho' it is said, that *Techonias* was the last of the Princes of *David's* Family. He refutes the Opinion of the *Encraticists*, who affirmed, that it was unlawful to Eat of some kind of Meats. He says, That the Triple Immersion observed in Baptism is a Figure of the Three Days that Jesus Christ was in the Sepulchre. He distinguishes *Essence* from *Substance*; He gives to the Three Hypostases of the Divine Persons, the Names of Paternity, Filiation and Sanctification; He condemns those that adore but One Hypostasis, as being not far off from the Heresy of the *Sabellians*. At last he says, That Corporal and Temporal Goods, are not good in themselves, tho' they ought to be prefer'd to the Evils that are opposite to them: But he avers that God sends these Good Things according as he thinks fit for the Good of Men: That there is such a Just Man to whom these Evils are necessary, that he may be Just; and there is another Just Man to whom God

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gives these temporal Good Things for a Recomperce; and there is such a Wicked Man to whom God denies them, because they would harden him; but there are other bad Men to whom he gives them in order to their Conversion.

In the 399 to the same Person, he says, That the Spirit of a Man is good of it self; but it can apply it self to Good or Evil, and to that which is indifferent; That 'tis given to it to know the Truth; That God is this Truth which it ought to know; And, that he is to be known as far as an infinite Being can be known by a finite Mind. This Letter is against the Error of *Aetius*, who believed, that the Essence of God might be perfectly known.

In the following Letter he propoals also one of the Sophisms of this Heretic, who thus objected to the Catholics: Do you know whom you adore? If you say that you know him, What then is his Substance? If you know him not, How then do you adore him? St. Basil answers, That the Attributes and Operations of God may be known, but we cannot comprehend his Essence nor his Nature: That by Faith we believe his Existence, which also may be known by his Power and its Effects, and yet both Faith and Reason teach us that he is Incomprehensible.

In the 401 he solves also another Sophism of *Aetius*, who ask'd Whether Knowledge were before Faith, or Faith before Knowledge. He answers, That Knowledge is the Principle of Faith, because the Existence of God is known by the Creatures; and Faith follows this imperfect Knowledge, as Adoration follows Faith. He proves also, that the Works of God and the Effects of his Power may be known, but that we cannot perfectly know his Essence. He explains many Significations of the Word *Know*. In the 408 Letter, he speaks of the Relicks of the Martyrs, as well as in 241.

In the 410 he says, That we ought to be content with the Faith, which we made Profession of at our Baptism, and to confine our selves to the Words that are taken out of the Holy Scripture for expressing it; That we should shun all new Expressions, because our Salvation does not depend upon the Words, but the Orthodox Faith.

The 412 is against a Deacon nam'd *Glycerius*, who had got into Orders, to serve the Cure of a Church in *Venza*, together with a Priest. This Deacon after he was Ordain'd had neglected his Ministry and had gathered together a multitude of Virgins, to whom he had made himself Patriarch: For St. Basil makes use of this very Term, and says, That he had taken upon him the Habit: St. Basil adds, That he did not this for Piety, nor Devotion, but to get Money; That thus he had disturb'd the Church to which he belonged, and despised the Parish Priest that Govern'd it: That being reprov'd for this Disorder by the Parish Priest and the Bishop, he had fled with a Company of Virgins and Young Men, himself being at the head of them; That this happened when there was an Assembly of Bishops in the place, and that he had abused the Parents who demanded their Daughters back again. St. Basil prays him to whom he sent this Letter, who had written to him in favour of this Deacon, to persuade him to return, to send back the Virgins, or at least not to detain thole by force who desired to return. He promises also Pardon to *Glycerius*, if he returned with a Letter from him to whom he wrote, and a Resolution to behave himself more Modestly; if not, he declares him Suspended from his Function.

In the following Letter he still presses this Friend to procure the Return of *Glycerius*, and the Young Women whom he had carried away with him, and bids tell them, That they needed fear nothing. At last, in the last Letter supercribed to this *Glycerius*, he exhorts him to return, and promises to Pardon his Fault upon their Account that had begg'd it for him; and chiefly for the sake of his Parish Priest, who had interceded for him. He declares, That he should lose the Dignity of a Deacon, if he absented himself any longer.

The 417 is written to a Judge, upon a Robbery that was committed in his Church. Some Garments of the Poor were taken away; and the Robbers were discover'd by thole that look'd after the Fabric of the Church; whereupon St. Basil condemn'd them to make Restitution. Nevertheless, they were accus'd before this Judge; and St. Basil wrote to him, That he had judg'd them, and that the Cognizance and Punishment of any thing that happen'd in Churches, belong'd to Bishops.

The 418 and 419, are written to a Receiver of the Taxes, to pray him to relieve the Poor.

These are all the Letters of St. Basil, which concern Religion; The others are Letters of Civility, of Recommendation, or Consolation, which have no respect to the Affairs of the Church; of which I shall here give you a Catalogue.

The Letters of Civility, of Complement and Congratulation, &c. are the 83, the 142, and thole that follow to the 164; the 169, and so on to the 181; the 123, and so on to the 244; the 248, 268, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 288, and 312; the 328, &c. to 335; the 341, 350, 351, 354, 355, 356, 359, 363, 369, 378, 384, 386, 389, 390, 407, 425, and 426, and the Three Letters of *Libanus* and St. Basil, publish'd by *Cotelerius*.

Thole of Recommendation or Request, are the 11, 84, 215, &c. to 220, 221, 232, 236, 237, 241, 248, 267, 333, 352, 353, 357, 360, 365, 366, 367, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 380, 381, 415, 416, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 427, 428; and the Two publish'd by *Cotelerius*.

The Letters of Consolation are 186, 188, 189, 201, 202, 347, 362. I say nothing of the Letter to the Emperour *Theodosius*, publish'd by *Cotelerius*; because 'tis evidently Supposititious. All these Letters are written very pleasantly, and they may be compar'd for their Style and Wit, to thole of the most able Writers of Letters.

We have refer'd the Letters of St. Basil to *Ambrosius*, to be particularly treated of, because they contain Decisions upon principal Points of Discipline, which are not to be considered as the particular Opinions of St. Basil, but as the Laws of the Church in his time: And therefore they are not written in the form of particular Letters, but after the manner of Synodal Decisions, which are call'd *Canons*.

The

The 1st. of these Canons is concerning the Validity or Invalidity of the Baptism of Hereticks. *St. Amphilocheus* has asked him particularly, whether it was necessary to rebaptize those who had been baptized by the *Novatians*, or the *Montanists*? He answers him, That as to the first of these Hereticks, he should follow the Custom of the Churches where he lived: because there were different Opinions upon that Subject. As to the Baptism of the *Montanists*, he believed, that it could not be accounted Valid, and he wonders that the great *St. Denys of Alexandria*, who was so well-skilled in the Canons, could be ignorant of this Truth. To explain his Answer, he distinguishes Three sorts of Persons that were divided from the Church; The Hereticks who differed in Matters of Faith, the Schismatics who separated upon Points of Discipline, and some of the disobedient Christians who withdrew from the Church. He maintains, That the Ancients were perwaded that the Baptism of Hereticks was absolutely void; He adds, That the *Peperzians* were Hereticks, and therefore their Baptism could not be Valid. As for Schismatics, he observes, That *St. Cyprian* and *Firmilian* subjected them to the same Law with Hereticks, because being separated from the Church, they had not the Holy Spirit, and so could not give it. He seems also to like this Opinion well enough: And yet he adds, That since the Bishops of *Africa* had thought it convenient to admit the Baptism of Schismatics, he would not hinder it. But though the *Encratites* were Schismatics, he declares, That their Baptism ought not to be approv'd, and that those ought to be rebaptized, to whom they had given Baptism, because they gave it with Precipitation, on purpose to hinder the receiving of it from the Church. Nevertheless he confesses, That if the contrary Custom were establish'd, it ought to be follow'd; and that the Decisions of the Ancients should be observ'd. In short, he recommends this upon the whole Matter, That none of those who return'd to the Church, should be permitted to approach the Holy Mysteries, till they had receiv'd the Unction. [That is, till they were Confirmed.]

In the 2d. Canon, *St. Basil* condemns to a Penance of 10 Years, a Woman that had procur'd an Abortion, and he judges her to be guilty of Murder, whether the Child had Life or no. He observes, That the time of Absolution should be regulated by the fervour of the Penance, as well as by the length of it.

In the 3d. Canon he declares, That if a Deacon commits Adultery, after he has been received into the Order of Deacon, he ought to be turned out of his Ministry: but he would not have him put under Penance, nor separated from the Communion of the Layety, because we ought not to punish the same Fault twice, and a Clergyman is sufficiently punish'd by his Deposition, and so much more than a Layman who is deprived of Communion, because he can be readmitted afterwards into the Church; whereas a Clergyman cannot be restor'd when once he's depos'd: But in conclusion, the most Effectual Remedy of all Sins, is to forsake Sin, and abstain from Pleasure.

The 4th. Canon is concerning those that are many times Married. He condemns 3d. Marriages as a kind of Fornication; and says, That the Custom of his Church, was to Excommunicate those who Married the third time, for Five Years; That in other places, they were only put under Penance for two or three Years. He enjoys the same thing to Bigamists, for one or two Years; though he would have neither the one nor the other reduc'd to the lowest Penance; but that they should be the first Years in the Rank of Hearers; and that the last Years they should partake of the Prayers, though they were still excluded from the participation of the Eucharist, till their Penance was finish'd, and they had given Signs of their Conversion.

In the 5th. he ordains, That Hereticks should be received who were converted at the Point of Death, provided they gave Signs of their sincere Repentance.

The 6th. is against Concupiscence.

The 7th. is against Murders, Poisoning, Adulteries, and against other more infamous Crimes. *St. Basil* says, That all who are guilty of these Crimes, are to be treated with the same Rigor. However he thinks that we ought to have Pity on those who have done Penance for Thirty Years, and that we should receive them without delay; especially if they still bewailed their Sins, and gave signs of Conversion.

In the 8th. Canon *St. Basil* treats very largely of Murders, and distinguishes the different Kinds of them, as well those that are Voluntary, as those that are Involuntary. This Canon is more curious than Useful.

The 9th. Canon is about Divorce. He lays it down as a Principle, That the Law of Jesus Christ is equal both to Men and Women, and that it does not allow of the Separation of a Man and his Wife, but in case of Fornication: But he says, That the present Custom is not altogether agreeable to the Law of Christ, because it does not allow Women to Separate from their Husbands upon any account whatsoever; so that it seems to excuse from Adultery a Woman, that should Epouse a Man whose Wife had divorced herself; but on the contrary, if it was a Husband that quitted his Wife to Epouse another, that Man should commit Adultery, both he that Married to this last Woman, and she that was Epoused to him.

In the 10th. *St. Basil* is against Ordaining those who had Sworn never to take Orders, though there be, says he, a Canon which seems to permit it; but he observes, that we must consider the Form of the Oath, the terms in which it was conceiv'd, the Disposition of the Person that made it, and all the lesser Circumstances, to see whether he is oblig'd by his Oath or no; and if no way can be found to dispense with it, then he ought not to be Ordain'd. After this, he explains a particular Question which had been propos'd to him by *Amphilochius*, as far as it can be discover'd by *St. Basil's* Answer, it seems to have been this.

One *Cyriacus* a Priest of the Church of *Mindana*, whereof *Longinus* was Bishop, was oblig'd by Oath never to quit that Church; yet he was made Parish-Priest to a Village very near it, which was in another Diocess. *Longinus* seeing himself deprived of a Priest who did very much assist him, earnestly desired his Return, and said, That unless he returned to him, he should quit his Church. 'Tis also probable, that the Priest had some remorse of Conscience for having violated his Oath. *Amphilochius* demands of *St. Basil*, what was to be done in these Circumstances? and this Saint gave an Advice full of Wisdom, That they should join to the Diocess of *Mindana*, the Territory of *Amisius*, where this Priest was made Minister by the Bishop *Severus*: And he says, That by this means, he still belonging to the Church of *Mindana*, might fulfil his Oath, and might assist the Bishop *Longinus*, who had demanded him back again. He blames the Conduct of the Bishop *Severus*, who had acted against the Canons, in removing a Priest from one of his Brethren, and had made him guilty of Perjury.

In the 11th. Canon, he ordains, That a Penance of 21 Years, should be impos'd upon him who commits Murder, though it was done without any Premeditated Design.

In the 12th. he declares, That the Canons wholly exclude all Bigamists from Ecclesiastical Functions.

In the 13th. he says, That the Fathers did not punish as Murders those that were committed in War, because they judg'd that those should be pardon'd who were oblig'd to defend their Country, their Life and their Honour; But he adds, That 'twas advisable for such as had their hands defiled with Humane Blood, to continue Three Years out of the Communion of the Church.

The 14th. imports, That if he who had been an Usurer, would distribute to the Poor all the Profit he had made by this Shameful Trade, and keep himself from the Passion of Covetousness, he might be advanced to the Priesthood.

The 15th. and 16th. are not Canons which concern Discipline; but an Explication of some Difficulties about the literal sense of some Passages of Scripture, which had been propos'd to him by *Amphilochius*.

The 2d. Letter begins with Canon 17th. It contains a Decision in favour of one nam'd *Dionan*, who was ordain'd Priest contrary to the Oath he had made. *St. Basil* says, That he had already made this Rule for the Priests of *Antioch*, that these kind of Persons should not publicly exercise their Priestly Function, but only in Private. He adds, That he of whom he there speaks, might have a Dispensation from this Law; because he was not at *Antioch*, but *Iscunum*.

In the 18th. *St. Basil* observes, That the Ancients did not treat the Virgins consecrated to God who abandon'd their Profession, more rigorously than Bigamists, and that they impos'd upon them only a Penance of one Year; but he adds, That the Church and the number of Virgins increasing now every day, it was necessary to treat them as Adulterers. He gives this Advertisement, That he speaks of Virgins which have consecrated themselves to God, and renounced Marriage; That their Profession should commence from such an Age, at which they were perfectly come to the use of their Reason; because no regard was to be had to such Promises as were made before that time; That we ought not to admit any into the number of Virgins consecrated to God, but those who were 16 or 17 Years old, and even then after they had been try'd a long time, and passionately desired to be received, and that we ought to reject those who were brought by their Parents before they had arriv'd at this adult Age, before they had a Judgment sufficiently ripe, and before they could give any assurance of their fix'd Resolution.

In the 19th. Canon, *St. Basil* observes, That Men make no Vow nor Profession of Virginity as Virgins do; That those who enter into a Monastical state, seem tacitly to embrace Celibacy; but to oblige them to it, it was necessary that they should be ask'd, and that they should make Profession of it: and then if they should pass to a Voluptuous Life, they should be punish'd as Fornicators.

In the 20th. he says, That we ought not to punish the Women that Married after they had made Profession of Virginity while they were without the Church, being Infidels, or Hereticks, or Catechumens; because we ought not to search after the Sins committed before Baptism, since that Sacrament Pardon'd them.

The 21st. is also about the difference which Custom had put between the Faults of Husbands and Wives. He observes, That a Man who is Unfaithful to his Wife is not look'd upon as a Fornicator, provided the with whom he committed the Sin was not Married; That the Husband cannot for this be parted from his Wife, though the Wife might be from her Husband, if she should commit the same Sin with a Man. He confesses, That 'tis difficult to give a Reason for this Proceeding; but he says, 'tis the Custom.

In the 22d. Canon, he obliges those who have forcibly carried Maids away, to restore them to those to whom they were Contracted, or to their Parents; and declares, That they must not be received into Communion before they have restor'd them. He condemns those who detain the Women whom they have secretly or by force Corrupted, to the same Punishment with Fornicators, which is to endure Penance for Four Years; That for the 1st. Year they shall be excluded from the Prayers, and oblig'd to stand at the Church-Gate; That for the 2d. they shall be in the rank of Hearers; That for the 3d. they shall be in the number of Penitents; That in the Last Year, they shall be present with the People at all the Divine Service, without being capable of partaking of the Oblation.

In the 23d. Canon concerning those that Married two Sisters, he refers *Amphilochius* to that which he had written in his Letter to *Diodorus*, of which we have already spoken.

St. Basil.

The 24th. is against Widows, who being deceived into the Number of Deaconesses, Married afterwards. He would have them more severely Punish'd than Bigamists; if they be above 60 Years old; but he excuses them if they be younger; because it was the Bishop's fault to receive them too young.

By the 25th. Canon it is provided, That he who shall Marry a Woman after he hath abus'd her, shall be put under Penance, but he shall have leave to keep her for his Wife.

In the 26th. he declares, That Fornication is never Marriage; and that it cannot lawfully be the Beginning of a Marriage; and therefore it would be better to part those who have committed this Sin, than to Marry them together; but yet if they have a Mind to Marry, they should not be hinder'd left some greater Mischief should follow.

The 27th. is upon occasion of a Priest, who through Ignorance was entangled in a Marriage within the Prohibited degrees. St. Basil thinks that he ought not wholly to be depriv'd of the Honour and Dignity of Priesthood; but he forbids him to exercise his Function, and would have him be satisfied with that Place of Honour which is left him, without being able to give the Blessing, to distribute the Body of Jesus Christ, or to do any part of his Sacerdotal Function.

The 28th. Canon is against some Persons that had made a Vow not to Eat Pork. St. Basil says, That this Vow was ridiculous; and admonishes *Amphilocheus*, to exhort those who made it, not to make any more such kind of Vows, and to allow themselves to Eat indifferently all kinds of Meat.

The 29th. is against those Great Lords, who take an Oath to prejudice those that are subject to them. The substance of it is, That pains should be taken to correct this Fault; and the means to do it, was to teach them, that they ought not to make such kind of rash Oaths, and that they ought to beware of executing the Evil they have Sworn to do.

The 30th. Canon is against Ravishers. St. Basil says, That there is no ancient Canon that concerns them; but that his Opinion is, That both they, and such as are Complices in their Crime ought to suffer Penance for Three Years time.

The 31st. declares, That a Woman can never Marry, though her Husband does not appear, as long as she is not sure of his Death, and that if she does, she commits Adultery. The 36th. ordains the same thing to Souldier's Wives, who Marry again, when they have no more News of their Husbands; yet he thinks them more excusable, because they have more reason to believe that they are dead.

The 32d. ordains, That Clergymen who Sin mortally, should be degraded; but not turn'd out of Communion.

The 33d. That a Woman who takes no care of the Fruit of her Womb, and who is brought to Bed in the middle of the Street, should be punish'd as one guilty of Murder.

The 34th. That Women guilty of Adultery, who voluntarily confess it, or are partly convicted of it, should not be defam'd, lest their Crime coming to Publick Notice, should be the cause of their Death; but that they should be order'd to stay out of Communion, till the time of their Penance be over.

The 35th. is, That when a Husband is forsaken by his Wife, it should be inquir'd whether there was any Fault in him; and if there was not, but she only was in the Fault, then they ought not to deprive the Husband of the Communion of the Church, but only punish the Wife.

The 37th. is, That if a Man who had Espoused another Man's Wife, Marries another Woman, after the former was taken away from him, he is guilty of Adultery against the First, but not against the Second.

The 38th. is, That Young Women who follow those that have abus'd them, without the consent of their Parents, are guilty of Fornication; And, that though it may seem, that their Fault is made up when the Parents afterwards consent to it; yet they ought to be put under Penance for Three Years.

The 39th. That she who stays with him, whom she had committed Adultery with, is to be accounted guilty of the Crime as long as she continues with him.

The 40th. That a Slave who Marries without the consent of his Master, has committed Fornication; because the Contracts and Promises of all those who are under the Power of others, are void without their consent.

The 41st. That the Marriage of a Widow that's free cannot be null'd.

The 42d. contains this general Maxim, That the Marriages of all those who are under the Power of another without his consent, are not Marriages, but Fornications; and therefore, that the Marriages of the Sons and Daughters of a Family, are void without the consent of their Fathers, as that of Slaves is without the consent of their Masters.

The 43d. declares, That he who has given a Mortal Wound to another, is guilty of Manslaughter, whether he first attack'd him, or did it in his own defence.

The 44th. That a Deaconess that hath committed Fornication with a Pagan, ought not to be Excommunicated, but only depriv'd of the Oblation for the space of Seven Years; after which she shall be receiv'd, if she liv'd chastly during that time.

In the 45th. he observes, That the Name of a Christian will stand him in no stead, who leads a Life unworthy of a Christian.

In the 46th. he says, That a Woman that without her knowledge espoused a Married Man, whom his former Wife was parted from, and afterwards separated from him, may Marry again to another; but that it were better if she continued as she was.

The

St. Basil.

The 47th. Canon is about the Baptism of Hereticks. It seems in some Points to be contrary to the first; but when the Matter is well examin'd, 'tis easy to reconcile them. He observes, That the *Encratites*, the *Sacopharians*, and the *Apostatites*, ought to be treated as *Novatians*. Now he seems to have laid the contrary in the First Canon, where he affirms, That it was absolutely necessary to re-baptize the *Encratites*. This Difficulty made an Author of our Age believe, That a Negative Particle must be added in the Canon. The Reason which St. Basil alleges to prove this Proposition, seems to confirm this Conjecture; for he adds, That there are Canons which have regulated what concerns the former, though differently, whereas there is none which speaks of the latter. But after a full Examination of the words of this Canon, I find that 'tis not necessary to change any thing in it. Take the true sense of it as follows: St. Basil says, That the *Encratites*, *Apostatites* and *Sacopharians*, ought to be treated after the same manner as the *Novatians*: That's to say, That with respect both to the one and the other, we must follow the Custom of the Church where we live; and the Reason which he gives for it is, because there is no Rule and Determination about their Cause, since the Canons are found different about the former, and there is nothing order'd about the latter. He adds, That in his Country they were all rebaptiz'd; but if this Rebaptizing was forbidden in the Province whereof *Amphilocheus* was Bishop, as it was at Rome; and yet he found the Reasons were convincing, which he had brought to prove that the *Encratites* must be rebaptized, then he ought to call a Council to make this Regulation.

In the 48th. Canon he counsels Women divorc'd by their Husbands, not to Marry again, since Jesus Christ hath said, That he who putteth away his Wife, except for Fornication, committeth Adultery, when he espouseth another, and is the cause of her committing Adultery by marrying again.

In the 50th. Canon he says, That the Laws do not forbid, nor punish Third Marriages, and yet the Church looks upon them as shameful Actions.

The Third Letter to *Amphilocheus*, is also a continuation of Canons. St. Basil speaks in the Preamble of a Journey he had made a little before into Pontus about the Affairs of the Church. He thanks *Amphilocheus* for the Letters he had written to him; he declares to him that he desired to see him, and that he would do all that lay in his Power to come and meet him; but that perhaps he might be obliged to go soon to *Nazianzum*, because of the departure of St. Gregory who was gone from it, tho' no body knew the Reason of his going. He acquaints him, That he of whom he had spoken before (probably to make him Bishop of some City depending upon the Metropolis of *Amphilocheus*) was fallen sick; that there was no other Person that he could cast his Eyes upon. He counsels him rather to put into that place, one whom the Inhabitants of the City desired to have, tho' he had been but lately Baptiz'd. He repeats what he had said in the 10th. Canon concerning those that had taken an Oath that they would not be Bishops.

The 51st. Canon ordains, that Clergy-men should not be otherwise punish'd for their Crimes but by Deposition, whether they were in Sacred Orders which are given by Imposition of Hands, or in Inferior Orders.

The 52d. is against Women that Voluntarily suffer their Infants to perish.

The 53d. ordains, that a Widow-Slave that procures her being taken away forcibly to be Married again, should undergo no other Punishment but that of Bigamists.

In the 54th. he refers us to what he had said in the former Letter concerning Involuntary Manslaughter; he adds, That it belongs to the Bishop's Prudence to encrease or diminish the Penance according to Circumstances.

In the 55th. he declares, That those who set upon Robbers, ought to be depriv'd of Communion if they be Lay-men, and depos'd if they be Clergy-men.

In the 56th. he imposes 20 Years Penance upon Voluntary Murders; and in the 57th. 11 Years Penance upon those that are Involuntary. In the 58th. he imposes 15 Years Penance upon Adultery; In the 59th. 7 Years upon Fornicators. In the 60th. he condemns Virgins who break their Vow of Virginity, to the same Punishment with Adulterers. In the 61st. he imposes one Years Penance upon him that shall accuse himself of Robbery, and two Years upon him that is convicted of it. In the 62d. and 63d. he imposes the same Penance as upon Adulterers, upon those that commit infamous Crimes. In the 64th. he imposes 11 Years Penance upon Perjury. In the 65th. he imposes the same Penance upon Poisoners. In the 66th. 11 Years Penance upon those that dig up the dead. In the 67th. the Penance of Murderers upon those that commit Incest with their Sisters. In the 68th. the Punishment of Adulterers is decreed against those that marry their Kinsfolk in prohibited Degrees. In the 69th. he ordains, That a Reader who shall have to do with a Virgin to whom he was contracted, shall be depriv'd of his Ministerial Function, and become incapable of rising to a higher Order. He adds, That if he has committed this Sin with another Virgin than her to whom he was contracted, he shall be depos'd, and that the same shall be observ'd with respect to other Ministers. The 70th. ordains, That Deacons and Priests who have polluted their Lips, if they confess their Crime, shall be Suspend'd for some time from their Ministerial Function. The 71st. That those who shall be convicted of those Crimes without their own Confession, shall be punish'd as Malefactors. The 72d. That those who meddle with Divination, shall be punish'd as Murderers. The 73d. That he who has renounced the Faith of Jesus Christ shall not be received until the point of Death. In the 74th. St. Basil tells him, In the time of Penance may be shorned to those who fulfil their Penance with fervor and humility.

In the 75th. he imposes 12 Years Penance upon him that hath committed Incest with his Sister by the same Father and Mother; and says in the 76th. That the same Law should take place against those who Marry their own Daughters-in-Law. The 77th. ordains 7 Years Penance against those who Divorce their Wives, and Marry others. The 78th. decrees the same Punishment against those who Marry two

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two Sisters, tho' at different times. The 19th. condemns those that Marry their Mothers-in-Law to the same Punishment with those that Marry their Sisters. In the 88th. he says That the Ancients spoke nothing of Polygamy, because they look'd upon it as a brutish Sin, to which they thought that Men could not be subject; he believes it worse than Fornication, and he imposes upon those that shall be Guilty of it a Penance of 4 Years. In the 81st. he imposes 8 Years Penance upon those that being taken by the Barbarians, were forced by Torments to Eat of Meats sacrificed to Idols, and 11 Years upon those that did it without any constraint. In the 82d. and 83d. he condemns the Perjurd, and those that meddle with Pagan Superstitions; to 6 Years Penance. In the 84th. and 85th. he declares, That all those Canons are to be understood of those that are willing to do Penance and amend themselves; but for those that continue in their Crimes, we ought to have no Conversation with them, and never to receive them into the Church, lest we be partakers of their Crimes. There is at the End of this Letter, a Fragment of another Letter of St. Basil, written to the same Person against the *Encratites*.

For observing some Order in the other Writings of St. Basil, we may divide them into three Classes. The First shall comprehend those that are upon the Scripture; The Second, those that concern Doctrine; and The Third, those that are about Morality.

Caesarius assures us, That St. Basil made Commentaries upon almost all the Books of the Holy Scripture; of which there remains now but a small Number. The Nine Homilies or Sermons upon the beginning of *Genesis*, are the first of his Works. St. *Jerom*, *Photius* and *Suidas*, mention them. There are added to those Nine Homilies, Two others about the Formation of Man, which at first were attributed to St. Basil, and afterwards were ascribed to his Brother St. Gregory *Nysien*. But they cannot belong to this last, who has treated of this Matter in a particular Work: But there is no convincing Reason, why they may not be attributed to St. Basil upon the Credit of ancient Manuscripts. 'Tis true that those Authors we have just now cited, mention but Nine Homilies of St. Basil's upon the *Hexameron*; and that *Caesarius* observes, That he did not explain what concerns the Creation of Man; but perhaps those Authors had not seen these two Homilies, which St. Basil compos'd long after the others. Besides, let Men say what they please, these have the Style of St. Basil, and are like enough to the first, tho' they are not altogether so large. After these Homilies, there ought to follow the 30th. Homily about Paradise.

Cassiodorus has publish'd in Greek in his First Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, a Homily upon these Words in the 6th. Chapter of the *Proverbs*, *Shaffer not your selves to be overwhelmed with sleep*, which is not unworthy of St. Basil, and has his Style and Air.

The first of the 2. Homilies upon some Psalms, which is a Preface to all the Psalms, is wholly the same with the Latin Preface, that is prefix'd to St. *Austin's* Commentaries upon the Psalms: Either therefore we must say, That St. *Austin's* Preface was translated into Greek, or rather that St. Basil's was translated into Latin, and plac'd at the beginning of St. *Austin's* Commentaries. These Homilies are quoted in *Nicetas's Catena*, and by some others; and there is no doubt but they are St. Basil's. Yet Father *Combesius* rejects the second Homily upon Psalm 28, which is an Abridgement and Repetition of the preceding, and which is wanting in many Manuscripts. He passes also the same Judgment on that upon Psalm 37; and he affirms, that the Style of it is different from that of the others. In some Latin Editions of St. Basil, there are publish'd under the Name of St. Basil, Commentaries upon the Psalms; but 'tis plain they are none of St. Basil's, because they are Extracts out of St. *Chrysostom* and *Theodore*.

The Commentary upon the first six Chapters of *Isaiah*, seem'd doubtful to *Erasmus*, because he thought that they were written in another Style. *Tillemont* who has translated them into Latin, has undertaken to defend them against the Conjecture of *Erasmus*, and he proves that they are this Father's by the Authority of four Modern Greek Authors, which are *Metaphrastes*, *Antonius*, *Maximus*, and St. *John Damascene*. *Fronto Ducas* adds to these Four, the Patriarch *Tarasius*, in his Epistle to Pope *Adrian*, and the Author of the Greek *Scholia* upon the Epistles of St. Paul attributed to *Oecumenius*. The Authority of these Modern Greeks would be of no great Moment, if this Work had evident Marks of Forgery, or if the Style of it were altogether different from that of St. Basil; but it must be confess'd, that tho' it is not so Elegant as the Work of the Creation, yet it is not much different from the Style of St. Basil, neither is it unworthy of this Father. *Rivet* has found in it a difference of Opinion, which might make it be reject'd, if it were more considerable. He observes, That St. Basil in his Letter 80 to *Eustathius* the Physician, affirms that the Witch of *Endor* made the Soul of *Samuel* really to return, whereas the Author of this Commentary upon *Isaiah*, on Ch. 8. affirms, That it was the Devil who assum'd the Shape of *Samuel*. Some have answer'd, That this Epistle to *Eustathius*, was St. Gregory *Nysien's*, but we have shewn, that 'tis rather St. Basil's. Therefore all that can be said is this, That St. Basil might change his Opinion about a thing of so small consequence as this is.

The Second Class of St. Basil's Works comprehends his Dogmatical Books. The first of these Discourses are the Books against *Enomius*. St. Gregory *Nazianzen*, St. *Jerom* and *Photius* all assure us, That he wrote against this Heretic, but they say nothing of the Number of the Books. We have at present five of them. The Three first are written in the same Style and after the same Method, and there can be no doubt but they are St. Basil's. The Two last are more Dry and Scholastical; but we ought not to wonder at that. In the First he overthrows the principal Arguments of *Enomius*; and in these Two last, he insists upon the Refutation of the Subtilties and Sophistical Arguments of this Heretic upon many Passages of Holy Scripture, as he had promis'd to do in the Second Book. There is no Cause therefore to reject these Books as supposititious. They were quoted as Genuine by the Greeks and Latins in the Council of *Florence*.

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The Book of the Holy Spirit to *Amphilochius*, is that Treatise of all the Works of St. Basil, which most of all displeases the Protestants; because it contains such things as do not favour them. *Erasmus*, who took great Liberty to condemn every thing that did not please him, made no scruple to reject this in the Preface which he prefix'd to his Version: He was wearied with translating it, and the Style appear'd to him perplex'd in several Places. These are the Reasons on which he grounds his Judgment about this Book to which he had added many things in the same Preface: That tho' 'tis true, that there are some things in it, which are not unworthy of St. Basil, and which sufficiently discover that they belong to him; yet there are other things in it which are none of his. The greatest part of Protestant Critics, being dissatisfied with that necessity of Tradition which this Book evidently proves, have gladly received this Opinion of *Erasmus*, and have also added some other Conjectures of their own to his, to reject this Book entirely. Nevertheless, *Cajetan* being more impartial than the rest, has plainly declar'd in his Writings against *Berolinus*, That he was not of *Erasmus's* Opinion: And indeed 'tis certain that St. Basil did write a Treatise of the Holy Spirit; he says it himself in his Letters. St. Gregory *Nazianzen* speaks of it. St. *Jerom* and *Suidas* mention it. *Theodoret* quotes that Book which we have at this Day, in his first Dialogue, and in the Refutation of the Anathematists of St. *Cyril*. After this Author, St. *John Damascene* in his third Discourse of Images, the II. *Nicene Council*, *Act 4*. *Photius* in the *Nomo-canon*, *Burchardus* in the *Decretals*, *Euthymius Zigabenus* in his *Panoplia*, *Zonaras* and *Balfanion* in the *Nomo-canon*, *Anastasijs* of *Nice* Quest. 84, and *Nicephorus* B. XII. Ch. 26. quote it also. Moreover, the Reasons of *Erasmus* are very weak: For first he accuses the Author of this Work of raising his Style too high, as if this were not ordinary with Authors, and particularly with Writers of Controversy. He reproves him for discovering his Ability in the Logic of *Aristotle* and *Porphyrie*. Could he do otherwise, having to do with Adversaries which made use of these Arms? Lastly, *Erasmus* affirms, That the Style is different from St. Basil's; but he pronounces this Sentence upon slight Grounds, and without a sufficient Examination of the Matter; for those who read this Work, find no such difference of Style in it; but on the contrary they find a great agreement between it and his other Books. *Scultetus* pretends, that what this Author says of the Authority of Tradition, is contrary to the Doctrine of St. Basil; but it is a Groundless Allegation. Neither is it true, that he lays down in this Book other positions than those which he has explain'd in other plates, concerning the descent of Christ into Hell, and concerning Baptism. If *Scultetus* had well consider'd what he affirm'd with too boldness, he would have chang'd his Opinion.

No body doubts but the two Books of Baptism are St. Basil's, tho' they be not cited by the Ancients.

The Book of Virginity has the Style of St. Basil, and what St. Gregory *Nazianzen* says of St. Basil's Writings concerning Virginity, does perfectly agree to it. It is also cited by *Suidas*. Yet Mr. *Herman* believes it supposititious, because it is address'd to *Letorius* Bishop of *Melinite*, since while St. Basil was living, that See was possess'd by *Otreus*, who lived after the Council of *Constantinople*, as appears by the Law which the Emperor *Theodosius* made after this Council. It may be said, that *Letorius* was his Predecessor; but there is more probability that he succeeded to him. Either therefore we must say, that the Dedication of this Book is corrupted, and then we must read *Otreus* for *Letorius*, or else that *Letorius* was not yet Bishop.

Among the 31 different Homilies of St. Basil, there are 11 of them which are Dogmatical: viz. The 9th. wherein he proves that God is not the Author of Sin; The 12th. upon the beginning of the *Proverbs*; The 15th. concerning Faith; The 16th. upon the Beginning of the Gospel of St. *John*; The 17th. upon Baptism; The 25th. of the Humane Birth of Jesus Christ; The 27th. against the *Sabellians*, the *Aumeans* and the *Arians*; The 29th. against those who accuse us of worshipping Three Gods; The 31st. of Free-will. All these Homilies have St. Basil's Style, and no Body doubts but they are his.

But there is more Difficulty about St. Basil's Books of Morality. St. *Jerom* and *Suidas* mention in general the *Acticicks* of this Father; but *Socomen*, Ch. 15. of B. III. of his History, says, That they were written by *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*. On the contrary, *Photius*, Vol. 191 of his *Bibliotheca*, attributes to St. Basil, the great Rules, small Rules, and their Prefaces.

The *Acticical* Books attributed to St. Basil, are as follow. The First is a Discourse which may serve as a Preface and Introduction to all his *Acticical* Discourses. The Second is a Treatise about the Monastical State, and the renouncing the things of this World. The Third is a Discourse of the *Acticical* Life. The Fourth is a Treatise of Faith. The Fifth is a Treatise of the Judgment of God, and a little Preface which in some Manuscripts, makes a part of the Book about Faith. We must also add Two other little Discourses publish'd by Father *Combesius*, in the Second Volume of St. Basil, Restor'd. These Treatises are as preliminaries to the great *Acticical* Treatises, which are his *Morals*, the *Acticical* Book, the *Great Rules* explain'd very largely, which are in number 55, the *Little Rules* abridg'd, which are continued unto number 313, some Canons concerning the Punishment of Monks and Nuns, and the Monastical Constitutions. To these Books we may join his Epistle to *Chilo*, and the following Letters, as well as 411, and some others which concern the Monastical State, of which we have spoken among the Letters of St. Basil. 'Tis not certain whether all these Books that we have mention'd of St. Basil's; but 'tis agreed on all hands that the Constitutions, and the *Acticical* Treatises are his: But many adhere to the Testimony of *Socomen*, who attributes the Little Rules, and also the Great ones to *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*. Yet I see nothing which can confirm this Opinion, and it seems to me that they bear so great a Relation to the other *Acticical* Works of St. Basil, that it may be affirm'd with much probability, that they all belong to the same Author. *Ruffinus* who has made an Abridgment of them attributes them to St. Basil: They are cited under his Name in the 5th. Council; and in *Isidore*, *Photius* acknowledges all these Treatises for Genuine. Even in his time they made but one Body.

divided into two Parts: The First contained the Discourse of Judgment; and that of Faith which is a Continuation of it. The Second Part contained the Morals, the 55. Great Rules, the 313 Short Rules, and the Titles of these Rules. This shows that all these Books belong to the same Author; and that they compos'd but one Book, entitled *Alecxick*, whereof the First Part is not entire. As to the Three Discourses which precede that which is entitled, *Of Judgment*; they are distinct Treatises which have no Relation to the other Alerickal Books: The Treatise of Judgment; ought to precede that of Faith, and both the one and the other are a Preface to the Alericks. The Book of a Monastic Life, and the Constitutions are distinct Works, as well as the Rules concerning the Punishment of Monks.

Of the Moral Homilies, the first is that about Fasting, cited by St. *Austin* in the First Book against *Julian*, where he recites also some other Passages which this Heretick had taken out of a Treatise of St. *Basil* against the *Manichees*, which we have not at present. The Second Homily of Fasting, which *Erasmus* has condemn'd too lightly, is cited by St. *John Damascene* and by *Euthymius*. The Third Homily upon the same Subject publish'd by *Caterius*, is not unworthy of St. *Basil*, tho' it be not so elegant. The Fourth Homily is upon these Words, *Take heed to your selves*. The Fifth is concerning Thanksgiving, which some have believ'd not to be St. *Basil's*. The Sixth is upon these Words, *I will pull down my Barns*. The Seventh to Rich Men. The Eighth upon Famine and Barrenness. The Tenth of Anger. The Eleventh of Envy. The Twelfth upon the beginning of the Proverbs. The Thirteenth contains an Exhortation to Baptism. The Fifteenth is upon Drunkenness. The One and Twentieth was recited to *Lacina*. The Two and Twentieth of Humility. The Three and Twentieth, that we ought not to set our Hearts upon the Things of this World. The Four and Twentieth prescribes Rules to Young People about reading Profane Books: And the Eight and Twentieth is of Penance. To these we may add the Panegyrics, which are the Panegyrick of the Holy Martyr *Julia*, that of St. *Gordius*, and that of St. *Mamas*. There is also one upon *Barlaam* a Martyr of *Antioch*; but it has more of the Style of St. *Chrysostom* than of St. *Basil's*; and 'tis more probable, that it was recited at *Antioch*, where the Memory of St. *Barlaam* was held in singular Veneration, than at *Cesarea* of *Cappadocia*.

The 24 Moral Homilies collected by *Simeon Logotheta*, are Extracts out of several places of St. *Basil*.

The Latin Discourse of Consolation, and the Advertisement to his Spiritual Son, seem to me, to have neither the Style nor Genius of St. *Basil*. The Treatise of the Praises of a Solitary Life, is taken out of the Treatise of St. *Peter Damian*, upon *Dominus vobiscum*. I say nothing of the Grammar attributed to St. *Basil*, which is an Abridgement of Grammar by a Modern Greek.

There remains now no more but the Liturgies attributed to this Father, which are Three in Number. The First is in Greek, and Printed by *Alephus*. The Second was translated from the Syriack, and publish'd by *Mafius*. The Third was translated from the Arabick by a *Maronite* of Mount *Libanus*. But tho' 'tis certain that St. *Basil* compos'd a Liturgy, as St. *Proclus*, the Council in *Trullo*, and *Leontius*, assure us: Yet it cannot be positively affirmed, that any one of those which we have is the Liturgy of that Father, as he compos'd it: On the contrary, there is great probability, that it has not been preserv'd in its Purity, and that many things have been added and changed in it, as usually happens to those kind of Works. It is observ'd also, That *Petrus Diaconus* cites a Famous Prayer taken out of the Liturgy of St. *Basil*, which is not to be found in any of those Liturgies, which now go under his Name.

The Homilies of St. *Basil* upon the Six Days of Creation, are in *Photius's* Judgment the most Excellent of all his Works. And indeed, he handles this Matter in a very grateful manner; they are fill'd with many Embellishments of Rhetorick, with agreeable Descriptions, sublime Thoughts, curious and Learned Remarks, and solid Reflexions. He explains the Words of Holy Scripture literally, without having recourse to Allegories; and yet he sets off this Explication with so many Ornaments, that 'tis very delightful. He resolves many Questions about the Nature and Difficulties of *Moses's* Relation: He intermixes from time to time some Moral Thoughts. It appears that he preach'd these Sermons to his People in the Afternoons.

The Homily of a Terrestrial Paradise, is also a continuation of this Work; he describes it most Eloquently, and understands it in a Spiritual Sense of a State of Righteousness and Holiness.

In the Homily upon the Words of the Proverbs, *Give no sleep unto your Eyes*, publish'd by *Caterius*, St. *Basil* exhorts to Watchfulness, and the Practice of Good Works.

His Homilies upon the Psalms are written in the same Style, but they are more fill'd with Morality. He departs sometimes from the Literal Sense, and does not always apprehend the true Sense of the Prophet. Yet he does not make use of obscure and forc'd Allegories; but all that he says is Intelligible, Natural, Pleasant. The Commentary upon *Isaiah*, is not so lofty, nor so full of Morality, but 'tis very Intelligible and very Learned.

The Five Books against *Eunomius* are a most compleat Work of Controversy; he recites the Arguments and Words of this Heretick, and refutes them very solidly and very clearly.

In the Two first Books, he refutes the principal Arguments which this Heretick us'd to prove that the Son was not like to his Father. He answers them very clearly, and discovers the Falshood of this Heretick's Reasonings.

In the Third he answers the Objections which he made against the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

In the Fourth he proves that the Son of God is not a Creature, but is truly God.

And Lastly, in the Fifth he proves the same thing of the Holy Spirit.

He handles the most intricate Matters of Theology, in a manner very Learned and Profound, and yet without perplexing and entangling them with the Quirks, the Difficulties and Terms of the Schools.

He proves also the Trinity of Divine Persons, and their Equality, in the 16th Homily upon the Beginning of the Gospel of St. *John*, and in the Book against the *Sabellians*.

He particularly Establishes the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, in the Treatise of the Holy Spirit, address'd to *Amphilocheus*. He compos'd it upon occasion of a Complaint that some Persons had made against him, that at the Conclusion of his Sermons he had said, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost*, instead of saying as some do, *In the Holy Ghost*. *Amphilocheus* had ask'd him the proper Signification of these Terms, and the Difference between the one and the other Expression. St. *Basil* commends him for this Exactness, and observes that 'tis very useful to search out the proper Sense of the Terms and Expressions which we use.

In the 2d. Chapter he makes this Observation, That those who will use different Terms in Glorifying the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, do it to no other End, but to conclude from thence the Difficultitude and Inequality of the Three Persons of the Trinity.

In the 3d. Chapter he shews, That the difference of these Terms, of whom, by whom, in whom, have no place but in Philosophy, and we ought not to use them when we speak of the Three Divine Persons.

In the 4th. he shows, That this Particle, of whom, signifies in Scripture the Efficient Cause, since 'tis said that all things are of God.

In the 5th. he shows, That the Scripture says of the Father, by whom, and of the Son, of whom, and that it uses the same Expressions when it speaks of the Holy Ghost.

In the 6th. he answers those who affirm, That we cannot say, the Son of God is with his Father, because he is after his Father. St. *Basil* maintains, that the Son of God is not at all inferior to the Father, neither in respect of Time, nor in respect of the Place he holds, nor in respect of Honour and Glory, being Eternal as the Father, Infinite as the Father, and having a Glory and Majesty equal to that of the Father.

In the 7th. he proves, That this Expression, with the Son, is not New; That the Church has us'd it to denote the Majesty of his Divine Nature, as 'tis also us'd that other, by the Son, to signify the access which we have to God the Father by his Son, and therefore we ought to use the former Expression when we sing the Praises of God; and the latter when we thank him for the Favours he has done us.

He explains this Distinction in Ch. 8. and there he recites many Names of Jesus Christ.

In the 9th. he explains his Judgment concerning the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, which he received by Tradition, and which is agreeable to the Doctrine of the Holy Scripture. He proves that the Holy Spirit is a Spiritual Person, Eternal, Infinite, Unchangeable, &c. who strengthens us, and gives us Life by his Gifts.

In the 10th. and 11th. he refutes those that would not joyn the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son: He proves the contrary by the Institution of Baptism, and accuses those that would not add the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son; Of Violating the saving Sacrament of Baptism; Of Prevaricating in the Vow which they had made, and of Revolving from the Religion which they had once professed.

In Chapter 12. he answers the first Exception of his Adversaries, who said, That Baptism given in the Name of Jesus Christ was sufficient. St. *Basil* answers, First, That the Name of Jesus Christ denotes the whole Trinity, because it signifies the Anointed of the Lord. Now he says, that the Word Anointed, designs him that does Anoint, and him by whom he is anointed. Secondly, That Faith is inseparable from Baptism, because Faith is perfected by Baptism, and Baptism supposes Faith; That the Profession of Faith precedes Baptism, which is as it were the Seal of it. Lastly, He maintains that 'tis not sufficient to Baptize in the Name of Jesus Christ, but that we must invoke the Three Persons of the Godhead according to Inviolable Tradition, and that we ought to add nothing to, nor take any thing from this Invocation.

In the 13th. he refutes a Second Answer of his Adversaries, who say, That tho' the Holy Spirit were oftentimes in Scripture joyn'd to the Father and the Son, yet it would not follow from thence, that he was equal to them, since the Angels are there sometimes joyn'd with God. St. *Basil* answers, That there is a great Difference between the manner in which the Scripture speaks of Angels, and of the Holy Spirit, because it considers the former merely as Ministers, whereas it considers the Holy Spirit as the Fountain of Life, and joyns him with the Father, because of the Unity of Essence.

In the 14th. he resolves also a third Difficulty: It was objected to him, That tho' Men be baptiz'd in the Name of the Holy Spirit, yet it does not follow, that the Holy Spirit is equal to the Father and the Son, since 'tis also said in Scripture, That they were all baptiz'd into *Moses* in the Cloud. St. *Basil* answers, That this Expression of St. *Paul*, signifies only, that *Moses* and the Cloud were the Figure of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, but that the Truth is much more Excellent than the Type.

In the 15th. he answers a fourth Sophism: We are baptiz'd in Water, said the Hereticks, and yet we do not honour the Water as the Father and the Son. St. *Basil* answers, That this Objection is ridiculous, and that those who make it are mad; That 'tis not the Water that Baptizes us but the Spirit; That the Water indeed is joyned with the Spirit, as the Sign of the Death and Burial of the Old Man, but that 'tis the Spirit who gives a New Life; That Baptism is administered by dipping three times into

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into the Water, and by invoking the Trinity three times, to signify our dying to Sin; and the giving of Life; That the Baptism of Jesus Christ is very different from that of *St. John*, which was only the Baptism of Water, whereas that of Jesus Christ is the Baptism of the Holy Spirit and of Fire. Last of all, he says, That the Martyrs who suffered Death for Jesus Christ, needed not the Baptism of Water in order to their receiving the Crown, being baptiz'd in their own Blood. He speaks also in this place of the Fire of the Day of Judgment, which he calls the Baptism of Fire, that shall try all Mankind.

In the 17th. and 18th. he shows, That the Holy Spirit is join'd to the Father, and to the Son, as a Person equal, and not as one inferior: To prove this, he uses the Rules of Logick; having to do with an Adversary, against whom he must use these Arms.

In the 19th. he proves, That we should celebrate the Glory and Praises of the Holy Spirit, as we do those of the Father and of the Son, and that we should give him the same Honours.

In the 20th. he refutes the Opinion of those who say, That the Holy Spirit is neither a Lord nor a Servant, but that he is Free. He shows that this Opinion is very absurd; for either he is a Creature or not; if not, then he is God or Lord; and if he is, he must be a Servant, for all Creatures have a Dependence upon God.

In the 21st. he shows by many Testimonies of Scripture, That the Holy Spirit is there called Lord.

In the 22d. he proves his Divinity by many Passages of Scripture.

In the 23d. he alleges the Miracles attributed to the Holy Spirit, to prove that he is God.

In the 24th. he shows, That we should Glorify the Holy Spirit, as we do the Father and the Son.

In the 25th. he answers those who object, That the Scripture never uses this Expression, *The Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit*; and he shows, that to say, *The Father, and the Son, with the Holy Spirit*, signifies nothing else but, *the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit*; That the erroneous way which they would have us use, is not to be found in the Holy Scripture; *Glory be to the Father by the only Son in the Holy Spirit*; That the Particle *in* has the same Sense in this place as the Particle *with*; That the Fathers made use of the Particle *with*, as being most proper to oppose the Errors of *Arius* and *Sabellius*, and that 'tis less capable of an ill Sense; That notwithstanding he is not ty'd up to this Expression, provided we be willing to render Glory to the Holy Spirit.

In the following Chapter, he goes on to explain with much subtilty the Difference between the Particles *in* and *with*.

In the 27th. he proposes this Objection, *We ought to receive nothing but what is in the Holy Scriptures*. But these Words are not to be found, *Glory to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Spirit*. In answer to which, he first sends his Adversaries back to what he had said in *Ch. 25*. Afterwards he adds, That in the Church there are some Opinions and Practices founded upon the Testimonies of Scripture; but then there are also some which are founded only upon unwritten Tradition: That the Scripture and Tradition have an equal Authority for the establishing of Piety and Truth, and that none who follow the Ecclesiastical Laws resist them: That if we should reject all Customs that are not founded on Scripture, we shall greatly prejudice Religion, and reduce it to a superficial Belief of some particular Opinions. 'Tis easy, says he, to give Examples of this; and to begin with that which is most common. Where find we it written, that we must make the Sign of the Cross upon those who begin to Hope in Jesus Christ? What Book of Scripture teaches us, that we must turn to the East to make our Prayers? What Saint has left us in his Writings the Words of Invocation, when we Consecrate the Bread of the Eucharist and the Cup of Blessing? For we do not content our selves with pronouncing the Words set down by the Apostle *St. Paul*, and the Evangelists, but we add several Prayers, both before and after, which we consider as having much Efficacy upon the Sacrament; and yet we have them not but by Tradition. We Consecrate the Water of Baptism, the Oyl of Unction, and him also who is to be baptiz'd; Where is this written? Is not this a Secret Tradition? Is it not Custom which has taught us that we must Anoint him who is to be baptiz'd? Where has the Scripture taught us, that we must use three Dippings in baptizing? We must say the same of the other Ceremonies of Baptism, as of Renouncing the Devil and his Angels. Who has oblig'd us to do these things? Whence have we Learn'd them? Have we them not from the Tradition of our Fathers? Who observed them, without divulging or publishing of them, being persuaded that Silence kept up a Veneration for the Mysteries? What necessity was there of putting that in Writing which it was not lawful to reveal or to explain to those who were not yet baptiz'd? Afterwards he gives the Reason of some Usages which he had mentioned. He observes also, That Christians pray to God standing from Easter to Whitunday; That they kneel and afterwards rise up. He gives Mystical Reasons for these Customs, which are so forc'd; that 'tis easy to perceive, there is no better Reason to be given than Custom and Practice. Lastly, he concludes, That since there are so many things which we have by Tradition, we ought not to reprehend one simple Particle which the Ancients made use of.

This he proves in the 29th. Chapter, where he alleges the Authorities of *St. Ireneus*, *St. Clement Romanus*, the Two *Dionysii*, *Enschimus of Caesarea*, *Origen*, *Africanus*, *Athenogenes*, *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, *Firmilian* and *Melitus*, besides the Prayers of the Church, and the Consent of the Eastern and Western Churches. Towards the end of this Chapter he complains of the hardships which his Calumniators make him suffer. In the last, he describes the miserable State of the Church. He compares

compares it to a Fleet of Ships tost with a great Tempest, which is the cause of Shipwreck to many of them, and Points out the Troubles and Miseries wherewith the Church was afflicted very admirably: This Chapter alone is sufficient to show that this Book is undoubtedly *St. Basil's*.

He proves also the Divinity of the Holy Spirit in Homily 17th. upon Baptism, and he explains the Faith of the Church concerning the Trinity in Homily 15th. of Faith. He enlarges upon the Gifts of the Holy Spirit. He treats also of the same thing in Homily 29. against those who accuse us of worshipping Three Gods.

In Homily 19. *St. Basil* treats of that famous and difficult Question, *Why do the Just suffer, and why is there any Evil, if God takes care of things here below*? *St. Basil* answers, That all this is done by the Permission of God; That Diseases, Calamities, Pain and Death are not real Evils; That Sin which is the only Evil, comes not from God, but from our selves; That God exposes Men to sufferings, either to cure them, or to punish them, or to make them serve for an Example; Or lastly, to make them good and deserving: And moreover, That God is not the first Author of Diseases, Pain and Death; because he created Man free from them, and these things entered into the World only by his Sin. But why, may some object, did not God make him impeccable? He answers, because in order to the honouring of God, and meriting from him, 'twas necessary that he should obey him voluntarily and freely; That the Devil was the Cause of his own Perdition, by using his Liberty amiss; That the Tree of Life and Death was placed in Paradise, to try the Obedience of Man; and that it was his own fault that he made an ill use of it. He observes that the Demons dwell in the Air, and are incorporeal.

The 31st. Discourse which is of Free-Will, has some Connexion with the preceding. Therein he teaches, First, That Men deceive themselves, if they imagine that they can overcome Temptations, by the sole Power of their own Liberty, without the assistance of God; That Free-Will can indeed choose for us Good and Evil; but God only can enable us to do Good; That we must therefore beg the Assistance of the Divine Power, which cannot be obtain'd without refraining from Worldly Pleasures: That by the Sin of the First Man, we are become like Beasts; That we must labour to be of the Number of the Children of God, and to excite in us the Fire of the Holy Spirit, which Jesus Christ came to bring down upon the Earth, and which descended on the Apostles at the day of Pentecost; That we must pray God that this Fire may defend upon us, that we walking always in the Light may never fall, and that we may be as the Lights of the World.

In Homily 25th. of the Nativity of the Word, he explains the Mystery of the Incarnation. He says, That the Word was not chang'd by uniting it self to the Humane Nature; That he was made Man to Redeem us; That he took a Body in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*, by the Operation of the Holy Spirit; That his Body was made all at once; That *Mary* was a Virgin, though she was Married to *St. Joseph*. After this, he examines this Question, Whether she knew her Husband after he brought forth Jesus Christ into the World? He says, That this is not a Fundamental Article of our Faith; but that those who have a love for Jesus Christ, cannot endure to hear it said, that the Mother of God lost her Virginity, and became the Mother of a Man. He explains the Difficulties which may be rais'd against this Doctrine, from the Particle, *Until that*, and from the Character of *First-Born*, which is given to Jesus Christ. Afterwards he explains some Circumstances of the Birth of Jesus Christ. He believes that the Wife Men were *Persians*; That the Star which they saw was not an ordinary Star, and that they knew it signified the Birth of Jesus Christ, as well by the Prophecy of *Balaam*, as because they saw the Power of the Devil very much diminish'd. Lastly, He exhorts his Auditors to celebrate with Joy the Feast of the Nativity of Jesus Christ.

In the First Book of Baptism, he proves, First, That we must not Baptize any but those that are well instructed and perswaded of the Faith of Jesus Christ, and who have renounc'd the World, their Vices, their Passions, and if need be, their Life. Secondly, He shews, That in order to Salvation, 'tis not enough to be baptiz'd, but that we must also keep the Commandments and do good Works. He shews afterwards what difference there is between the Baptisms of *Moses*, of *St. John*, and of Jesus Christ. He says, That the Baptism of *Moses* separated some Men from others, but did not pardon them; That the Baptism of *St. John* being received with a Penitent Heart, conferr'd Remission of Sins; but the Baptism of Jesus Christ is much more excellent and efficacious: That by this Baptism we die unto Sin and live unto Righteousness; That we are Crucified and Buried with Jesus Christ; That we are rais'd again together with him; That Sin hath no more Dominion over us; That we are fill'd with the Holy Spirit, and cloth'd with Jesus Christ. At last, he adds, That after we are baptiz'd, we have need to be nourish'd with the Food of Eternal Life, that's to say, with the Eucharist, which we ought to receive with most holy Dispositions, lest we should eat and drink our own Damnation.

In the 2d. Book he proposes many Questions. The First is, Whether he that is baptiz'd be oblig'd to die unto the World and to live unto God? He answers, Yes, he is. The Second is, Whether he that performs the Office of a Priest, ought to be pure in Heart? He answers, That if *Moses* removed from the Sacrifices of the Old Law, all those that were impure, Purity is yet more necessary to him that touches the Body of Jesus Christ.

The Third Question is, Whether it be lawful for one to receive the Eucharist when he is unclean? *St. Basil* answers it after the same manner as he did the preceding.

In the 4th. he teaches, That we must obey the Commandments, though it seems to us, that there were some Actions of Jesus Christ or the Saints contrary to them; and that we must never seek for Excuses nor Pretences to dispense with the Observation of the Law. He adds in the 5th. That all disobedience to the Commands of God is punishable, and that it deserves the Divine Vengeance.

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In the 6th. he proves, that a Man first, not only by doing Evil, but also by omitting to do good when we are oblig'd to do it.

In the 7th. he advertises us, That we must regulate the inward Man, before we give unto God any external Worship.

In the 8th. he shows, that we must not only perform the things commanded; but also do them in the manner which is enjoy'd; in the order and time prescribed.

In the 9th. he shows, That we ought to shun the Society and Conversation of Wicked Men.

In the 10th. he treats of Scandal. He observes, That which seduces us from the Truth, and draws us into Error or Impiety; or, That which induces us to obey the Command of God as long as we live: So that every thing may be call'd Scandal which is contrary to the Will of God. He adds, That 'tis also Scandal to do a thing, though it be lawful, when it is the cause of the loss or fall of the Weak.

He observes also, That there is sometimes a Scandal taken without cause.

In the 11th. he shows, That 'tis never lawful to do those things which are forbidden by the Law of God, nor to obey those that command such things, and that we must never use our Reason to exempt our selves from Obedience to the Law of God.

In the 12th. he shows, That we ought not only to take care of those Persons that are under our Conduct; but that our Charity also must extend to all other Christians: and that a Bishop ought in case of Necessity to help all the Churches.

In the last, he proves by Scripture, That we must endure all and suffer all, even Death it self, rather than fail in our Duty, or disobey the Law of God. This Treatise appears to be rather of Morality than Doctrine; but though he treats there of Moral Questions, yet he handles them Dogmatically, and founds his Decisions upon all the Testimonies of Scripture which belong to his Subject.

The Treatise of true Virginity contains many Precepts for preserving Virginity. In it he extols very much the state of Virgins, and discovers the Dangers to which they are expos'd. There are in this Treatise some Passages which may offend nice Ears; but 'tis to be consider'd, that 'tis address'd to a Bishop, and not to the Virgins themselves; setting that aside, 'tis very Eloquent, and very well written.

In Homily 28. of Penance, he proves against the Novatians, That those who have sinned after Baptism, have still the Remedy of Penance; but he admonishes them that they ought not to sin in hopes of doing Penance; That commonly those who sin with this disposition of Mind are deprived of Repentance; That in truth there is hope of Pardon when they have sinned; but still it is like a Wound that can be healed, which leaves some Scar forever behind it.

We are now infensibly led into the Homilies of Morality, out of which we shall make our Extracts, before we come to the Acedetic Treatises.

The First is a Homily about Fasting. After he has in the First Part admonish'd us, that we must Fast with a pleasant Countenance, then he exhorts Christians to Fast, alleging many Authorities and Examples to that purpose. He shows the Necessity of Fasting, and answers the Excuses that most commonly are us'd for dispensing with it, which is the want of Health or Sicknefs. "Do not alledge to me, says he, your Indisposition; Don't tell me that you cannot endure Fasting; 'Tis not to me that ye allege these Excuses, 'tis to God, from whom nothing can be hid. But tell me, Can you not Fast, say you? Alas, Can you fill your selves with Victuals, can you charge your Stomachs with all sorts of Meats? Do not the Physicians prescribe to those that are Sick Abstinence and Dieting themselves, rather than abundance of Food? How come you then to say, that you can Eat very much, and that you cannot Diet your selves? At last, St. Basil says, "That our Fasting should be accompanied with Abstinence from Evil; That we must fast from our Passions and Vices; and that without this, bodily Fasting is unprofitable. Take heed, says he, that you make not your Fast to consist only in Abstinence from Meats: True Fasting is to refrain from Vice. Fear in pieces all your Unjust Obligations; Pardon your Neighbour; forgive him his Debts. Fast not to stir up Strife and Contention. You eat no Flesh, but you devour your Brother; You drink no Wine, but you cannot refrain from doing Injury to others; You wait till Night to take your Repast, but you spend all the Day at the Tribunals of the Judges. Woe be to you who are Drunk without Wine: Anger is a kind of Inebriation, which does no less trouble the Mind than real Drunkenness." He speaks afterwards against those who use Fasting, to prepare themselves for larger Drinking and Eating, or who indulge themselves as much as they can after they have Fast'd, as if it were to redeem the time they have lost. He gives a natural and frightful representation of Drunkenness, sufficient to beget a horror of it; he diswades from it also from the Consideration of the Body of Jesus Christ which they are to receive. He says, That Fasting and Abstinence are Ornaments to Cities, secure the Tranquillity of Publick Assemblies, the Peace of Families, and the Preservation of our Estates: He says, That to be perfwaded of this, they needed only compare the Night of this present day in which he Preached, with the Night of the next Day, (From whence it appears that this Day was a Publick Fast.) At last he wishes, That in these Days wherein Christians are called to the Practice of Fasting, they might learn to know the Efficacy of their Temperance to prepare them for that Great Day where in God will reward their Virtue.

The Second Homily is also an Exhortation to Fasting. Therein he condemns those who allow'd themselves great Liberties in Eating and Drinking before their Fasting. He says, That all Christians of all Ages and Conditions are oblig'd to it. Lastly, He speaks of the principal Disposition for profitable Fasting, which is to abstain from Vice.

The Third Homily about Fasting publish'd by Cteserius, is shorter than the two preceding; but it is written upon the same Principles, and upon the same Subject.

In

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In the Third Homily upon these words, *Take heed to your selves*, St. Basil recommends that Vigilance and Care which one ought to have over himself, that's to say, over his Soul, and his Behaviour. He says, That this Care is necessary for Sinners that they may amend their ways, and for the Innocent, lest they should fall: That the first have need to watch over themselves to cure themselves. "You have committed, says he, a great Sin, you must then endure a long Penance, you must shed bitter tears; you must pass whole Nights in watching, you must Fast continually. Though you have committed but a light Sin, yet you must watch over your selves to do Penance for it; for it often happens, that those who have but a light Sicknefs, become dangerously Sick when they neglect it." After this he shews, That this Watchfulness is necessary to fulfil the Duties of all States and Conditions: He reproves those that watch for the Faults of others, but never think of their own. He shews, That this Watchfulness is necessary to every Man in whatsoever state he is, and that it is a Remedy to all our Evils, and to all our Passions. "If you are ambitious, says he, if you are lifted up above measure, rather upon the account of your great Riches, or because of your Nobility; if you take Pleasure in your Beauty, if you are inspir'd with a Passion for Glory, if you are Lovers of Pleasures, you have nothing to do but to take heed to your selves, and you may know that you are Mortal, that you are Dust, and shall return to Dust. If Anger transports you to do brutal Actions, take heed to your selves and you shall presently be ashamed of that Condition to which Anger has reduc'd you. In short, This Watchfulness which you should have over your selves, will make you know God. You will find some Footsteps of him in your selves: Your Soul will make you know that he is Spiritual; you will admire him who has made such an excellent Piece of Workmanship, and the more you consider the Perfections of your Soul and Body, the more sublime Idea you will conceive of the Greatness, the Power, and the Wisdom of God.

The 4th. Homily, intitled, of *Thanksgiving*, is about the Joy which St. Paul prescribes to Christians in these words of his Epistle to the *Thessalonians*: *Rejoice always, pray without ceasing, giving thanks to God for every thing.* He explains in what sense Christians ought always to be joyful: He says, That in order to their having this Joy, they must be like St. Paul; that's to say, they must live in Jesus Christ, and their Joy must not depend upon changes of Fortune, but it must be solid, and depend upon their own Good Conscience, and their hope of Eternal Happiness, which renders those Happy who are most Miserable in the Eyes of the World. He shews, That the Joys of this World are Afflictions to those that are Good; and on the contrary, the Afflictions of this World are an occasion of Joy to them. He explains in what sense Jesus Christ wept, and why the Saints have Power to weep. At last he exhorts all Christians to be no more sad, for the loss of this World's Goods; but on the contrary to rejoice in the hope of those Good Things that are to come.

He continues the same Subject in the following Homily which was made upon the Festival of St. Juliana the Martyr. This Saint had a Law-Suit with a Man, which she commend'd for all her Estates. 'Twas promis'd her, that she should gain her Cause, if she would renounce Jesus Christ, but she was assur'd that she should lose all if she should not agree to this Proposition. She answer'd with Courage: *You shall sooner take away my Goods, and deprive me of my Life, than ever make me speak one single Word against my God.* This Answer caus'd her to be condemn'd to the Fire wherein she expir'd; but her Body could not be burnt by the Flames. This is the History which St. Basil relates in this Sermon, upon which Occasion he pursues the preceding Discourse, and continues the Explication of the Words of St. Paul. He says, That the continual Prayer which God requires of us, does not consist in a vocal repeating of Prayers, but in the Design that one has to do Good. So according to him, if a Man would pray continually, he ought always to be united to God in his Actions, and in every thing to follow his Will. At last, he says, That we must thank God and praise him for every thing, and that neither Losses, nor Diseases, nor Wrongs, nor Afflictions, nor the Death of our Relations, nor the other Miseries of this Life ought to hinder us from praising God, and giving him thanks continually; That in Adversity we ought to thank God, because 'tis good for us to be humbled; and we ought to praise him in Prosperity, saying to him in the Words of the Royal Prophet: *O my God, what shall I render unto thee for all the benefits that thou hast done unto me.* He recites many Motives of Consolation in Adversity, taken from the Mercies of God, the Hope of future Happiness, the Wisdom of God, the Submission that's due to his Will, and the Miseries of others. And Lastly, he assures us that nothing but Sin should make us weep, and that if Charity obliges us to Mourn with those that Mourn, that is only by a kind of Condescension which should not last long. At the End of this Homily, he reproves those who make themselves Drunk to drive away Sadness.

The three following Homilies are about Riches, and against Covetousness. The First is upon the Words of the Rich Man mention'd in the Gospel, who seeing the Superabundance of his Goods, said, *I will pull down my Barns, and I will build larger.* He begins with this Remark, That Men have Two great Temptations in this Life, Great Adversity, and Great Prosperity. That Job overcame the first, but the Rich Man in the Gospel was overcome by the last. After this he makes Reflections upon the Actions and the Punishment of this Rich Man, and says, they ought to teach us to be Bountiful towards the Poor, and to make good use of our Riches. He observes, That we are only Stewards of our Riches; That all that we have is for others; That we should imitate the Earth which brings forth her Fruit for others; That the Good which we do will turn to our Profit; That 'tis more Glorious to give than to receive; That 'tis an accur'd thing to with-hold Corn for a time of Death; That 'tis a piece of Inhumanity to despise the Poor; That Riches are unprofitable if they be not distributed; That the Thoughts of the Covetous are vain and senseless; and that they take a great deal of Pains to heap up Riches which they never enjoy. After this he answers the Objections of Covetous Men.

Men

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Men. One says, I will give to Morrow, to exempt himself from giving to Day. "Alas! What do you know whether you shall be alive to Morrow in this place? Another says, I am Poor, I have need enough myself of all my Means. Yes, you are Poor; you are destitute, but 'tis of Charity, of Benignity, of Faith, of Mercy. A Third says, Whom do I wrong, I detain nothing but what is mine own; and here St. Basil is angry with this wicked Maxim. And I, says he, demand of you, Why do you say, that those Riches are your own? From whom did you receive them, and from whence did you bring them? Did not you come naked out of your Mother's Womb, and shall not you return naked to the Dust? From whence then did this present VValth come? If you say it came by Chance, you are impious; if you confess that you received it from God, tell me why did it fall to your Lot rather than another's? God is not unjust in the unequal Division of Goods which he makes amongst Men. VVhy then are you Rich, and why is this Man Poor? 'Tis that you who are Rich, may receive the Reward of dispensing your Goods faithfully, and that the Poor Man may receive the Remembrance of his Patience. And therefore when you appropriate to your self that VValth which belongs to many particular Persons, and of which you are only a Steward; that you are a Robber, you detain that which is none of your own. Yes, the Bread which you keep to your self, whereof you have more than serves for the use of your Family, belong to the Poor who die for Famine; the Garments which you keep lock'd up in your VVard-robe, belongs to the naked; the Money which you hide, belongs to the ruin'd, &c. These are fine Discourses, you will tell me, but Gold is yet a much finer thing. Thus does the Covetous Man talk, when he hears us preach. For as it is sometimes seen, that the uncharit hearing us speak contemptuously of the Passion of Lust, do thereby receive a New Fire which stirs them up more violently than before; so also the Covetous hearing us Discourse against Riches, conceive a greater Love and Passion for them. But what think they of these terrible VVords of Jesus Christ, *Go ye cursed into Eternal Fire; for I was a-hungry, and you gave me no Meat, I was a-thirst, and you gave me no Drink, &c.* Not only those who take away another's Goods shall be then condemn'd, but also those who do not distribute of their Riches to the Poor.

The Second Homily is against those who have an insatiable desire of Enriching themselves. The subject of this is the History of the rich Young Man, who went away sad, when our Saviour bid him Sell all that he had, and distribute the price of it to the Poor. He shews by this Example, That 'tis unprofitable to keep the Commandments, if one does not give Alms; and that all other Vertues will avail nothing, if one's Heart be fix'd to this World by an immoderate Love of riches. He shews, That what is necessary is not very much; and at the same time he proves, That the greatest Part of rich Mens Expenses are superfluous. He gives a very pleasant List of them in particular, and which suit well enough with the manners of our Age. He dissuades from Avarice by the fear of Death and of Judgment, and by the meanness of Riches, and the bad Effects which they produce. Afterwards he refutes the most common Pretences which are made use of to excuse Covetousness. The First is founded upon the uncertainty of what may come to pass: We know not, say they, the Accidents that may happen, or the Necessities we may be reduc'd to. "But, says St. Basil, is not the use of your Treasures yet more uncertain? And tho it were not, Can you make use of this Excuse, while you spend your Wealth upon a Thousand Superfluities? But I want it, say you, for my Children. This Excuse for Covetousness is plausible. You cover your selves with the Pretence of your Children, that you may satisfy your Lusts. Is it from you, that your Son receiv'd Life? Is it not from God who guides and preserves him? Ought he then to hinder you from obeying his Commandments? The Riches that you leave him, will, it may be, be the occasion of his Ruine: Who knows whether he will make a good or bad use of them? Is not your Soul nearer to you than your Children? 'Tis for the Good of that, that you should bestow the Chief Part of your Riches in Distributing to the Poor; and then afterwards, give to your Children what they stand in need of for their Livelihood. Those who have no Children, pretend the Necessities of this Life, as a Cloak for their Avarice. They would use what they have, they would neither Sell any thing, nor give any thing away. St. Basil declares, That this Temper of Mind, is contrary to the Respect which is due to the Faith of Jesus Christ, and that it makes it void, whilst it forms to it self a Rule and Conduct contrary to the Maxims of the Gospel. At Last, he refutes the Pretence of those who think to exempt themselves from giving Alms in their Life-time, by leaving their Goods by Will as Legacies to the Poor. Miserable Wretches that you are, says he to them, you will not then be Liberal and Charitable towards Men, till you cease to Live! What Remittance can you expect for a Liberality which comes after Death? O brave Piety to practise no good Works but with Ink and Paper! You deceive your selves, and you think to fulfil the Commands of the Gospel in dying. *Abraham* nevertheless will tell you then; My Son, you enjoy'd your Good Things and Pleasures in your Life-time: Do not your Actions show, That you could have with'd your selves to be Immortal; That you might always have enjoy'd your Riches, and that if you had been so, you would never have remembered the Commands of God, and the Precepts of the Gospel; and therefore it is Death, and not to you, that the Poor ought to give thanks for the Good you have done them. Do not deceive your selves, God will not be deceiv'd, he will not be thus mock'd; that which is dead is not to be offer'd unto the Sanctuary, offer up a living Sacrifice. He that offers up only the remains of the Sacrifices is an ungrateful Person.

St. Basil treats also of Alms in a Homily, which was made upon the occasion of a great Famine and Dearth. After he has describ'd these Calamities, he says, that the hard heartedness of the Rich to the Poor, was the cause of them. "The Fields are barren, says he, because Charity is wax'd cold." He observes, That publick Prayers were made, but in so bad a manner, and with so much distraction

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distraction that they were not heard; That Children were sent to them, whereas the Heads of Families should have come themselves, to beg God's Mercy for their Sins. He relates the Example of the *Ninevites*; he exhorts Persons of all Conditions to give Alms according to their ability. "You are poor, says he, but you may find many poorer than you: You have Corn for two Days, and there are some who have it only for to Day. If you are Good and Charitable, divide equally what you have left with him that has nothing; be never the more backward to give him because you have but a little left for your selves; you prefer your private Interest and Advantage to the common danger of many Poor People. For tho' you had no more but one Loaf, if a miserable Wretch shall beg of you one Moriel of it, do not refuse him, and when you give it to him, lift up your Hands towards Heaven, and say these Just and Charitable Words: Lord, I have but this one Loaf which, you see, and I see my self in danger of having no more; but I prefer thy Commandment to the Love of my self, and of the little that I have, I give a Charity to my Brother, who is fore pinch'd with Hunger. Give also an Alms on your part, O my God, to your servant, who runs a hazard of wanting VVituals. I know your Goodness, and put my Trust in your Sovereign Power, you will not long delay the relief of your Liberal Hand, but scatter abundantly in a few Days the Gifts of your Magnificence. 'Tis certain, adds he, that those who rely upon Divine Providence, are like the Springs and Fountains which are not dry'd up by drawing from them, but send forth their Waters with a greater Force than before. If ye are Poor, lend your Money upon Interest to God who is Rich." Afterwards he represents the Misery and Pain of Hunger, and describes in a most moving manner the Extremity of a Man languishing for want of Food, to beget the greater horror of the Cruelty and Barbarity of Covetous Rich Men, who suffer their Brethren to die for Hunger when they are able to assist them. He observes, That in a time of publick Necessity especially, we must give considerable Alms; and that we must expiate our Sins by Charity to the Poor. At last, he admonishes the Poor not to throw themselves into Despair, but to put their Trust in the Mercy of God, who has sometimes plentifully fed the Just after an extraordinary manner. He exhorts them to suffer with Patience like *Job*, to consider their Misery as the Trial of their Vertue, to give thanks to God, to bestow something to the Poor, even of their Necessaries, assuring them that this is the way to procure the Multiplication of their Loves, as God did formerly Multiply the Cruise of Meal to the Widow of *Sarepta*.

To these three Sermons may be join'd the Homily wherein he proves, That we must not set our Hearts upon the Riches and Pleasures of this World. There he shews, That the only Care which we ought to be concern'd for, is that of our Souls; That we ought to rid our Minds of the Love of Riches, and give bountifully to the Poor. After this he describes a Fire, which it was feared might have burnt down the City: He conjures those that escap'd this great Calamity, to relieve those that suffer'd, and exhorts the last to Patience by the Example of *Job*, whose History he explains.

The 10th. Homily is against Anger; where First he excites a horror of this Passion, by giving a Description of its mischievous Effects; and then he shews, That we can have no just Excuse for this Passion of Anger, by showing that all the Pretences which are alleg'd for it are false. The First is an Injury which we may think we have received. But St. Basil shews, That we ought not to render Injury for Injury, and that we must not imitate our Enemy, nor follow his Footsteps and Example. He adds, That whatsoever Outrage has been done to us, we need do no more, but remember that we are Dust, and shall return to Dust, to convince us that we have deliver'd all sorts of Reproaches and Disgraces: That by showing Meekness we revenge our selves of our Enemies, that we acquire the Glory of being Mild and Patient, and that Silence upon this Occasion, deserves the Rewards of Heaven. Reproaches are another Cause of Anger: But St. Basil shews, That even this is ill-grounded, because these Reproaches are either True or False; if they are True, we are to blame if we trouble ourselves for them; if they are false, our Anger for them gives Cause to suspect that they are true. But he call'd me Poor, says one: "If that be true says St. Basil, bear with it; if it be false, What does it concern you? 'Tis no shame to be Poor, for you came naked into the VVorld, and Jesus Christ being Rich would appear Poor in it. He treated me as a Fool and an Ignorant Fellow, will another say. Yet many more reproachful VVords were spoken of Jesus Christ. But yet, How can we forbear being angry, when we are abus'd, and buffeted, when we are beaten and torn in pieces? VVill others say. Jesus Christ did also suffer more than all this, answers St. Basil. Lastly, St. Basil precribes Rules to avoid Anger, as not to think more highly of our selves than others, to hearken with a Philosophical Temper to the Discourses of a Man that is truly angry with Sin, with the Devil, with Error, with the Enemies of God; to practise Humility, and consider the Miseries of Men. He concludes with some New Reasons to dissuade Men from Anger.

The 11th. Homily is against Envy. In the First Part, he reckons up the Reasons which may inspire a Man with hatred of this Vice. He says, That 'tis a Vice proper to the Devil, which gnaws and consumes him in whom it is found, tho' he receives no Profit by it, and which is always accompanied with Melancholy and Vexation of Spirit, and that an Envious Man is the unhappiest Man in the VVorld. Lastly, He describes all the troublesome Consequences, and miserable Effects of Envy; and he says, That the best way to Cure this Vice, is to have no great Esteem of the things of this VVorld, to despise its perishable Goods, and to place all our Happiness in the Hope of a Future Life, to believe that nothing but Vertue is a solid and true Good, and to desire nothing else.

The 14th. Homily is against Drunkenness. It was compos'd upon the occasion of a Disorder which happen'd upon Easter-Eve. Probably there had been at that time some profane Recreations; the Men and VVomen without any Reverence for the Vigils of so Holy a Festival, had made Feasts, and the VVomen had assembled, and were come to Dance and Sing, even to places where the Bodies of the Martyrs were kept. "St. Basil having seen this Disorder, was sensibly touch'd as he says of himself

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"himself at the beginning of his Discourse; That after so many Exhortations, after seven Weeks Fasting, after being present so many times at the Service of the Church and the Sermons, during the time of Lent, they had destroy'd in one Day the Fruit of all his Labours. He says, That he knew not whether he should hold his Peace, or whether he should speak; That he should have held his Peace, but that he was afraid the Chastisement of *Jeremy*, for having refus'd to Preach to an Unbelieving and Rebellious People; That Drunkenness was the source of this Disorder, and that he must now Preach against this Vice." This is in Effect the Subject of this Homily, wherein he possesses Men's Minds with a great horror of this Crime, and describes the pernicious Effects of it. Towards the end of it, he returns to the excesses of the preceding Day. He cries out against their Songs and Dances, against their immoderate Laughter, against their Apparel, which was neither Honest nor Modest; and he exhorts those of his Hearers who had been of this Company, to Cure themselves of Drunkenness by Fasting, to sing Psalms instead of the merry Songs which they had sung, to turn their Laughter into Mourning, and their Dancing into Kneeling; and in short, to leave off their Sumptuous and Magnificent Apparel, and to put on that which is more agreeable to Modesty and Christian Humility.

The 22d. Homily is of Humility. He begins it with observing, That Man lost his Dignity by the Sin of *Adam*, and that he cannot recover it but by Humility: That the Devil uses all his Endeavours to destroy this Virtue, and to deprive us of it, by possessing us with a great Esteem of Riches, of Honours, and the Advantages of Body and Mind: But he shews, That a Man ought not to Glory in all these things, which are no ways permanent, but pass away in a Moment; That the only true Glory of Man, is to know God, to be fully persuaded of his own Misery, and to believe that we are justified only by Faith in Jesus Christ, and that we ought to attribute all to God. This is the great Principle of *St. Austin* about Grace, which *St. Basil* explains in this place, adding that we can do nothing without the Assistance and Grace of Jesus Christ; That 'tis a Folly and Stupidity to think, that the Grace of Jesus Christ is a Natural Power; That *St. Peter* who answer'd with a Spirit of Pride to Jesus Christ telling him, *that all your Disciples should be offended, yet will I never be offended*, was abandon'd to humane Weakness, and to fell into Sin. He speaks afterwards of the other part of Humility, which is, not to Exalt our selves above others, not to Esteem our selves more than them, not to Despise them because of their Faults; but to believe our selves much greater Sinners than they. He exhorts his Auditors to imitate the Life of Jesus Christ which was a continued Course of Actions of Humility; he would have a Christian imitate his Master, and give Signs of Humility in all his Behaviour. "Your Humility, says he, must appear in the Plainness of your Apparel, in the Modesty of your Ornaments, in your Gate, in the Frugality of your Table, in the Tone of your Voice, in the Simplicity of your Furniture, in the Order of your House, in the Manner of Accosting and Saluting your Brethren. Take heed that you do not discover in your Discourse and in your Actions a Stately and Affected Way, and be Affable to your Friends, Mild towards your Domestic, Patient with the Passionate, and Courteous to Inferiors. Comfort the Afflicted, Visit the Sick, De spite no Body, be Pleasant in your Requests, Cheerful in your Answers, Compassant and Easy to all the World; do not Praise your selves, do no Despise those who Praise themselves, hide as much as you can your own Merit and Virtue, accuse your selves of your Sins without waiting for the Reproof of others, be not troublesome nor severe in your Reproofs, neither let them be given in Anger; Condemn not your Neighbour for small Faults, have a Compassion and Tenderness for those that have Sinned. In short, shun the Praises of Men, by all the ways that others use to purchase Glory, and think great to please any but God only. In a Word, put on Humility, and by this means you shall arrive at Glory, Jesus Christ will acknowledge you for his Disciple, and will Glorify you."

The subject of the 21st Homily which was pronounced at *Laciza* in a publick Assembly, is more complex than that of the preceding. There he exhorts those to whom he speaks, to remember the Spiritual Discourses which were read to them in the Morning, for finding our Remedies against Temptations. He recommends to them, to have no regard to the Condition of Men in this World, but to consider all Christians as Brethren, to treat the Poor and Rich alike, and the Small as well as the Great, because nothing but Sin puts a Difference between Men. He dissuades them afterwards from the three principal Vices, which are Anger, Envy, and Covetousness. He repeats in this Homily many things which are found in those whereof we have already spoken. He observes in it, That these kind of Assemblies meet every Year; that the People who cannot have Preachers every Day are able to teach them these things, may learn them at least once a Year by coming to these publick Festivals.

The 30th Homily is an Exhortation to the Catechumens who delay or neglect to receive Baptism. He says in his *Exordium*, That though one may lawfully receive Baptism at anytime; yet the time of *Easter* is the most proper time for receiving it: That for this Reason, the Church as a Good Mother, invites at this time all the Catechumens to receive Baptism. He exhorts them to receive it, First, because if the Jews ran with so much earnestness to receive the Baptism of *St. John*, 'tis very fit that they should show yet more earnestness to receive the Baptism of Jesus Christ, which is far greater, more excellent, and more effectual than that of his fore-runner. Secondly, Because 'tis dangerous to delay, and oftentimes Men are surpris'd by Death, and because without Baptism, we can have no part in the Kingdom of Heaven, nor can we be deliver'd from the Tyranny of the Devil. "If one were to distribute, says he, Gold and Silver; if he were to give Temporal Favours in any place, all the World would run thither: Wherefore then do you not run to Baptism? If one promises to remit all the Debts of another, will not the Debtor run to receive his Promise? When therefore the Business is to receive Remission of your Sins, What Reason have you to delay? If one

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"be guilty of many Faults, Grace is promised in greater Abundance to those who have more Sins. If you be afraid of sinning, Why do you trouble your self about the time to come? Seeing you are well Conducted through the time past, after having liv'd to the World, you must live to God. Baptism is the sign by which a Christian is known; it changes a man entirely. He must not put off Living well till Old Age, which is nothing but to Mock God, by giving him the last Years of Life, after he has bestow'd the prime of his Years upon the Devil and the World, upon his Pleasures and his Sins. Temperance in Old Age is no longer a Virtue, 'tis a sign of Weakness which will never be rewarded. Moreover, he is not certain that he shall be in a Condition to receive Baptism, he may die suddenly, he may fall into a Sickness, which shall take away his Speech and his Senses: 'Tis very difficult when a Man is Sick to lift up his Head to Heaven, to raise himself, to kneel down, to pray, to hearken to what is taught him, to understand it, to make profession of it, to make an Agreement with God, and to renounce, as he must, the Devil. There is nothing but the love of Licentiousness that can dissuade Men from receiving Baptism; because the Laws of Christianity punish Vice severely; and exact of Men a most regular way of Living: These require that we should be upright in heart, moderate in our words, humble in our thoughts and actions; and pure in our intentions. They forbid all Passion and Revenge, they command us to love our Enemies, to yield to Violence, to suffer Persecution, to die to Sin, to mortify our Body, and to be crucified with Jesus Christ. But, you will say, This is hard and difficult; 'Tis so, but what Happiness is there in this World, which is easy to obtain? Who hath ever won the Prize without Trouble? Can one hope for the Reward of a brave Man by spending his Life in Pleasures? Can one obtain the Victory without running? We must enter into the Kingdom of Heaven through much Trouble and Labour. Those who do the Works of the Devil, have they less Trouble than we? Are they more exempt from Labour, &c."

But, 'tis difficult, say you, to preserve the Treasure of Grace, and the Innocence of Baptism: Must we then refuse a good thing for fear of being deprived of it? If you watch over your selves, if you be constant in Praying, in Fasting, in Singing of Psalms, and in the practice of the other Exercises of a Christian, you shall preserve your Treasure. Afterwards, he represents in a lively manner, the Remorse which they shall have at the Day of Judgment who shall feel themselves condemn'd for want of receiving Baptism. He represents the Despair which shall seize upon them; and concludes from all these Motives, that they ought quickly to Purge away their Sins by Baptism: This Exhortation is admirably suited to the Christians of our Age, who delay from day to day, to do Penance for their Sins, and forsake their Disorders.

The 24th Homily to Young Men, about Reading Gentile Books, is very curious. He does not absolutely forbid the Reading and Study of Profane Books; but he desires, First, That they would not dwell upon them, and that they would not look upon this Study as the principal Thing of their Life, but that they would be periwaded, that the principal Knowledge is that of working out their own Salvation; and that this Knowledge is to be learnt in the Holy Scripture. 2. That they should Read Profane Books with Discretion, and not give Attention to the Evil that's in them, but only to the Examples and Discourses which may be Useful, and which lead Men to Virtue. He relates a great Number of Examples and Instructions, which he drew from all sorts of profane Authors. These are all the Moral Homilies of *St. Basil*; I have now only to speak of his Panegyrics; for that of *Julian* is rather a Moral Discourse than a Commendation of that Saint.

In the *Exordium* of the Panegyrick of *St. Gordus*. *St. Basil* says, That Christians celebrate the Festivals of Saints, and praise their Actions, to glorify God in his Servants, to rejoice the Righteous, and to excite all the Faithful to their Imitation. He observes that the Saints have no need of our Praises; That 'tis sufficient to relate their Lives, that to their Virtues may serve for a pattern to others. He adds, That the Nobility of Extraction, the Family, the Education, the Masters, are the Subject of Praise in Profane Panegyrics; but Christians have no other Subject of Praise, but the peculiar Vertues of those whom they commend. After this, he gives an Account of the Life of *St. Gordus*. He says, That this Saint was of *Cesarea*, and that he had the Command of a Hundred Men in the Emperor's Army; That in his time a furious Persecution was rais'd against the Church, which *St. Basil* describes; That then this Saint of his own accord quitted his Office of Captain, and retir'd into a Solitary place; That after he had been there exercis'd, purified and prepared for the Combat, he came into the City one day, when all the People were assembled to see a Publick Show which was presented upon the Theatre, and declar'd who he was; That being led to the Tribunal of the Judge, he made Profession of Christianity; That nothing could shake his Constancy, but he went with Courage to the place of Punishment; and that after he was fortified with the Sign of the Cross, he boldly receiv'd the stroke of Death. *St. Basil* describes this History very eloquently, and introduces this Martyr, saying many fine things and well-worthy of his Constancy. I wonder that he did not excuse his Zeal for coming and presenting himself to the Combat, which seem'd to be contrary to Christian Prudence, to the Rules of the Church, and the Determinations of the Holy Fathers. 'Tis believ'd that this Saint suffer'd Martyrdom under *Licinius*.

The History of the Forty Martyrs related in the following Homily, happen'd also under this Emperor. *St. Basil* begins it with saying, That the Martyrs could not be praised too much for the Three Reasons which he alleg'd in the preceding Panegyrick: First, Because we testify by this Remembrance of those who were the Servants of God, the respect we owe to our common Master. Secondly, Because we celebrate the Praises of the Martyrs, that we may make our own Wills suffer Martyrdom. And, Lastly, That Men may be induc'd to imitate their Vertues.

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These 40 Martyrs were 40 Soldiers, who being at *Sebastea* during the Persecution of *Licinius*, declared that they were Christians. When the Governor of the City saw, that their Constancy could not be shaken, nor they persuaded by fair means to change their Religion, he order'd them to be expos'd in the Night all naked to the rigor of the Air, at a time when a Pond near the City was quite frozen over: They resist'd all to endure this Torment with Constancy; but one of them being overcome by Pain, renounc'd the Faith of Jesus Christ, but he lost his Soul, and could not save his Life; for he was no longer put into warm Water to bring some heat into him again, but he expir'd. However, God permitted that the number of the 40 Martyrs should be complete, for one of their Guards perceiving the Angels who distributed to each of them a Crown, made Profession of being a Christian, and put himself in their Number, and was baptiz'd in his own Blood, and sav'd by his Faith. The next Morning they were all Burnt, and their Ashes thrown into the River. This is the History of the 40 Martyrs, as it is related by *St. Basil*. 'Tis commonly believ'd that they were expos'd all Night in the Pond; But this proceeds from a mis-understanding of *St. Basil's* words, who says expressly, That they were expos'd to the Air in the Middle of the City, at a time when the Pond hard by was all frozen over. 'Tis this which makes the Confusion. He adds one notable Circumstance, That the Mother of one of those 40 Martyrs exhorted her Son to suffer boldly. Lastly, he says, That those 40 Martyrs protect the City of *Cæsarea*; That the Christians can find assistance by their Prayers; That if we should ardently desire for us the Prayers of one Martyr only, we ought much more to beg the Intercession of 40; That whether we be in affliction, or in a joyful condition, 'tis good to have recourse to them, either to be deliver'd from Evil, or to be continued in Prosperity; That they hear the Prayers of Mothers who pray for their Children, and of Women who pray for the Return or Health of their Husbands. Let us pray then together with these Martyrs, says he concluding his Discourse, Let us join our Prayers with theirs.

In the Panegyrick of the Martyr *Mamas*, which is the 24th. He praises this Holy Martyr who had been a Shepherd; seeing that he probably had but little to say of him, he enlarges in this Homily upon the Praises of Shepherds, and gives a Catalogue of the Great Men who had kept Flocks. Towards the end, he makes a Digression against the *Arians*: 'tis believ'd that this *Mamas* suffer'd under the Emperor *Aurelian*.

The Panegyrick upon the Martyr *Barlaam*, is a very short Discourse; wherein he praises this generous Confessor, who had endur'd with Contancy the burning of his Hand, rather than suffer the Inference to fall into a little Box, which was upon the Profane Altar of an Idol.

The Ascetical Treatises of *St. Basil* are very useful, not only to the Monks, but also to all those that make Profession of Piety, and contain the Rules of the Morality of Jesus Christ, which agree to all the World.

The three First Treatises which are at the beginning of the Ascetics, are distinct Discourses which have no Reference to them; though the First is entituled, *A Preface to the Ascetics*. 'Tis an Exhortation to those who have embrac'd a Monastick Life, wherein he endeavours to persuade them, that they are engag'd as Soldiers in a Spiritual Warfare, and that they ought to fulfill all the Obligations of it. The second also, is, *An Exhortation to a Monastick Life*; wherein he represents the Advantages of Celibacy, and of the Practices of Religion.

The Third, which is entituled, *Of a Monastick Life*, contains many Precepts which concern those who retire from the World.

These three Treatises are distinct Discourses, but the two following of Faith and Judgment are the Preface, or the First Book of the Ascetics. We must begin with the Book of Judgment, and join to it that of Faith, which ends with a little Preface to the Ascetics; and all these make only one Preface to the whole Work. He declares there, that having been educated in the Christian Religion, and instructed from his Youth in the Doctrine of the Holy Books, when he came to the Years of discretion, he perceiv'd that there was much Union among the Professors of Arts and Sciences; but that he found great Divisions in the Church of Jesus Christ, that he was sometime in doubt which Party he should choose; and that meditating upon this Subject, he came to know that the greatest Evil was Schism and Division, which proceeded from the Ignorance and Sin of those who did not obey the Commands of God, and follow'd not his Law: That having afterwards reflected upon the terrible Judgments of God upon these Persons, he believ'd himself oblig'd to adhere to the Faith of the Church, and to meditate on those Precepts of the Holy Scripture which concern the manners and behaviour of Men: That being then persuaded, that nothing but Faith working by Love, would avail any thing, he believ'd that 'twas Necessary after the Explication of the Faith of the Church, and the Doctrine which is to be held concerning the Trinity, to write a Book of Manners.

This Conclusion of the Book of Judgment, shews that after it, follow'd the Treatise of Faith; wherein he says many fine things concerning the Virtue of Faith, and then Expounds the Doctrine of the Church, and makes Profession of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, whom he affirms to be of the same Substance with the Father. He Exhorts those to whom he wrote, to keep to the Simplicity of this Faith, which is founded upon the Authority of the Holy Scripture, and he prays God that they may always continue inviolably fix'd in it. At last, having explain'd this Faith, he declares, That he has collected into one Body many Precepts taken out of the New Testament.

These Precepts are compris'd in 80 Rules, divided into several Chapters. To these must be join'd the 84 Great Rules and the 315 Small ones, which are answers to several Moral Questions, that comprehend all that is most Excellent in Christian Morality. These are they which make up the Body of *St. Basil's* Ethics or Ascetics, divided into Two Books, as we have observ'd. They may be consult'd concerning

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concerning all the Offices and Actions of a Christian Life. They may be useful to all States and Conditions, and one may say that *St. Basil* has there collected, and methodically digested all the Practical Part of the Gospel. Upon which Account *Phoebus* had Reason to say, That whosoever shall follow these Precepts, shall undoubtedly be sav'd.

The Book of the Instructions of Monks, and of Monastical Constitutions, are two Books distinct from the Ascetics, which contain many Precepts and Rules for the Monks, that are not so general nor so useful to all the World as the Treatise of Morality.

To know the Genius and Doctrine of *St. Basil*, we can address our selves to none better than to his Faithful Friend, *Gregory Nazianzen*. See then how he speaks of him. He compares his Eloquence to a Trumpet sounding in the Air; to a Divine Word which shall be spread over the whole Earth, to a wonderful Whirl-wind raised after a very Surprising Manner. He says, That he has divid'd into the most hidden Secrets of the Holy Scripture, which he has made use of to instruct all Men, and to make them lose the Relish of things present, and fall in Love only with things to come. That his Writings are the Object of the Admiration of all Persons, and the Pleasure and Study of all Men of worth. The Authors that wrote after him, says he, say nothing but what they have drawn out of his Works: The Ancients are neglected, and nothing is minded but what he has said anew. In a word, He alone is sufficient to make an able Man.

"When I read his Treatise of the Creation, adds *St. Gregory*, methinks I am present with the Creator; when I light upon the Books which he wrote against Heretics, methinks I see the Fire of *Sadon* which reduc'd those criminal Tongues to ashes; when I peruse what he has written of the Holy Spirit, I acknowledge the God whom I possess, and I make no Scruple to publish boldly the Truth; when I read the Explications of Scripture which he has made for the Illiterate, I understand the deep Abysses of Mysteries; when I hear his Panegyrics of the Martyrs, I despise my own Body. I fanse myself present with those whom he praises, and I feel my self excited to the Combat; when I set my self to read the Discourses which he has written concerning Morals, and the manner of living Well, my Heart and my Soul are purified that they may become the Temple of the Holy Spirit; they reform me, they instruct me, they change me, and lead me unto Vertue." We are not here to think, That *St. Gregory Nazianzen* in saying all this, heightened the Matter as an Orator, or flattered him as a Friend; what he says is very true, and there is not any Author whose Writings make a greater Impression than those of *St. Basil*. He describes things so lively, he explains his Reasons with so much force, he urges them so vigorously, he makes such loathsome Portraits of Vice, such persuasive Exhortations to Vertue, he gives so large and so profitable Instructions, that 'tis impossible to read his Writings, but one must feel himself instructed and Convinced of the Truth, and he cannot but conceive a Love for Vertue and a Hatred of Vice. His Discourses are not void of Thoughts, and full of Words, as for the most Part those of Orators are; but Eloquence is there join'd with Doctrine, they instruct, they Divert, and they Move at once. His Style is Pure and Significant, his Expressions are Lofly, his way of Writing Elegant, Clean and Persuasive; his Discourses appear always Natural, flowing Gently, and without Affectation: He persuades Pleasantly, he explains things with great Clearness, he knows how to give them to probable a turn, that he may be taken for a Pattern; and he comes near *Demosthenes*, and the ablest Orators of Antiquity, in the Judgment of the Learned *Phoebus*; and even in the Judgment of *Erasmus*, he excells the Ancient Greek Orators, and is free from their Faults. He was fit for all kinds of Writings. His Commentaries upon Scripture are most instructive and most Natural: He excells in his Panegyrics. The Force and Subtlety of his Reasoning appear in his Treatises of Controversy; his Discourses of Morality are instructive and Moving. In short, tho' his Ascetics have not the same Lofiness as his other Works, yet there one may find the same Purity of Phrase, and the same Clearness; but his Method renders them sometimes a little obscure. In a word, Whatever Subject he treats of, he does it always very Learnedly. He had all the Properties of a Divine, Understanding perfectly the Holy Scripture, the Tradition of the Fathers, and the Canons of the Church: He was a very able Rhetorician, a very profound Philosopher, and a very subtil Logician. He undertook also the Mathematics, and his own continual Sicknes made him a Physician: He undertook Philological Learning to Perfection, and made use of it to very good purpose. He knew all that was most Curious in the Poets, the Historians, and profane Orators, as may appear from many places of his Writings, and chiefly from his little Tract of reading profane Authors. In a word, that which is indeed admirable is, that he join'd with this Learning, a profound Piety, and a singular Prudence. He was Sweet and Affable to all the World, Charitable towards the Poor, and Compassionate to others in Misery. He was accus'd of being Proud, but *St. Gregory Nazianzen* who suspected him of this Vice, vindicates him from it in his Panegyrick. He was of a very infirm Health, and subject to many Diseases; he speaks of them in the most part of his Letters, and also in some of his Homilies. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* informs us, that he was pale, that he wore always a great Beard, that he was reserv'd in his Speech, often thoughtful and pensive, had a particular way in his Apparel, in his Bed and his Meat, which some would imitate after his Death.

The Doctrine of *St. Basil* is very Pure and Orthodox. He has explain'd the Mystery of the Trinity against the Heretics, clearly and beyond Contest: tho' at the beginning he was reserv'd in his Expressions about the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, yet he always own'd it, and never spoke contrary to what he thought. He never us'd any other Precaution, but to be silent upon that Point, when he thought it not necessary to speak of it, or that it would be to no purpose. He was one of those who troubled himself most to distinguish the Three *Hypostases* in God; that's to say, to prove, that *Hypostasis* and *Person* signify the same thing. As to the Mystery of the Incarnation, he acknowledg'd in

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Jesus Christ, two Natures without Confusion, and yet united in one and the same Person. He rejected the Error of the *Apolinarians* and *Thomists*, and maintain'd with the Church that the Properties of the humane Nature do by no means agree to the Divinity. He affirm'd several times, That the Cause and Reason why the Son of God was made Man, was the Salvation and Redemption of Mankind, polluted by the Sin of *Adam*. He knew the Greatness of that Fall, and the miserable Effects which it produced, as Concupiscence, Sickness, Death, &c. He establish'd the Necessity of the Grace of Jesus Christ without which it is impossible to do Good. He is the only Person of the Greek Fathers who spoke most clearly of it, and attributed least to Free-will, tho' he own'd it. He admir'd the Efficacy and Necessity of Baptism: Yet he believ'd that this Sacrament might be supplied by Faith and Charity, and by the Baptism of Blood, and that it signified nothing, at least to those that had not Faith, and were not well dispos'd to receive it: He mentions the Union that accompanied it, and approves the Ceremonies that were join'd with it: He call'd the Eucharist the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ: Tho' he was of Opinion, that we should Communicate often, yet he requires Holy Dispositions in those who receive this Mystery. He speaks of the Ceremonies and Prayers that were made use of for the Offering, and of the Manner in which it was distributed to the Faithful: He observ'd, That they carry'd it and kept it in their Houses, and that they believ'd it was always Consecrated: He commend'd Fasting, and speaks of Lent as a Fast to which we are oblig'd. He has also observ'd, That it was attended with Abstinence from Meat. He speaks of the Usage of Invoking Saints and Martyrs. He is perswaded that they pray for us, and that their Intercession is very profitable. He prefers Celibacy to Marriage. He approves of Vows and a Monastic State. He acknowledges the Authority of Traditions, as well as that of Scripture. However, he has some particular Opinions, as when he maintains in the First Homily of the Creation, That the Angels were created long before the World; and when he affirms in another place, That all Men shall be Purified at the Day of Judgment by Fire, But there are very few of this sort of slight Errors in this Author. There were also some Expressions objected to him which appear'd Hyperbolic or less Exact; but 'tis easy to give them a good Sense, I shall not stay to make a larger Enumeration of his Opinions, which I have explain'd at length in the Extracts out of his Works. I conclude therefore with giving a Catalogue of the Translations and Editions of the Works of this Father.

The First Edition of the Works of St. Basil in Greek is that of *Probenius*, printed at *Basil* in the Year 1532. It contains the Homilies upon the Creation and the Psalms, 29 different Homilies, the Book of the Holy Spirit, and some Letters. After it followed the Edition at *Venice* made by *Sabius*, in the Year 1537: in which are added the Three first Books against *Eunomius*.

At last, in the Year 1551, almost all the Works of St. Basil were printed in Greek at *Paris*, by the Care of *Janus Cornarius*; who also printed them in Latin by *Probenius* in the Year 1549.

Wolfgangus Muscovius made a New Edition at *Basil*, in 1565, by *Oporinus*, and added the Commentaries upon *Isaiah* and 20 Letters. *Guthobredus Tilmannus* a *Carthusian* of *Paris*, was the first Roman Catholic that took Pains to make a Latin Edition of St. Basil's Works. He Revis'd and Corrected the Versions, and Translated some Books over again, and made a larger Latin Edition of St. Basil than all the foregoing, which was printed at *Paris* in 1566, and re-printed at *Antwerp* in 1578, and at *Paris* by *Socinus* in 1603. This is the largest of all the Latin Editions of this Father's Writings.

The First Edition in Greek and Latin was in the Year 1618, printed at *Paris* in Three Volumes: In the Greek Text was Corrected by many Manuscripts from *England*, and by some out of the King of *France's* Library. At the End of the Third Volume there are the Notes of *Fronto Ducaeus*, and of *Morrellus*, with the various Readings, Collected by *Sabatius*. The Last Edition of 1638, is not so fine and correct as the former: But it contains more by 200 Letters, than had ever been printed before.

Besides these Editions of the most part, or all St. Basil's Works, there are also some particular Treatises printed a-part, some in Greek and some in Latin, and their Editions are nor to be neglected, because commonly the Great Editions are made from them; but 'tis difficult to gather them all together. There are all that I could find. The Homilies of the Creation of *Enstathius's* Version, printed at *Paris* by *Badier*, Corrected by *Faber* in 1520. Some Homilies translated by *Volateranus*, printed at *Cologne* in 1531. The Astericks translated by *Fumanus*, were printed by *Græphius* in 1540. The Rules in 1575 at *Cologne*, and all the Astericks in 1560. The Book of the Holy Spirit translated by *Erasmus*, at *Basil* in 1532. The Homilies upon the Creation at *Leipsick* in 1566. The Books against *Eunomius* of *Beza's* Version in 1520. The Discourse of Fasting at *Paris* in 1613, at *Rome* in 1532, by *Galestinus*. The Homily upon the Nativity, and of Anger, in Greek, at *Paris*, in 1587. That of Drunkenness at *Hanover* in 1594. The Homily upon the 40 Martyrs, Greek and Latin, by *Stenius* at *Heidelberg* in 1604, and with the Notes of *Vossius* at *Metz* in 1614. The Letter of Communion is in the same Volume. The first Letter to St. Gregory, at *Paris* in 1562, of *Budeus's* Version. Some Greek Letters at *Venice* in 1499. Some others at *Paris* and *Hagenaw* in 1528. Some Select Letters by *Stenius* at *Paris* in 1531. A Letter to a Virgin upon her Fall by *Cartenus* at *Paris* in 1574. The Canonical Epistles with *Balmain* in 1561. The Letters of *Julian*, at *Amsterdam* in 1567. The Letter or the Treatise of Reading profane Authors, at *Stralburg* in 1507; at *Basil* in 1532; at *Paris* in 1533, and 1621; at *Rome* in 1594. The Treatise of a Solitary Life, at *Paris* in 1631. The Liturgy in Latin, translated by *Heruetus*, at *Venice* in 1548, in Octavo; in Greek in the same City, in 1601, and 1620; at *Antwerp* and *Paris* in 1560; that of *Mafius* by *Plantin*, in 1569; that of *Victorius Scialagh* the *Maronite*, at *Antburg* in 1604; the Grammar at *Florence* in 1513; at *Basil* in 1562 and 1585; in Octavo. The Discourses of St. Basil Collected by

by *Simeon Logothetes*, or *Metaphrastes*, by *Morrellus*, in 1556, 1558, and at *France fort* in 1538. The Third Homily of Fasting, and the Homily upon the 8th Chapter of the *Proverbs*, published by *Cortellus* in his First Volume of the *Greek Monuments*, and some Letters in the Third. [Dr. Hammond published a Prayer made by St. Basil, for Forgiveness from God to those who have done us wrong, in Greek, from a Manuscript in the Bodleian Library, in his *Practical Catechism*.]

I have nothing further to do; but to speak a Word or two of the Translators of the Works of St. Basil. *Ruffinus* has made in Latin an Abridgment of his Alical Rules. *Enstathius* and *Dionysius Exiguus* translated his Homilies upon the Creation. After them *Argropolus* translated it a-new, and his Translation review'd by *Tilmannus*, is that which is printed in the Greek and Latin Edition. The Homilies of Fasting, and those upon *Isaiah*, and the Books of the Holy Spirit, are of *Erasmus's* Version. The Translation of the First Homily against Covetousness is by *Volateranus*. The Book of Virginity was translated by *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*.

Beza and *Georgius Trapezantius* translated the Books against *Eunomius*; the Astericks are translated by *Fumanellus*; the Letters to *Amphilocheus* by *Heruetus*; the Letter to *Chilo* by *Tilmannus*. The last Letters were translated by *Heschelius*. Father *Combes* took Care to print in 1674, the Translation of St. Basil's Sermons; and it had been very happy if he could have spoken Latin as well as he understood Greek. The same Father before his Death made a Review of the Greek Text of all the Works of St. Basil, and their Versions; which was printed at *Paris* in 1679. This Work may be of great use for making a New Edition of St. Basil: It would be very Advantageous to the Church, and the Commonwealth of Learning, that any one should undertake it. In general, one may say, That all the Translations which we have mention'd are full of Faults, some more, some less: Some of them must be Corrected exactly, and others done a-new; the Greek Text should be Review'd and Corrected by many Manuscripts, and the Books ought to be rang'd almost in the same Order that we have us'd in our Extracts, and some Notes added to explain the Text, and some Observations upon the History and Discipline: 'Tis a Work that I would willingly undertake, if God should give me Strength; if I could think that it would be well receiv'd by the Publick, and that some Printer would be willing to bear the Expence of it. We see every Day multitudes of little French Books appear in Publick, and scarce any Ancient Books printed; either in Greek or Latin. The Bookellers, indeed say, 'Tis not their Fault, but the Fault of the Publick, because the former Sell well and go off, and they are Enrich'd by them; whereas the latter remain in their Shops, and so they are undone; the Fault therefore is to be attributed to the Giddiness of Men in this Age, who have lost all relish of Antiquity, and are pleas'd with nothing but Novelty: True and Solid Learning is not in Fashion in this Age, but Men satisfy themselves with a superficial Knowledge of things: The Study of any thing that is Solid is laid aside; and Antiquity is learned from the Moderns, and 'tis rare for any one to go up to the Fountain-head. This is a most deplorable unhappiness to Learning in general, and 'tis to be fear'd that this superficial Study of things, will throw us into a worse State, than the Ignorance and Barbarism of the preceding Ages. But since French Books Sell well, the greatest part of the Letters and Moral Homilies of St. Basil, ought at least to be turn'd into French, which would be no less useful, and more pleasant than the Alical Books which have been translated by *Monseigneur Hermant*, who has also written in French the Life of this Saint after a most Exact and Learned manner.

ST. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

ST. GREGORY of *Nazianzum* was born in this City, in the Year 318. [He was born at *Arianzum* a small Village near *Nazianzum*, where his Father had an Estate.] His Father call'd *Gregory* had been engag'd amongst some Heretics, who were call'd *Ephissarians*, because they profess'd to worship only the Most High God, and yet they observ'd some Ceremonies of Pagans and Jews. His Wife *Nomus* converted him, and caus'd him to be baptiz'd by *Leontius* Bishop of *Caesarea* in *Cappadocia*, about the time that the Council of *Nice* was Assembled. Soon after he was chosen to be Bishop of *Nazianzum*, and govern'd that Church for the space of 45 Years. His Son *Gregory* apply'd himself to the Study of humane Learning; he begun his Studies in *Palestine*, and from thence went to *Alexandria*, where he studied Rhetorick, and at last to perfect himself, he went to *Athens* about the End of the Year 344. After he had stay'd there some time with St. Basil, he departed from thence after him to return into his own Country; where he was baptiz'd, and took Care of his Father's Affairs. After this he retir'd with his Friend St. Basil into some Solitary places in *Pontus*; but he was oblig'd to leave this Retirement to return home to his Father's Assistance. The Old Man being surpris'd had sign'd the *Constantinopolitan* Creed; whereupon the Monks and other Catholics of his Bishoprick separated from his Communion, and the Division had continued, if St. Gregory the Son had not come to *Nazianzum*, and restor'd Peace there. In this Journey 'twas, that he was Ordinain'd Priest by his Father; and after he had reconcil'd their Minds, he return'd again to his Retirement, out of which, nevertheless, he sometimes came to preach unto the People.

St. Basil being Bishop of *Caesarea*, Ordinain'd him, as we have already said, Bishop of a little City call'd *Sajma*, but he was quickly disgusted with so tedious a Habitation, and departed from it in great Anger against his Friend. [Dr. Cave says, that he never went to see it.] He return'd to *Nazianzum*, where he was oblig'd to take Care of that Church in Conjunction with his Father, and to be as it were his Coadjutor; which he did upon Condition, that he should not be his Successor: And therefore his Father being dead, he withdrew from *Nazianzum*, lest he should be detain'd there by Force.

St. Basil.

St. Gregory Nazianzen.

He went to *Selyucia*, and from thence to *Constantinople*, where he arriv'd about the Year 376, and found the City full of *Arians*, who had put the whole City into an uproar against him. He enter'd into the Church of *Aquileia*, which was the only Church then remaining to the Orthodox; he assum'd the Government, and took Care to instruct them, and to preserve this little Flock. Being very Eloquent he Convert'd in a little time a great number of *Arians*, and increas'd the number of Catholics. *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* understanding this good Success of his Labours, wrote to him very Honourable and Candid Letters; and soon after him in the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. While things were in this Condition, one *Macarius*, a *Coptic* Philosopher, attempted to get himself made Bishop of *Constantinople*; and finding a People that join'd with him, he gain'd *Peter* of *Alexandria* who Ordin'd him Bishop of *Constantinople*. Thither he came afterwards in the Year 379; with some *Martins*, accompanied by some Bishops of *Egypt*, and enter'd by force into the Church. The Clergy and People having a great Affection for *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, run into the Church, and drove *Macarius* out of it, who went to wait upon the Emperor *Theodosius*; but not being receiv'd favourably by him, he was forc'd to return to *Alexandria*, where he did all that lay in his Power to Ultrap the See of that City. But having no better Success there than at *Constantinople*, he retir'd into the West, and presented himself before the Council of *Aquileia*, where he shew'd the Communicatory Letters which he had from *Peter* of *Alexandria*; and the West being perfectly Govern'd in all Matters relating to the East by the Church of *Alexandria*, he was kindly receiv'd there, and the Council wrote in his Favour to the Emperor.

In the mean time *St. Gregory* who lov'd Retirement, bid Adieu to his People, recommending to them, that they should keep the Doctrine of the Trinity, and remember him; but his People being resolv'd not to suffer his Departure, he was forc'd to promise them, that he would continue at *Constantinople*, till the coming of the Bishops, who were quickly to Assemble there. The Emperor *Theodosius* having made his publick Entry into *Constantinople*, in the Month of *November*, 380, drove away from the Churches *Demophilus* the *Arian* Bishop, and order'd *St. Gregory* to enter into the Great Church. The People urg'd him to take his place in the Episcopal Throne, but he would not do it; and to quiet the Tumult, and the Acclamations of those that were present, he told them wisely, that they must in the first place give thanks to God for the great Happiness that had befallen the Church. After this he continued in the Government of the Church of *Constantinople*, and was confirm'd in this See by the Authority of the First Council of *Constantinople*, whereof *Melitus* was President. But after his Death, the Eastern Bishops, who had hitherto maintain'd *St. Gregory*, began to murmur against his Ordination, being dissatisfied with his opposing the Ordination of *Flavianus* in the room of *Melitus*. When he heard them speak of it, he propos'd to Resign, which Proposal being receiv'd with greater Esteem than he expected, he was forc'd entirely to resign the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. When the *Egyptians* arriv'd he did it with a great deal of Generosity, tho' he was extremely troubled to quit to dear a Church; for he never spok'd of it afterwards but with Grief, and testified a kind of Indignation against those Bishops who forc'd him away from this See. He withdrew immediately to *Nazianzum*, where he died about the Year 389.

The principal Writings of this Father are his Discourses or Sermons, which are compos'd with great Art and Eloquence. We have 55 of them extant.

The 1st. is an Apologetical Discourse, wherein he gives an Account of his retiring into *Pontus* immediately after he was Ordin'd Priest, and of his return to *Nazianzum*. He fled for fear of being made Bishop, and therefore in this Discourse he blames those who would all on a sudden mount up into the Episcopal Throne, and carry on Intrigues to obtain that Dignity. *I am ashamed*, says he, *of those who being no more perfect than others, (nay, I pray God they be not worse) dare with sacrilegious Hands, and a profane Spirit approach the Holy Mysteries, and who endeavour to obtain the Sovereign Dignity of Priesthood, when they are not in a Condition even to come near to Holy Things. They push forward and involve themselves in much trouble, that they may have access to the Holy Table, not considering it as an Employment that engages them to Virtue, but as a means to live at their own Ease. In so much that they never think of discharging their Office after an unblameable manner, but of exercising such a Dominion as shall be subject to no body. Never did this Ambition reign more in the Church of Jesus Christ than it does at present. I know it will be in vain for us to endeavour to put a stop to it, but I count it a Duty of Piety to testify our detestation and shame of it.* Afterwards he describes very Eloquently, the Difficulties and Troubles of the Episcopal Office. He says, That this Office is more troublesome and painful than can be imagin'd; That 'tis a most difficult thing to govern Souls; That 'tis the greatest and rarest thing in the World, to know how to Command well; That nothing is more dangerous than an Obligation to answer for others; That a Bishop ought not only to be free from Faults, but also to be very Vertuous; That he ought to be still perfecting himself from Day to Day, and that Virtue should be Natural to him, for it is forced it will not continue long; That the Science of governing Men without Violence and Fear is the Science of Sciences, *ars artium scientia scientiarum*; That 'tis infinitely more difficult to Cure Souls than to Heal the Diseases of the Body, because the Cure of the Soul depends entirely upon the Will of the Sick; That the Physician of the Body has leave to use Iron and Fire, and the most violent Medicines, for recovering the Health of the Body; but the Love which Sinners have for themselves will not allow these sort of Remedies to be us'd, when their Souls are under Cure; That they shun them; That they are as resolv'd to continue in their Sins, and are ingenious to hinder their Recovery; That they hide their Sins or excuse them, or else impudently defend them; That the Physicians of the Body know by sensible and external Signs, the Diseases which they undertake to Cure; but the Physicians of Souls have invisible and hidden Maladies to heal;

That

That the End of the Physician for the Body is to restore Health, which puts Men in a Condition to enjoy the Good Things and the Pleasures of this World; but on the contrary the Design of the Spiritual Physician is to withdraw Men's Affections from this World, and fix them upon God; That for this End God was made Man, and suffer'd so much upon Earth. From all this he concludes, That the Profession of a Spiritual Physician is more difficult than the Practice of an ordinary Physician. He adds also to prove the same thing, the great Diversity of Spiritual Diseases; and the different Dispositions of those who are to be cur'd, who require an infinite number of different Remedies. "Some, says he, will be reform'd by Discourse, and others by Example; Some must be push'd forward and others kept back; Praises are useful to some, but others have need of Rebukes; Some must be Exhort'd, and others must be Chid; Some must be Reprov'd in Secret; and others in Publick. Some must be severely Punish'd for small Faults, and others must be gently Handled; Some must be frighten'd with the fear of the Judgment of the Great Day, and others must be Allur'd with hopes of Mercy. In a word, Great Moderation must always be observ'd and all Excess avoided." Lastly, He represents the Difficulties of discharging the Duty of Preaching as we ought, which he calls the First and Principal Employment of the Ministers of Jesus Christ. He says, That all the World undertakes to Preach, and yet 'tis a folly to believe that all those who undertake it are Capable of it; That this Sacred Ministry, requires a sublime Soul, a perfect Knowledge of the Doctrines of the Church, and a very good discerning Faculty. He declaims against those who thrust themselves into this Ministry, before they have meditated long upon the Holy Scripture and studied their Religion. He proposes a Pattern to Preachers, the great Apostle *St. Paul*; he Collects together a great many Passages of Holy Scripture against False Prophets, against Priests that are unworthy of their Function, and against those that abuse the Word of God; he does not forget the Charge which Jesus Christ draws up against the Pharisees; That they were like painted Sepulchres which appear'd outwardly very fair, but inwardly were full of Filthiness; and then he makes this Important Reflection. This, says he, is what I think upon Day and Night: These are the Thoughts which macerate me, which consume and confound me. I am so far from dreaming of Governing others, that I think of nothing but appeasing the Wrath of God, and purifying my self from my own Faults. One should be pure himself before he undertakes to Purify others; he should be fill'd with Wisdom, before he attempts to Instruct others; he must have Light that he may be able to Communicate of it to others; he must not be far from God, who would draw others to him; he must be Holy, that he may Sanctify others; he must be Prudent that he may give them Advice. But when shall we be so, will the People say that are always ready to Undertake every thing, who build those Buildings slightly which presently fall down again? When will you place your Lamp upon a Candlestick? When will you improve your Talent? This is what they say who have more Friendship for me than Piety. You ask me when I shall be in a Condition to Guide others: I tell you, That the Oldest Age is not too long a Term to prepare ones self for so Excellent and so Difficult an Employment; That 'tis better to be slow than forward in this Cause; That tho' I have been Consecrated to God from my Infancy, tho' I have Meditated from my Youth upon the Law of God, tho' I have been Exercis'd in the Practice of Virtue, yet I acknowledge my self altogether incapable of Governing a Church, chiefly at a time, when the best thing a Man can do is to shun it, that he may escape the Tempest, wherein all the Members of the Church are divided, Charity seems to be wholly extinguish'd, Bishops have but the empty Names of Bishops; all the World publicly Slights them, and some Defame them; there is no Fear of God remaining, but Impudence Reigns every where, and 'tis counted a piece of Piety to treat others as Impious. Our Judges are Enemies to God, Holy Things are trampled under Foot, and the Mysteries are laid open to the Prophane. Strangers and Infidels, who were not permitted to enter into our Churches, do now come even into the Sanctuary. The Gate is opened to Detraction and Calumny, and he that Rails best at his Neighbour, passes for the honestest Man. The Faults of others are observ'd, not to bewail them, or bring a Remedy to them; but, on the contrary, to make such bloody Reproaches as increase the Wickedness of those who have committed them. Men are not judg'd Good or Evil by their Vertues or Vices, but by the Friends they have on their side. The same thing is prais'd to Day and blam'd to Morrow, some admire what others detest, and all their Sins are easily pardon'd who are willing to embrace Impiety. This is the height of Iniquity to which we are arriv'd. But 'tis not the People only who are thus disorderly, but the Curse of the Prophet seems to be fulfill'd, *The Priest is become like the People*. After this he deplores the Misery of the Catholics, who were divided, and contented about useless and trivial Questions. He observes, That one is oblig'd, when the Faith is the Matter under Debate, both to separate from those who reach Impiety, and to suffer any thing rather than approve it; but that it is a folly to break the Peace, and stir up troubles about Questions which are not of Faith. At last he returns to his Subject, and having represented the Dangers which one runs in the Priestly Office, the Difficulty there is of discharging it well, and the terrible Judgments of God upon those that perform it amiss; he concludes, That he had Reason to prefer a Solitary Life, Calm and Free from Cares, to a Life full of Troubles and Dangers. But after he has justified his Retiring, he gives the Reasons why he return'd into his own Country. The First is the Affection and Friendship which he had for his Country-men. The Second is the Affliction of his Father and Mother. The Third which he explains by the Comparison of *Jonas*, is his Fear lest he should resist the Will of God, who seem'd to call him to the Priestly Function. Here he gives Two admirable Rules about the Conduct which Men ought to observe, either for avoiding or accepting of Sacred Orders. He says, We must be afraid of engaging our selves rashly; but then we must also be afraid of refusing the Call of God, and that we may keep the middle between

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these two Extremes, we must be of such a Disposition, that we neither look after Ecclesiastical Discipline, nor refuse them, when they are offer'd. As we know our selves Capable. Then do Bishops to look after them, and Discipline to reform them; but we must neither Condemn those who claim them for us, nor those who accept them from a Principle of Obedience; That the Dignity of the Priesthood, which is ours, and others trust to the Assistance of him who calls them; That *Abraham* obeyed readily; That *Isaac* refused to obey; That *Isaac* immediately obeyed the Command of God who ordered him to Sacrifice, but *Jeremie* exalted himself from doing it by Reason of his Youth. These Reasons, adds he, *Charm* me, they bend my Soul, they soften my Heart. I can no longer resist, but I humble my self under the Almighty Hand of God, and accuse my self of Sloth and Negligence: If there was any Fault in it I beg Pardon; I have been silent, but I shall not at ways hold my Peace; I have now resolv'd to consider my self and to indulge a little to my Grief, but I will now praise God in the Assemblies of his People; I will be yours, my Brethren; I will be yours, O Holy Flock; I submit to you, my Father, I offer you the Sacrifice of Obedience; but give me your Blessing, guide me by your Prayers, lead me the way by your Judgment; Let us beg of God all the Graces Necessary to Conduct the Flock together in the way of Eternal Salvation." He wrote this Discourse at his leisure time, about the Year 362.

The 2d. Discourse of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, is upon the *Nazianzenes* neglecting to come to hear him Preach, when upon their Invitation he had left his Solitude to live among them; he complains of their Negligence, and desires them to behave themselves answerably to the Affection that he had for them. *St. Gregory* preach'd this Sermon immediately after he was Ordain'd Priest in the Year 362.

The 3d. Discourse is against the Emperor *Julian*, where he employs all the Treasures of his Eloquence. He observes, That this Emperor did in vain endeavour to hinder the Christians from Study- ing good Learning, and applying themselves to the Liberal Sciences, since this could not hinder them from Confessing the Name of God. He bewails the Unhappiness of those who were overcome by the Persecution of this Emperor; he praises the Providence of God who had destroy'd him. He relates that *Gallus* and *Julian* having undertaken each of them to build a Church in honour of the Martyrs, this last could not compass his Design, and that his Structure fell down while it was a-building, which *St. Gregory* does not fail to attribute to the Vengeance of God, who would not suffer the Martyrs to be honoured by him who was to make to many himself. He says, That while *Julian* follow'd the Study of Learning he discover'd what he had in his Mind; That he Disput'd eagerly for the Pagan Opinions; That he lov'd every thing which alienated Men from the Christian Religion, and that he did not conceal his Opinions from those that were inclined to the same Impiety with himself. That after his Brother *Gallus* was Created *Cesar*, all *Affia* was a School of Impiety to him; That he had the most pernicious and dangerous Masters, that he could find out, and that he believ'd himself in Magic.

St. Gregory declaims against *Constantius*, and accuses him in a Rhetorical way for leaving the Empire to *Julian*. But he excouses him afterwards, to whom he gives excessive Praises, by saying, That he was Surpris'd; That he gave way too much to his own Goodness and Natural Faintness; and that in short, It was not in his Power to hinder *Julian* from being Emperor, who seiz'd the Government against his Will; That he revolted from him, and that *Constantius* was troubled at his Death; That he had even rais'd *Julian* to the Dignity of *Cesar*. He says, That after *Julian* had usurp'd the Empire, he perfectly declar'd against Christianity; That he sacrific'd his Baptism, by impure Blood, and profan'd his Hands by Sacrifices, as if it were so easy and purify them from the unbloody Sacrifice of Christians, by which they partake of the Body, the Divinity and Sufferings of Jesus Christ. He relates, That one Day this impious Man while he was Sacrificing, saw a Cross encircling the Entrails of the Sacrifices; That at another time, having enter'd into a subterraneous Place to Consult with the Devil, being frighten'd with the Noise which he heard in the Cave, and the Spectres which he saw, he made the Sign of the Cross without thinking of it; That at this Wonder-working Sign, all the Devils fled and the Noise ceas'd. Then *St. Gregory* describes the Arts which *Julian* us'd against the Christians. He says, That *Julian* being perswaded that open Persecutions did only encrease the Constancy of Christians, and that the Martyrs did Honour to their Religion, he had recourse to impostures and Tricks; That he allow'd the People to Abuse, and use Violence to the Christians, and refer'd to himself the ways of moderation to allure and perswade them; That he chang'd his Court and gain'd the Shoulders over to his side; That he remov'd Christians from all Offices, that he entic'd some by Hope of Rewards, and seduc'd others; That he sent some of them into Banishment, and in spite of his affected Gentleness he had exercis'd the greatest Cruelties upon others. He adds, That this Tyrant had a Design to shut out Christians from all Protection of the Law, and so forbid them to make use of it, alleging this for a Reason, That their Law commanded them to bear Injuries patiently, and to render Evil for Good.

St. Gregory answers this Reillery, by saying, That if Christians had a Law which oblig'd them to bear with Evil, yet there was no Law in the World which permitted any to do it. And besides that, there were among Christians Two sorts of Precepts; that some of them do oblige, but that it is absolutely necessary to obey them; but there are others which do not oblige, but Christians are free to fulfil or not fulfil them; that all the World cannot arrive at that perfection which consists in the observation of Evangelical Councils, and that one may be sav'd, by observing only what is commanded as necessary to be done. In this place he makes a Digression about the Moderation which Christians observ'd when they were in Power, and this he opposes to the Cruelties which the Pagans have exercis'd. There was a Time, says he to the Pagans, when we had the Authority in our Hands as well

as you; but what have we done to those of your Religion, which comes near to what the Christians have suffer'd from you? Have we taken your Liberty from you? Have we stirr'd up the Fury of the Mob against you? Have we put Governors in places on purpose to condemn you to Punishment? Have we interrupted the Life of any Person? Have we remov'd any Body from the Magistracy, or from their Offices? I answer, I have done any of those things to you which you have made us suffer, and which you have abus'd against us: I cannot conceive how *St. Gregory* could reconcile all their things with what he had said before, that *Constantius* did very ill to suffer *Julian* to live, and leave the Empire to him, because he was an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and was to Persecute it; and that in this, *Constantius* made a very ill use of his Gentleness and Goodness. Afterwards he speaks of the Prohibition which *Julian* had given to Christians to study humane Learning. It belongs to us, says he, in this Discourse, it belongs to us to understand the Greek Tongue, it is belong to us to Adore the Gods. But as for you, Ignorance and Barbarism is your Portion; and all your Wisdom consists in saying, I believe. *St. Gregory* answers him, that the *Pythagoreans* who had no other Reason to give for what they Affirm'd, but the Authority of their Master, would have jest'd in that manner, upon what the Christians answer when they are ask'd about their Doctrine, This is what I believe; that this only signifies, that it is not lawful to doubt of what is written by Persons Divinely inspir'd; and that their Authority is of greater force than all the Reasons and Arguments of the World; but that it does not follow from thence, that Eloquence, Terms of Art, and Skill in Languages, belong only to those who profess to acknowledge many Gods. For, says he, if this be so, either the Greek Tongue is confin'd to the Religion, or to the Nation: It cannot be said, that it is confin'd to the Pagan Religion; For, Where is that Commanded? Who are the Priests that have enjoy'd us to study humane Learning as an Action of Religion? Neither can it be said, that it is confin'd to the Nations that profess to Adore false Gods: For it will not follow, because the Greek Tongue has been us'd among those that profess the Pagan Religion, that therefore it is confin'd to them who profess that Religion, that others cannot make use of it. This is as if one should say, that working in Gold cannot be exercis'd but by Painters, because there were some Painters that were Goldsmiths likewise: He concludes, that Languages cannot be confin'd to a Profession, nor an Art, nor a Religion, but that they are common to all those that can make use of them. He adds several Curiosities about the Invention of Letters and Sciences, about the Origin of Sacrifices, about Pagan Ceremonies, and the infamous Actions which the Poets attributed to their false Gods. He occasionally answers, an Excuse which the Pagans make to cover the Folly of their Poets, alleging, that they invented what they said concerning their Divinities to please the People, but that under these Veils there was a secret Sense and hidden Mystery. *St. Gregory* confesses, that there may be in Religion hidden Myteries, and such Discourses as all the World does not understand; and he acknowledges, that there are some of this nature among Christians; but then he maintains, that the Veils, Representations, the Appearances, and the Figures which conceal these Myteries and Truths, ought to have the Character of Honesty and not of Infamy: That otherwise this was to do like one that would conduct a Man to a fine City through a Bog, or that would bring a Man into Harbour, by leading him over the Rocks: And besides, that there was no Example produced by the Poets which excited to Virtue, but on the contrary, they inclin'd all Men to Vice, whereas the Christian Religion teaches nothing but Virtue and Perfection.

The 4th. Oration is also an Inveective against *Julian*. There *St. Gregory* represents the visible Judgments which God had made use of to punish his Impiety, as well as the sensible manner of protecting his Church, and defeating the Designs of this impious Man. He relates first, that when *Julian* would have had the Jews rebuild the Temple of *Jerusalem*, there arose such a Storm as drove away those that undertook the Work, and that having retir'd into a neighbouring Temple, there came forth a Fire which consum'd them. He adds, that there appear'd a Sign of the Cross in the Heavens, which was a Mark of the Victory which Jesus Christ had gotten over these Impious Men; and that all those who saw it, or spoke of it, found their Clothes mark'd with this Sign. He says, that this Miracle, was so publick, that many who saw it embrac'd immediately the Christian Religion, and were Baptiz'd.

But if the Power of God appear'd in this Miracle, his Vengeance clearly appeared in the miserable Death of *Julian*. Before he departed to march against the *Persians*, he made a Vow, That if he return'd Conqueror, he would reduce all Christians under the Power of the Devil: But God who confounds the Designs of the Wicked, did not suffer him to return from this Journey. For being unexpectably engag'd, he found himself incompass'd with the Army of his Enemies, and having mounted up into a high place to discover it, he receiv'd a Stroke of which he died. *St. Gregory* says, that some reported that he was pierc'd thorow by a Dart from his Enemies, and others, that it was done by one of his own Souldiers, or that one of his own People thrust him thorough with a Sword. He observes, that at his Death he would have believ'd that he was become a God, and that he Order'd his most faithful Friends to throw his Body into the River, to make it believ'd that he was rank'd among the Gods; but this was not put in execution. *St. Gregory* afterwards makes a Comparison between the Funeral Pomp of *Constantius* and *Julian*; wherein he observes that the Funeral of *Constantius* was accompanied with the Ceremonies of the Church, with the Publick Prayers sung in the Night time, with Wax-lights and the other Honours which Christians were wont to pay unto the Dead. He excuses this Emperor, as to the Suspicion of *Arianism*, and throws all the Fault upon the Great Officers of his Court. He affirms also, that after his Death, Angelical Voices were heard to celebrate his Praise. He describes the Manners, the Temper, and the Vices of *Julian*. He says, that he always had a bad Opinion of him; he makes a very disadvantageous Representation of him; he admires the Providence of God, who reliev'd his Church, heard her Prayers, and confounded the Designs of the Pa-

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gain: yet he declares their Military Duty to exhort Christians who enjoy Repose at present, to remember the time of their Election, and to consider as a Warning from God, that they should sin no more. Upon this Occasion he defends to Monks, and exhorts the Christians to whom he speaks, to celebrate the Festivals after a Christian manner, and to bear Injuries patiently. Above the End of this Discourse he returns to his Subject, and inveighs against *Jehus*. These Discourses were written some Years after the Death of *Jehus*; and they contain more Strokes of Eloquence than Principles of Theology and Morality.

The 5th. Discourse is an Apology address'd to his Father upon his Retirement. He confesses, that he had retir'd for love of a solitary Life, but that the Friendship he had for his Father, and the Respect he ow'd to his old Age, had oblig'd him to return. He says, that his Father call'd him back, that he might assist him in the Government of his Diocese, and for that end had given him the Union of Holy Orders. This Discourse was in the Year 362.

The 6th. Discourse was spoken before St. *Gregory Nissen*, who was come to see St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, sometime after he was ordain'd Bishop of *Sassima*. He complains in the beginning of this Discourse, that St. *Basil* had in a manner violated the Laws of Friendship, by obliging him to accept of this new Bishoprick. About the end, he exhorts those that heard him, to purify themselves from their Sins, and to subdue their Passions, in imitation of the holy Martyrs whose Festival they Celebrated. He says, that the best way of Solemnizing their Festivals, and the greatest Honour they could do them, was to live Regularly and Holily. He declaims against the Excesses, and Busines that was done at the Assemblies on these Festivals. He praises the Martyrs, and gives them the Title of Mediators. He concludes with praying to God, to perfect the great Flocks, and preserve the little ones, and to comfort him by his Grace, and guide him by his Illumination, and assist him in feeding the Flock of Jesus Christ. This plain, that this Discourse was spoken by St. *Gregory* in the Year 371, at a solemn Festival of some Martyrs, after St. *Basil* had ordain'd him Bishop of *Sassima* in the Year 371.

The following Discourse which was spoken before St. *Gregory* the Father and St. *Basil*, was also at the same time; and upon the same Subject. He declares with what Difficulty he had accepted the Bishoprick of *Sassima*, and prays them to assist him with their Prayers and Advices in the Government of his Diocese.

In the 8th. Homily, he directs his Discourse to the People of *Nazianzum*, about his Father's choosing him to be his Coadjutor. In it he represents the Obligation that lies upon one to do Service to the Church, when he is capable of doing it; and repeats again the Rule which he had propos'd in his first Discourse. That we ought not to seek after Offices, but neither should we refuse them, when we are call'd to them, and they do not exceed our Abilities. He adds, that he intended now to join with his Father, to take care of the Church of *Nazianzum*, but that he would by no means be oblig'd to succeed him, and that no body could ever force him to it. That those who Command must do it voluntarily, as those who Obey must Obey willingly, *ut volentes voluntarius praeferat*; which is most necessary, says he, amongst the Clergy, where we do not use Dominion but Instruction. *Volentium enim non coactionem, pietatis sacramentum est.* This Discourse was in the Year 372.

In the 9th. Discourse which was at the same time, he speaks to the People of *Nazianzum*, in the presence of a Magistrate, who took care to make an Assessment of the Taxes. In it, he first gives the Reason of his Silence, and then exhorts Christians to withdraw their Affections from the Things of this World, and to labour only for Eternity, by purifying themselves with good Works. He recommends to Pastors to take care of their Sheep. And to the Faithful, to submit themselves to their Pastors. He admonishes the Men of Learning, not to trust to their Knowledge and Eloquence, not to affect Knowledge more than is necessary, not to grasp at all Learning, but only so much as may serve them for teaching Truth and Righteousness.

After this, he addresses himself to the Judge, and tells him; That we must render to *Cesar* the Things that are *Cesar's*, and to God the Things that are God's; that's to say, that we must render to *Cesar* the Tribute that belongs to him; and to his Ministers, the Rewards which the Law has appointed them; and that more than that does not belong to them. He prays him in particular, to treat his People with Gentleness and Humanity in the Assessment which he was to make. He makes a pleasant Observation, that Jesus Christ came into the World at a time when a Tax was made, or an Assessment of all the Inhabitants of the Earth, to shew that God is always present at those Actions; that he was made Man, and did himself pay Tribute to comfort those that are in Bondage, and to teach them to bear it patiently: But wistful, that by thus abusing himself, he taught the Kings and Potentates of the Earth, to treat those that are subject to them with Mildness and Moderation: That Servitude it self was a Burden heavy enough, which should not be increased by Rigour; that Tribute was an effect of the first Man's Sin, because War which occasion'd Tribute, was a Consequence of the first Sin; and a just punishment of God; but that it ought not to be augmented by over-charging and ill using the Miserable. He adds, that God makes in the other Life a Book, or, if it be lawful to use the Term, a Roll, wherein all Men are set down, without any distinction of their State and Condition: That there Men shall be treated after the same manner, as they have treated others, and that if the Judge to whom he Addresses his Speech, would be favourably treated there, he must treat his People favourably and civilly. After he has spoken to him with this freedom, he bestows many Commendations upon him; and prays him to exempt the Poor, the Clergy and the Monks. These Men, says he of the last, who are no way allied to this Earth, who have nothing but their Bodies, and do not so much as possess that entirely, who have nothing for *Cesar* and have all for God, that's to say, who can give nothing but Prayers, Hymns, Watchings and Tears, of which *Cesar* cannot be made: These Men, I say,

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who are dead to this World that they may live to Jesus Christ, who have Crucified their Flesh with Jesus Christ, and even parted, as one may say, their Soul from their Body. This is an excellent Description of the ancient Monks, which gives us a great Idea of their Poverty and how much they were disengaged from the World.

The 10th. Discourse of *Gregory Nazianzen* is a Funeral Oration upon his Brother *Cesarus*, wherein he relates his principal Actions, and makes a Panegyrick upon them. In it he commends him, and comforts his Father and Mother. He observes, that the same Ceremony is renew'd every Year for the Dead. Towards the end, he Discourses of the State of the Souls of the just, from the time of their Death until the Day of Judgment. He says, that he was inform'd by the Discourses of the Learn'd, that holy Souls which are acceptable to God, being deliver'd from the Bands of this Body, feel an insupportable Joy and Pleasure by considering the Blessedness which they are one Day to receive; that they go directly to God, and that they know already, as it were in an Image and Representation, the Happiness they shall receive after the Resurrection of the Body. He adds, that he had often seen in a Dream his Brother all over Glorious: Whether it was, says he, that the Imagination represented him thus, or that this Apparition was real. He concludes with a Moral Discourse, wherein he shews, that we ought to be so far from Mourning for the Dead, that we ought rather to mourn for our selves, and sigh, because we continue so long upon Earth. He wrote this Discourse sometime after the death of his Brother, which happen'd in 368.

The 11th. Discourse is a Panegyrick upon his Sister St. *Gorgonia*, who died sometime after her Brother. In it he has given an excellent Description of her Virtues, of her prudence and Widom in the Government of her Family; of her Humility, her Zeal, her Charity, to the Poor, of her Care for Adorning Churches, her Mortifications, her Diligence in Prayer, her submission to the Will of God, her Constancy in her Sickness, and her manner of Dying which was worthy of a Christian. He observes, that she was Baptiz'd a little before she died; but that she had led so holy a Life, that Baptism did not confer any Grace upon her, but was only the Seal of those Graces which she had receiv'd. Yet we must not believe that she was not Baptiz'd till her last Sickness; for St. *Gregory* says, that in a former Sickness, when the law that the Remedies which were us'd, gave her no relief, she went into the Church, and there having pray'd near the Altar, she mingled with her Tears (what she had reserv'd of the Antitypes of the precious Body and Blood of Jesus Christ) and that she was cur'd immediately. This Action, which St. *Gregory* calls a pious piece of Impudence, shews that she was baptiz'd some time before her last Sickness. Towards the end of this Panegyrick, he describes the happy State of just Souls which are departed out of this Life; he makes no doubt but they enjoy the Company of Angels, and a most perfect Knowledge of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity. This Discourse was spoken about 370.

The following Discourse is about the Reconciliation of the Monks of *Nazianzum* with his Father, which was made, as we have said, about the Year 363. He congratulates their Reunion, and proves the usefulness and necessity of Peace. See how he describes the Habit of Monks, and the Austerity of their Life. "All that I have seen, says he to them, brings to my Remembrance upon the account of this Fraternal Division, your Watchings, your Fastings, your Prayers, your Tears, your Knees harden'd with bearing the weight of your Bodies, your beating of your Breasts, your deep Sighs, your Tears shed in sighing forth continually the Praises of God, your Hair cut short and neglected, your naked Feet, your Habits which have nothing of pride, your Girdle which adorns without being an Ornament, your short Cloaks button'd back, that bold Gate, that modest Eye, that pleasant Smile, that calm Discourse, that Silence which is more instructive than all Discourse, those regular Austerities, those Riches in Poverty, that Glory under Contempt."

The 13th. Discourse is also about the Benefits of Peace. In this as well as the preceding Discourse, he makes some Digressions about the Faith of the Church against Hereticks, and he concludes this with a Prayer for their Conversion.

The 14th is upon the same Subject, where he speaks against the Error of *Apollinaris*. The 15th. was preach'd after a great Hail which fell in *Pontus* in the Year 372, which wholly ruin'd the Country. In it he exhorts the People of *Nazianzum*, to acknowledge that this Judgment was a just Punishment of their Sins; that they ought to consider God as full of Mercy, when they compare it with the Vengeance which God will inflict upon the Reprobate in the other World. He sets down in particular, some of those Sins which God has punish'd by this Scourge, as the oppression of the Poor, whose Goods were seized upon either by Fraud or Violence, the Usury whereby they had enrich'd themselves and robb'd the Poor, their forgetfulness of God, their rigour towards the Poor, the Contempt which they had shewn of the Exhortations of their Preachers, their vain Confidence in Riches, the Covetousness of the Rich which inclines them to keep up their Corn in their Granaries, that they may sell it dear in a time of Scarcity, their sumptuous Apparel and Household-Furniture. He exhorts them all to implore the Mercy of God towards them, by their publick Prayers, their Fasting, their Penance, and their giving of Alms. He ends this Discourse with praying his Father to appease the Wrath of God by his Prayers, and to beg of him Food for the Body, after he has pray'd for the Food of the Soul.

The 16th. Discourse of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, is a famous Oration of the Love of the Poor and of Poverty. He wrote it particularly in favour of the Poor in the Hospital which St. *Basil* had built in *Caesarea*, and he spoke it at some solemn Festival about the Year 363. He shews in this Discourse that the Love of the Poor and Poverty is a most excellent Virtue: After this he describes in a most pathetic manner the miserable State of the Poor and Sick: He propoies very pressing Motives with a great deal of Eloquence, for touching the Heart of the Rich, and inclining them to assist the Poor and Sick; and he urges with much clearness and strength, the most convincing Reasons for perswading them

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them that they are obliged to it. He concludes with saying, that Alms-giving is not only a Duty of Piety, but of Necessity; that it is not only a Council, but also a Precept.

The 17th. Discourse is about some Differences that happened at *Nazianzum*, between the People and the Governor. *St. Gregory* appeals the People in the first part of this Discourse, and exhorts them to submit without fear to the Orders of the Governor; and in the second part, he speaks to the Governor with a wonderful Frankness to insist him to Mildness and Clemency. He tells him, that he should not take it ill, that he spoke to him with freedom; that the Law of God subjects him to the Commandment of his Bishops. "For, says he, the Church has an Authority of her own, which is far Greater and more Excellent than that of Princes, unless you will subject the Spirit to the Flesh, and Heaven to Earth." He adds, that he did not doubt but he would take in good part the Liberty "wherein he spoke; since he was one of the Sheep of his Flock. I will not therefore say he, make a long Discourse. You Command by Jesus Christ; 'tis by him that you exercise your Authority; 'tis he who has given you the Sword that you carry; but he has not given you so much Power for any other end, but to terrify the Wicked and threaten them with Punishments. Take care then that you preserve this Trust with purity: You are the Image of God, but so are all Men in some Sense. They are all your Brethren, have compassion on them, imitate the Mercy of God; join Mildness with Terror, temper your Threatnings by giving some hopes; many times Men compel their Designs better by Gentleness than by Violence. He uses many other Arguments of this nature, to mollify the Wrath of this Governor, whose Threatnings had frightened the People of *Nazianzum*. At last, he says, that if these Reasons did not move, but still he should want some more powerful Motive, that he would take the boldness to offer him Jesus Christ, and those Mysteries of Salvation which he communicated with the same Mouth with which he now desired this favour: In short, he conjures him to grant this Favour to the Church of Jesus Christ, and to consider, that God will treat him after the same manner, as he shall treat those who are subject to his Dominion. This Discourse is a Master-piece of Eloquence, which seems to have been recited in the Year 372.

The 18th. Sermon is the Panegyrick of *St. Cyprian* the Martyr. There are in this Panegyrick some things that relate to the Life of *St. Cyprian* Bishop of *Carthage*, as what concern his Studies, his Learning, his Accomplishments, his Banishment and his Death: But there are other Circumstances which cannot agree to him, as when he observes, that he of whom he speaks was a Senator, who made Love to a Christian Lady of Quality, call'd *Juliana*; that he would have made use of Magic to corrupt her: but this Lady having recourse to Jesus Christ, and the Virgin *Mary*, to be delivered from this Persecution, the Devil entered into the Body of *St. Cyprian*, who was not disposed till his Conversion. 'Tis certain that this Accident, and some others which *St. Gregory Nazianzen* relates in this Discourse, happen'd not to the Bishop of *Carthage*: And yet he does expressly declare, that he of whom he speaks was Bishop of that City. It must therefore be owned, that *St. Gregory* compos'd this Panegyrick out of some false Memoires, wherein these Circumstances were added to adorn the Life of this Holy Martyr by a pleasant Story: Howsoever, *St. Gregory* greatly values this History, and bestows many Praises upon the holy Martyr, whom he designs to commend. He says, that his Affes wrought abundance of Miracles, and he exhorts his Hearers to honour this Saint by their Virtues and their good Works. He concludes with a Prayer, which he addresses to him, wherein he desires his Assistance and Protection for governing his Flock, and conducting those of whom he had the Charge. This Discourse seems to have been written when *St. Gregory* was Coadjutor to his Father, that is to say, about the Year 372.

The 19th. Discourse of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, is a Funeral Oration upon his Father, which he spoke in the presence of his Mother and *St. Basil*. He addresses his Speech to *St. Basil* after this manner: "You cannot be come to *Nazianzum* but for Three Reasons; To see us, to Visit the Flock, and to provide a Pastor for it. You will satisfy the first by your good Offices in comforting us with a Funeral Oration, wherein you may celebrate the Virtues of my Father, and at the same time shew us, that we must despise this Mortal Life, and look upon Death as an assured Harbour, which shelters us from the Storms and Tempests of this Mortal Life. Thus you may comfort us: But how will you comfort this Flock? You may do it, First, by promising that you will take upon you the care of Governing it: Secondly, by shewing that we are not abandon'd by this good Pastor, and by persuading us that he is with us, that he is here present, that he still watches over his Flock, that he takes care of it, protects and defends it. For I do not doubt (they are his own words) but he being now much nearer to God, does a great deal more for his Flock by his Intercession, than he did upon Earth by his Teaching." After this he gives an Account of his Father's Life, and makes a Panegyrick upon his Virtues: Neither does he forget those of his Mother *Nonna*, whom he comforts towards the end of his Discourse, by letting her see that she ought not to value this Life, nor fear Death, and by promising to assist her all the rest of her Days. It seems that all *St. Gregory's* Brethren were dead, and that he was left alone. There are many remarkable things in this Oration of *St. Gregory*, but chiefly what he says of his Father's Celebrating the Eucharist tho' he were sick; and that one day when he was in his Bed, he consecrated the Elements which were upon the Altar before the People, repeating as little of the Prayers as he could; and that having pronounc'd the Words of the Consecration of the Eucharist, and given the People the Blessing, he lay down upon his Bed again. What he says of Elections, is also of great consequence to Ecclesiastical Discipline. He declares, that his particular Advice was, that for avoiding Contentions and Cavillings, the Elections should be reserv'd to the principal part of the People, that is, to the Clergy, or at least that they should have the better share in them. We must not forget the Description which he has given of that Magnificent Church, which his Father built at *Nazianzum*. This Panegyrick was in the Year 373.

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Tho' St. Gregory discharged very well the Offices of Natural Affection, by making Funeral Orations upon his Brother, his Sister and his Father; yet one may say, that he excell'd himself in discharging the Offices of Friendship, by his Funeral Oration upon his Friend *St. Basil*, which is the 20th. of his Discourses. There he describes the Life, the Labours, and different Employments of this Saint exactly: He praises his Piety; his Faith and his Virtues, and forgets nothing of all that could be said to his Advantage. It may be observed in all the other Funeral Orations, That the Church in the time of *St. Gregory Nazianzen* believed, that the Martyrs and Saints enjoy'd already Eternal Happiness, and the Vision of God; that they took Care of Men upon Earth, that they Interceded for them; and that it was very profitable to Pray to them for the obtaining of Spiritual and Temporal Favours. *St. Gregory* could not have spoken this Funeral Oration until after his Return from *Constantinople* in 381.

[By the Character which *Mr. du Pin* himself gives of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, it appears that he was a Man of very great Warmth of Fancy; and so it is no wonder if he believed that Saints were after Death received up into Heaven, that he should in some warmer parts of his Harangues, such as *Allocutions* to the Saints from their disconsolate Friends below, or *Prosopopaeias*, where they are introduced Comforting or Strengthening those whom they left behind, say several things that are not too severely to be scanned. His *etis ad Simon* shews, That he questioned even in his highest Flights whether those Saints whom he was then Commending, understood what he said. And the Consequences are then too manifest to be insisted upon; since no Man ever calmly taught, That the Blessed above can so far concern themselves as to Intercede for the Faithful below, that questions whether their Happy Beings have any Knowledge of what is done upon Earth: Only this must be said, That the Excessive Honours which were paid to Saints and Martyrs upon their Anniversaries brought in all those Corruptions which afterwards grew to very Scandalous.]

The Panegyrick upon *St. Athanasius* was spoken at *Constantinople*. There he relates with much Exactness and Eloquence the principal Actions of *St. Athanasius*, and excites our Admiration of his Doctrine, his Constancy, his Firmness, his Zeal for Religion, his Love of Peace, and his other Virtues. This Discourse is the 21st. The precise time when it was spoken is not known; but 'tis certain that it was at *Constantinople*, which he designs clearly enough, when he says, That he was in a City very much corrupted, where there were Arches and Theatres.

The Discourse in praise of the *Maccabees*, follows after the Panegyrick of *St. Athanasius*. He observes at the beginning of this Discourse, That tho' many did not honour the *Maccabees* as Saints, because they lived not since the coming of Christ; yet they are worthy of the same honour with the Martyrs who suffered after Christ; nay, and their Actions are more admirable. "For, says he, if they suffered Martyrdom before Christ's coming, What would they not have done, if they had come after him, and had had the Death of Christ for an Example?" He adds, That no Man before the coming of Christ, was accomplish'd with all Virtues, without having Faith in Jesus Christ. He describes afterwards the Martyrdom of the Seven Brethren, and the Constancy of their Mother, and extols those Actions with the most beautiful Strokes of Eloquence: Then he sends the Reader to the Book which *Josephus* wrote upon this Subject. The time is not known when this Panegyrick was recited.

The 23d. Discourse which bears at present the Title of a Discourse in the praise of *Hero* the Philosopher, or barely of a Philosopher, was according to *St. Jerome's* Testimony, a Panegyrick upon *Maximus* the Philosopher, compos'd by *St. Gregory* before he had any Difference with him. We have seen that *St. Basil* also commended this Philosopher in the Letters which he wrote to him. *St. Gregory* in this Panegyrick represents the Idea and Pattern of a Christian Philosopher: There he praises a Solitary Life, and yet prefers Labour and Business before unprofitable Study. He observes, That the Church was become more Illustrious by Persecutions: He describes the Miseries which it suffered under the Emperours, *Constantinus*, *Julian* and *Valens*. He describes the horrible Tragedy that was acted in the Church of *Alexandria*, when *Lucius* invaded it, to force away *Peter* of *Alexandria* the Successor of *St. Athanasius*, very particularly. He says, That his Philosopher was then torn with Scourges and sent into Banishment. Towards the End he explains the Faith of the Church about the Mystery of the Trinity. This Oration must have been spoken or written at *Constantinople* in the Year 378.

The 24th. Discourse is address'd to the *Egyptians* who were come to *Constantinople*. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* praises the Piety of the Faithful of *Alexandria*, testifies a great deal of Respect for the Memory of *St. Athanasius*, a great Esteem for his Successor *Peter* who then possided the See of *Alexandria*, and a great Love for the People of *Alexandria*, whom he makes no scruple to call his People. He declares, That he would willingly be united in Communion with the Christians of *Alexandria*; and because they made some Difficulty of joining with him, he expounds to them his Doctrine concerning the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity, and insists chiefly upon proving the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. This Discourse was spoken in the Year 379, before *Maximus* was Ordained Bishop of *Constantinople* by the *Egyptians*.

The 25th. Discourse is against the *Arians*: He begins it with declaring, That they ought not to Glory in their Multitude, nor despise his little Flock, because it preserved and maintained the Purity of the Faith. He represents in the following Discourse the Troubles and Confusions which the *Arian* Heresy produced, and charges them with all the Outrages and Cruelties, which they had exercised against the Catholics. He shews, That neither the Magnificence, nor Grandeur, nor Riches, nor Power of the *Arians* render'd their Cause more acceptable in the sight of God. He vindicates himself from the Reproaches thrown upon him of coming to *Constantinople* to make Disturbances: He says, That he did not come thither of his own accord as those who now run after the Promotions of

of the Church. That he was called to the place. That he only followed the Guidance of the Holy Spirit; and that after he came to Constantinople, he did not refuse those who were zealously zealous; That he had commenced no Lawless against the *Arians*, neither for their Churches, nor for the Ecclesiastical Reverence, who they were zealously possessed both of the one and the other; That he had performed no Body. That he had suffered patiently all manner of Injuries and evil Treatment. After he has shown these things, he makes an elegant Comparison between the *Arians* and the Catholics of Constantinople. "They have, says he, the Temple, but we have the God that dwells in them, and we our selves are the Temples. They have the People for them, we have the Angels for us; They have for their Portion Assurance and Refreshment, we have the Faith on our side; They have Threatnings, we have Prayers; They Persecute, and we Suffer. They have Gold and Silver, and we are in possession of the Holy Doctrine. But our Flock is little: Yes, but it does not go to throw itself upon Frodoles; our Sheep-fold is narrow, but it is well guarded against Wolves; it does not lie open to Robbers, and Strangers cannot enter into it. This little Flock which will every Day grow greater by the Grace of God, gives me no Cause to fear. I see it, I count it easily; I know my Sheep, and they know me; they hear my Voice, they answer me; I call them and they follow me, and they will not follow Strangers, they will not follow *Valentinus*, *Montanus*, *Masius*, *Donatus*, *Sabellius*, *Arius*, *Phoebians*; and they continue steadfast in the Faith of the Trinity, in whose Name they were baptiz'd." This Discourse was spoken by St. Gregory, some time after he was come to Constantinople.

In the 16th. Discourse, he exhorts those of his Party to observe Moderation in their Disputes with Heretics. He there lays down a great many very Wise and useful Maxims. He observes, That Peace is the greatest Good that can be enjoy'd; That Schisms and Heresies have been raised up by Men of great Wit, but turbulent, and designing; That those Men, are the Cause of Wars, Seditions, and other Mischances, both to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Society; That we ought neither to be too hot, nor too remiss in the Defence of the Faith; That upon the whole Matter, the Order established in the Church between the Pastors and their Sheep, between the Clergy and the Laity, must be inviolably observed; That 'tis often much better to be silent than to speak of Myteries, because it is very Difficult to comprehend and explain them; and that 'tis very rare to find Ears fit to hear them, and Mischeable of bearing them; That when we are obliged to speak, we should do it with much Humility and Modesty; That the common People should content themselves with believing, and leave Disputes to the Learned; That Faith and Religion are for the Ignorant as well as for the Learned, and for the Poor as well as the Rich; That the Learned themselves ought to shun useless Questions and Disputes; That among the Hebrews, it was not allow'd to all the Jews indifferently to Discourse of the Law, but they chose such to do it as were judg'd Capable of it; That some Men had one Gift, some another; in short, That those who take upon them to Dispute and Teach others, being push'd on by a Zeal for the Faith, should not condemn those who by a reasonable Precaution and wholesome Fear are hindered from adventuring to do the like. He concludes all these Reflections in these Words: "If you will all obey me, as well Young as Old, as well Clergy as Laity, as well Monks as those that are barely the Faithful, you will give over this vain Offentation of showing your Knowledge by Disputes, and you will rather take Care to draw near to God by an upright and prudent Conversation, by the Purity of your Manners, by your edifying Discourses, that so at last you may obtain Eternal Life." 'Tis not necessary here to observe, that this Discourse was spoken at Constantinople.

In the 27th. Discourse St. Gregory vindicates himself against those who accused him of Ambition. In his Exordium, he enquires after the Reasons, why the People of Constantinople were entic'd and as it were charm'd by his Preaching. He says, That it could not be his Learning which allur'd them, for they were satisfied that he had but little of it; That it could not be the Doctrine which he taught them, since he was not the First who had preach'd it to them, neither had he preach'd any thing to them which they had not learn'd formerly from St. Alexander their Bishop: "That neither can they say, that he had gain'd them by Artificial and Flattering Discourses, as for the most part, says he, they do now a-Days who are of the Priestly Function, who have made an Art of Preaching the Word of God, who have brought the Arts of the Bar into the Church, and the Ornaments of the Theatre into the Chair of Truth. You know, adds he, and God is my Witness, That we are so great Strangers to this Fault, that they rather accuse me of Rufficity, and of not knowing the World, than of being a Flatterer, and seeking to please Men, since I sometimes Reprove too severely even those who are most Affectionate to me, when they do any thing that I think not reasonable. You know how I mourn'd, how I cry'd, when you plac'd me against my Will upon the Throne, violating the Laws of the Church for the Love that you shew'd me. I us'd to great Freedom with those who appear'd most zealous for me, that they withdrew in Anger, and changed their ancient Friendship all of the sudden into hatred against me. Why then have you so great a Passion for me, but only, First, Because you chose me your selves, and call'd me to your Assistance; and Secondly, Because you have acknowledged, that I was neither Ambitious, nor Pious, nor Passionate, nor Proud, nor given to Flattery; and Thirdly, Because you have seen how I have suffered for you all, both from those that openly attack'd me, and from those that so cruelly hid secret Snarcs for me." After this he vindicates himself from the Charge which his Enemies drew up against him upon the account of his Eloquence. He says, That 'tis Envy which makes them speak thus. He justifies himself also from the Ambition whereof he was accus'd; and shews, That he did not ambitiously aspire after the See of Constantinople; That he had met with nothing there but Labour and Fatigue; That if he had been free to choose, he should have prefer'd

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his Solitude before so painful an Employment; That he was not engag'd in it for any other Reason but only to afflict the Church of Constantinople which was then without an Orthodox Bishop; That he would not trouble himself, tho' Men should Censure him for having other Motives than really he had; That God knows what his true Intention was; That he never fought to please Men but God only; That he lov'd Goodness for Goodness sake, without any prospect of worldly Interest. At last, He addresses his Speech to all Estates of Men, and makes this brave Remonstrance to them: "You Kings of the Earth have a respect for your Crown; consider the Excellency of Power which is entrusted with you: All the World is subject to your Empire, but the Heavenly things are above you; 'tis God only who governs them: Beyeau as Gods with respect to your Subjects, make your Empire to consist in this, and not in Gold, in Silver, and in Arms. You Great Men of the Age, who possess the most considerable Offices in the State, be not lifted up because of your Power, look not upon things Temporal as if they were Eternal: Be you Faithful to the Emperours, but above all things be Faithful to God. You that are Persons of Quality make your Manners answerable to your Nobility. You Wife Men, you Philosophers, you Orators, How can you pretend to Wisdom and Eloquence, if you do not Adore him who is the Author and Fountain both of the one and the other? You that love Riches, hearken to the Prophet, who Admonishes you not to trust to the abundance of your Riches; know that you rely upon a frail thing. You that spend your time in Diversions, mortify your selves by refraining from some things, assist your Sick Brother with that which you have too much of. In short, All you that are Citizens of this Second City of the World, which hardly yields to the First, Govern your selves after such a manner, that you may be the First in Vertue, and not in Debauchery and Licentiousness." This Discourse was spoken some time after *Theodosius* and the People had forc'd St. Gregory Nazianzen to ascend the Episcopal Throne of Constantinople, at the End of the Year 380.

The following Discourse was spoken, after *Maximus* had endeavour'd to render himself Master of the Episcopal See of Constantinople. St. Gregory had retir'd for some time into the Country to refresh himself: When he return'd, being certainly inform'd of all that was done against him in his Absence, he made a Discourse to his People against this Philosopher: And First, in the Exordium of his Discourse, he declar'd the Joy he had upon his Return to his Flock, from which he had been separated, and then he falls very severely upon *Maximus*, and shews, that he was unworthy of the Episcopal Throne which he aspir'd to: Afterwards he draws a Portraiture of a True Philosopher to set it against that which he had made of *Maximus*, and describes the several Offices of all Conditions. He returns to his Subject again, by saying, That he fear'd not his Enemies in the least: "For what will they do to me, says he? How will they provoke me? They say that I am Ignorant: I know no other Wisdom but the Fear of God and the keeping of his Commandments. They blame me for Poverty; alas, would to God, that I could even part with that little which I possess. They force me away from my Bishoprick; but did I ever think it a Happiness to be a Bishop? They will take from me one of the Chief Sees and one of the principal Churches in the World. But is it not at this time a piece of Prudence to shun great Dignities, since upon their Account all Churches are embroil'd and overthrown, and upon their Account the whole Earth is divided? Alas! Would to God, adds he, that there were no places of Dignity in the Church, no Precedencies, no Tyrannical Prerogatives, and that none would distinguish us but by our Vertue. But at present, what Mischiefs do the Disputes about Prerogatives and Place, bring upon the Church! How many People are destroy'd for these Content's? I speak not only of the Laity but even of the Bishops. What more will they do unto me? They will hinder me from approaching to the Altars: But I know another Altar, whereof this is but a Figure which can neither be demolish'd nor broken: Will they drive me away from my House? Will they hinder me from diverting my self? Will they alienate my Friends from me? I have no other House but that which the Piety of another *Shunammite* offer'd me. As to what concerns Pleasures, all the Evil that I wish to those that design Evil to me, is, That they may enjoy no other Pleasures than what I take. As for my Friends, I have some that will not forsake me, even tho' they should be ill treated upon my Account. There are others whose Pride I have endur'd for a long time. *Peter* has deny'd me, and it may be has not yet bewail'd his Fault." He concludes with deploring the Misery of his Church.

The 29th. Sermon begins with a Declaration against those who thrust themselves into places of Governing the People, and Preaching the Word of God without being capable. Afterwards he explains the Mytery of the most Holy Trinity very exactly. Above all things he recommends to them that Christians should hold to the Simplicity of Faith, without endeavouring to fathom and comprehend its Myteries. This Sermon was preach'd at Constantinople.

The 30th. Sermon is about the Election of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Dozza*. This Discourse is short and contains nothing Remarkable. It was spoken about the Year 372.

In the 31st. Discourse having spoken of the Mytery of the Incarnation, he explains the Answer of Jesus Christ to the *Pharisees*, in Ch. 19. of St. Matthew's Gospel, concerning Divorce. He says upon this place, That Jesus Christ condemns the Custom which permits Husbands to forsake their Wives, and does not permit Wives to forsake their Husbands, because in the Sight of God there is no Inequality between the Man and the Woman. He observes, That a Bill of Divorce permitted Husbands to send away their Wives for all sorts of Reasons; but that Jesus Christ did not permit it except only in case of Adultery. He says, That Marriage is commendable, when the Parties are contracted with a design of having Children; but he prefers Virginity to Marriage. He explains in what Sense 'tis said, That all Persons are not capable of embracing Celibacy. Tho' he owns the Free-

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will of Man, yet he confesses, that God must give a Will to do Good, and enable us to obtain the Victory. He occasionally rejects the Opinion of *Origen* concerning the Pre-existence of Souls. Lastly, He exhorts his Auditors not only to preserve the Purity of Faith as well as of their Bodies, but also to Contribute according to their Power to the Establishment of Sound Doctrine. He addresses himself chiefly to the Emperor, and tells him, That if he thought that he did great Service to God, by hindering Murders, Adulteries, and Robberies by his Edicts, he might yet do him greater Service by making an Edict in Favour of the Catholic Faith. This Discourse was in the Year 380.

The 41st. Discourse is an Oration which he made to the Bishops of the Council of *Constantinople* in the Year 382. Where, after he has made his Apology for governing the Church of *Constantinople*, by describing the wonderful Effects he had produc'd in that Church, he prays them to grant him a Successor, with as much Earnestness, as others desire the Greatest See.

The Reasons which he alleges for obtaining Permission to retire, are First, his great Age, the Quarrels of Churches and Bishops, the Envy that bore him, the Division of the East and the West, and his Love of Retirement and Solitude. He adds some other Reasons which tend to the Confusion of his Enemies, (such as the Persecutions which he had endur'd with Patience, his Frugality, his Modesty, his Humility. At last, He conjures them to create another Bishop who should be more agreeable to the relish of the World. Here he represents very naturally, the Luxury, Ambition, and Arts which were but too common among the Bishops of the Great Seas. At last, He bids Adieu to his Dear *Asiatica*, to the other Churches of *Constantinople*, to the Council, the Clergy, the People, and to the Court. These Adieus are pathetic to those that had an Esteem of him, and are very poignant to those that were his Enemies, and wish'd that he would abdicate his Charge. 'Tis plain that this Discourse is the last of those which he spoke at *Constantinople*.

The Five following Discourses are Entitled, *Of Theology*, because St. *Gregory Nazianzen* explains there what concerns the Divine Nature, and the Trinity of Persons: There he treats of the Rules which ought to be observed in the Administration of the Word of God. He says First, That this Function does not suit all Men; That he who discharges it must be pure in Heart and Mind; That he should not apply himself to it but with a sedate Temper; and Lastly, That he ought not to treat of those Matters before Pagans, nor before those who have no fence of Religion, and who think of nothing but Pleasures. He adds many fine things about the Dispositions and Qualifications that are necessary to a Divine. He blames those who having their Hands tied, that is, who do no Good Works, yet have a wonderful Itch to prate, and those who think to be great Divines, because they understand the Subtleties of *Aristotle's* Logic, and the *Genile* Philosophy, which they make use of nothing to the purpose when they Discourse about Myteries.

In the 2d. Discourse he enquires what may be conceiv'd concerning the Nature of God. He says, That his Existence is known by the Creatures; That his Immenity, Spirituality, and his other Attributes are known; but that it does not follow from hence, that his Essence and Nature can be comprehended; which he proves against *Eunomius* in the second Discourse of Theology, which contains many great Notions concerning the Nature and Attributes of God.

In the 3d. he proves the Equality of the Three Persons of the Divinity and the Son, and answers the most part of *Eunomius's* Sophisms. The 4th. continues the same subject; and in the 5th. he proves, That the Holy Spirit is a Divine Person distinct from the Father and the Son; That he proceeds from the Father, and that he is not begotten as the Son, tho' he be of the same Substance and the same Nature. He observes towards the End of this Discourse, That under the Old Testament the Father only was distinctly known; That the Son is clearly Reveald in the New; That in it also there are found Passages enough to prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, but that it was fully clear'd by the Tradition of the Church. These Discourses seem also to have been spoken at *Constantinople*. And thus we are come to the 38th. Sermon upon the Festival of the Birth of Jesus Christ. In it St. *Gregory* admires the Wonders of the Myteries of the Incarnation: He describes the Fall of the first Man, which he supposes to have been the Cause of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and reckons up the Advantages which Mankind receiv'd by this Mytery. At last, He teaches Christians to Celebrate the Festival of Christmas, by purifying themselves from their Sins, by imitating the Vertues of Jesus Christ, and particularly his Patience and Humility.

The 39th. Discourse is a Sermon upon the Festival *Of Lights*, that is, upon the Feast of *Epiphany*, on which also the Solemnity of the Baptism of Jesus Christ is observ'd. There he speaks of the Wonderful Effects of this Baptism, which had the Vertue of purifying us. He distinguishes many sorts of Baptism; *viz.* The Baptism of *Moses*, the Baptism of St. *John*, the Baptism of Jesus Christ, the Baptism of the Martyrs, and the Baptism of Penance which he calls a Laborious Baptism; and taking occasion from this last he Discourses against the Error of the *Novatians*. Last of all, He adds also to this Baptism which we have already mentioned, the Baptism of Fire, wherewith he says one may be baptiz'd in another Life.

The following Discourse was spoken the next Day. 'Tis an Instruction about Baptism to those that are to be baptiz'd: There he observes the Excellence of Baptism and its marvellous Effects. He sets down and explains the different Names that are given to this Sacrament. He observes, That it consists in Two Things, the Water and the Spirit; That the washing the Body with Water, represents the Operation of the Spirit in purifying the Soul. He says, That Baptism is a Compact which we make with God, by which we oblige our selves to lead a New Life; That 'tis very dangerous to break the Promise which we made at Baptism, for there is no more Regeneration, nor perfect Renovation to be hop'd for afterwards; That we may indeed cover the Wound by a multitude of Tears

Tears and Sighs, but that it would be much better not to need this Second Remedy, because it is very difficult and troublesome; and that we can have no assurance but Death may surprize us before our Penance be finish'd. *Tou*, says he, addressing himself to the Ministers of Jesus Christ, *you can, as the Gardener mention'd in the Gospel, pray the Lord to excuse the barren Fig-tree yet a little longer, you can desire him that he would not cut it down, and that he would permit you to dung it, that's to say, to impose as a Penance upon it Weeping, Watching, lying upon the hard Ground, Corporal Mortifications and making humble Satisfaction; but what certainty have you that God will pardon him. Wherefore, my Brethren, being buried by Baptism with Jesus Christ, let us rise with him, let us descend with him into the Waters, that we may ascend with him into Heaven.* He proves afterwards, that we ought not to delay the Receiving of Baptism, and refutes the vain pretences of those who delay it. He says, that Infants are to be Baptiz'd to consecrate them to Jesus Christ from their Infancy. He distinguishes Three Sorts of Persons that are Baptiz'd; the First, are those who do Evil wilfully and with Delight; the Second, are those who commit sin with some reluctance, and without approving it; the Third, are those who live well before they are Baptiz'd, either because they are naturally inclin'd to Vertue, or because they would prepare themselves for Baptism. He distinguishes also Three Sorts of Persons among those that do not receive Baptism. Some are Impious and Malicious who live in the greatest Excesses, and have no Veneration at all for Baptism: Others have a great deal of Respect for this Sacrament, but they delay to Receive it either through carelessness, or that they may still have the greater liberty to sin: The last are those who cannot receive it, either because of their Infancy, or because of some sudden Accident. As to the first, he makes no doubt but they shall be most grievously punish'd, not only for their other Crimes, but also for despising Baptism. As to the Second, he says they shall be less punish'd because they are not kept from Baptism by Malice, but by Negligence or Folly. As to the last, he says, that they shall never partake of Glory, but neither shall they suffer the Punishments of Hell; because tho' they were not Baptiz'd, yet they were free from Sin, and it may be said of them, that they rather suffer'd the Loss than were the Cause of it. He says also in the following Discourse, that Infants must be Baptiz'd, tho' there be no danger of their death. After this he enlarges upon the Effects of Baptism, and upon the divine Fire which purifies us. He concludes according to this Custom, with an Explication of the Trinity. In this Discourse he mentions Union, and some other Ceremonies of Baptism. These Three Discourses were spoken at *Constantinople* in 381.

The 41st. Sermon is the First Sermon upon the Feast of *Easter*, which is very short and contains nothing remarkable. It was spoken at *Nazianzum*.

In the 42d. Sermon upon the same Festival, having repeated some part of what he had said about the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, in his Oration upon the Feast of *Christmas*, he explains the Ceremonies of the Jewish Passover, which he applies to the Passion of Jesus Christ. This place shews that his Allegory's are very far fetch'd. The rest of his Discourse is a Repetition of what he had said in his Sermon upon the Nativity, concerning the Impiety of Hereticks, and an Exposition of the Faith of the Church. 'Tis thought that this Sermon was compos'd by St. *Gregory* at *Nazianzum*, after he return'd from *Constantinople*.

The 43d. Discourse was spoken at the Feast of the Dedication of the Church of St. *Mamas*, which was near *Nazianzum*. There he Discourses of this Dedication which he calls the *New Sunday*. He exhorts his Auditors to Vertue, and concludes with saying something of the Life of St. *Mamas*. This Discourse was made when St. *Gregory Nazianzen* was Coadjutor to his Father.

The 44th. Sermon of Pentecost begins with an Instruction about the manner of celebrating these Feasts, after which follow his Commendations of the Number *Seven*: The rest of the Discourse is about the Holy Spirit and his Gifts.

These are all the Sermons of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*. The following Treatises are not Sermons but Letters.

The 45th. is a Letter written to a Monk call'd *Eovgrinus*, who could not conceive how the Divine Nature or Substance could be simple, being compos'd of Three Persons. St. *Gregory* resolves this Difficulty, by saying, That the Essence of God is most simple, and that the Persons tho' distinct, yet are not separated, nor really distinguish'd from the Divine Essence, which is common to the Three. He explains this by many Examples.

The 46th. is a Letter to *Nectarius*, who was his Successor in the Throne of the Church of *Constantinople*; where he bewails the unhappiness of the Church which is attack'd by an infinite number of Hereticks. He writes particularly against *Apollinaris*, whose Errors he relates as they were taken out of one of his own Books. He accuses him of teaching, That the Word assum'd Flesh from all Eternity; of affirming, That the Divinity of Jesus Christ suppli'd the place of a Humane Soul, and that it may be said to have Suffer'd and to Die as well as the Humanity. After this he observes, that it is not lawful to assemble at the Publick Prayers with Persons of these Opinions: Then he exhorts *Nectarius* to Act vigorously against the Hereticks, and to pray the Emperor that he would suppress the Liberty which they now had of Meeting and Preaching.

The 47th. Discourse is an Allegorical Explication of the Four Animals mention'd in the First Chap. of *Ezekiel*. The Greeks doubt whether this Book be St. *Gregory's*: And indeed the Style is very confus'd, and every thing is handled without any Order or Design, and it seems to be patch'd up of various pieces; which makes me believe, with *Jacobus Billius*, that this Discourse is unworthy of St. *Gregory*.

The 48th. Sermon attributed to St. *Gregory*, is a Discourse in praise of the Martyrs, publish'd by *Leonceus*, which is in Greek in the last Edition. This Discourse seems not to me to have St. *Gregory's* Style. Some have attributed it to St. *Chrysostom*. The

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The 46th Discourse of Faith, which is said to be a Translation made by *Rufinus* from the Text of *Gregory Nazianzen*, is the Work of some Latin Author, who quotes the Holy Scripture according to the old Latin vulgar Version. The Prologue of *Basilius*, which is in the beginning is a Preface to the Apologetic, and the Seven Discourses of this Author, and not to the Version of the Treatise of Faith. The same Judgment is to be given of the following Treatise, concerning the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, which is not to be found in many Manuscripts. The first Treatise is quoted under the name of *St. Gregory* by *St. Austin* in his Third Letter; but it must certainly be another *Gregory* than this of *Nazianzen*: For undoubtedly this Work is a Latin Author's, since in two Places he speaks of the Greeks, as not being one himself. *The Reason, or the Word*, says he, is call'd by the Greeks *Λόγος*; and in another place, *This is what the Greeks call Homotimon*. This Treatise therefore must be some Latin Author's who was call'd *Gregory*: And there is none to whom it agrees better than *Gregory of Betica*, of whom we have already said, that he wrote a Treatise of Faith. Some have attributed it to *St. Ambrose*, others to *Vigilius Tapsensis*; but the Citation of *St. Austin* shows that it could not be written by this last, and that it was not written by the first. The following Treatise is also the same Author, being written to explain the former, as Monsieur *Quelpe* has shown in his 14th Dissertation upon the ancient Code of the *Roman* Church, where this Treatise is inserted.

The 51st and 52d Treatises are Two Letters to *Cledonius*, which *St. Gregory* wrote against *Apollinaris*, after he return'd to *Rome*, as is observ'd by the ancient Author of his Life. In the first of these two Letters, *St. Gregory* complains of *Apollinaris*, that he and his Disciples publish'd new Doctrines, and that they boasted of their being received by a Synod of Western Bishops, tho' they were condemn'd in it, and explains the Faith of the Church about the Incarnation, and plainly rejects not only the Errors of *Apollinaris*, but also those that have been since publish'd by *Nestorius*, by *Eutyches*, and by all the other Hereticks. He gives to the Virgin, the Name and Title of *The Mother of God*. Afterwards he refutes the Objections of *Apollinaris*, and observes another Error of this Author concerning the Trinity. He affirms, towards the end of this Letter, that we ought not to communicate with this Heretic. In the 2d Letter he discovers the Tricks and Subtilties which the *Apollinaris* used to make People believe that they were Orthodox. Towards the end of this Letter he has these excellent Words: "O strange folly! He pretends to preach that Wildom which has been discover'd since Jesus Christ. What pity 'tis! For if the Gospel was not known till about 30 Years ago, then the Gospel was of no use, for 400 Years that the Church has been establish'd: In vain have Christians believ'd and so many Martyrs suffer'd; in vain have so many Holy Bishops govern'd the Church."

The Paraphrase upon *Ecclesiastes* was written by *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus*, as we have observ'd in speaking of this Father's Works. But we must add here to what we have said in that place to prove it, that not only *St. Jerome* testifies in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, that *St. Gregory Thaumaturgus* wrote a Treatise upon *Ecclesiastes*, but that he cites this Treatise as his, in his Commentary upon the 4th Chapter, where he quotes a Passage which is Word for Word in the 4th Chapter of this Paraphrase.

The Poems of *St. Gregory Nazianzen* were the Fruits of his last Retirement; he wrote them in the last Years of his Life: In them is to be found all the Fire and Vigour which one would desire in the Works of a young Man, and all the thoughts which the practice of Virtue, for the space of many Years, could inspire into an old Man of consummate Piety.

The 1st is a Poem which contains the History of his own Life from his Birth, till his departure from *Constantinople*. There never was any thing of this Kind written more pleasantly, more elegantly, and more naturally than this Life is. In the first part he describes his publick and known Actions, where he says many things which are very useful to explain the History of the Council of *Constantinople*, and the Divisions of the Eastern and Western Churches; and there also he discourses against the Ignorance, the Pride, and the corrupt Manners of the Bishops of his time.

In the 2d Part, he describes the Dispositions of his Mind: The former part relates to History, and this to Morality; and as there are in the former part many Circumstances that belong to Ecclesiastical History; so this contains many Christian and Moral Thoughts. The former is written in Iambick Verse, the latter in Hexameters.

In his Poem of the praise of Virginity, he handles with much Wit and Eloquence, the Question about the Preheminence of Celibacy above Marriage; and that he may explain this Question the more pleasantly, after he has enlarg'd upon the Praises of Virginity, he makes an excellent *Propoësis*, wherein he brings in married Persons, and those who observe Celibacy, speaking for both their Opinions; each of them says all that can be said on their side in favour of their State, but the latter have the better.

The 3d Poem contains many Precepts for Virgins; he recommends to them Silence, Modesty, Retirement, Labour, and other Virtues necessary for a Virgin. These Two Poems are in Hexameter Verse.

In the 4th Poem he bewails in general the Misery of Mankind, caus'd by the Sin of *Adam*, and relates some Circumstances of his own Life. This is in Elegiacs.

In the 5th, having described the Crosses and Sicknesses which he had endur'd in his Life; he submits himself to the Will of God, and offers to him the remainder of his painful Life.

The 6th is upon the Vanity and Uncertainty of this Mortal Life.

In the 7th he bewails his Miseries, and prays to God to deliver him from them.

The 8th is upon the same Subject.

In the 9th, he describes a Dream, which he had about the Church of *Anastasia*.

In the 10th, after having described the Likeness and Hypocrisy of the Bishops of his time, he congratulates himself upon his departure from *Constantinople*.

The 11th Poem describes the Vices of wicked Bishops, and deplores the Division of the Church; there he observes, that Persecutions encreas'd the Church; but Abundance and Riches have done it great Prejudice.

In the 12th, which is address'd to the Bishops of the Council of *Constantinople*, he describes after what manner he was forc'd away from that City, and testifies his joy, for that God had recall'd him to his Retirement.

In the 13th, he describes the Misery and Weakness of Humane Nature.

He continues the same Subject in the 14th, wherein he describes the Miseries of Life and the Horror of Death, to teach Men to Love nothing but Jesus Christ, and to have no Affection for any thing but the Treasures in Heaven.

The 15th, is also upon the same Subject, wherein he represents the Uncertainty and Instability of this Mortal Life and of Worldly Riches, to convince Men that there is nothing Solid here below, but the Love of Jesus Christ.

The 16th, contains the Beatitudes of the Gospel, and the Rules of a Christian Life.

In the 17th, he wishes many Imprecations upon himself, if he should wander from the Faith of Christ, and the Precepts of the Gospel.

The 18th, is against the Desires of the Flesh.

The 19th, is against the Devil.

The 20th, is an Exhortation which he made to himself, to stir himself up to Conversion.

The 21st, is an Imprecation upon the Devil, and an Invocation of Jesus Christ.

The 22d, is a Prayer to God, to be deliver'd from this Life of Sin and Death.

The 23d, is a Reflection upon the Uncertainty of Life, and the Contempt we ought to have of it.

The 24th and 25th, is upon the Weakness and Misery of our Nature.

The 26th, is of the Desire of God.

The 27th and 28th, is a Lamentation upon the view of his own Miseries and Sins.

The 29th, is a Prayer to Jesus Christ.

The 30th, is a kind of Epitaph.

The 31st, is a Prayer of a Penitent Person.

The 32d, is a Farewell to the Devil.

In the 33d, he makes a Catalogue of the Books of the Holy Scripture. He distinguishes those of the Old Testament, into Historical, Poetical and Prophetical; he reckons 12 Historical, viz. The Five Books of *Moses*, *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the Two Books of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, and *Ezra*. He reckons Five Poetical, the Book of *Josiah*, the *Psalms* of *David*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Proverbs*, and the Song of *Solomon*; and Five Prophetical, which are the 12 lesser Prophets that make but one Book only, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*; which in all make the number of 22 Books, according to the number of the Hebrew Letters. Afterwards he reckons up the Books of the New Testament, which are the Four Evangelists, upon whom he has this Observation, that *St. Matthew* wrote for the *Hebrews*, *St. Mark* for the *Greeks*, *St. Luke* for the *Athenians*, and *St. John* for those who penetrate into the most sublime things. He joins with the Four Evangelists the Fourteen Epistles of *St. Paul*, those of *St. James*, the Two Epistles of *St. Peter*, and the Three of *St. John*, and that of *St. Jude*. He concludes with saying, that these are all the Books of the Holy Scripture, and that all others are Apocryphal.

In the 34th, he describes the Plagues of Egypt.

In the 35th, he turns the Decalogue into Verse.

In the 36th, the Names of the 12 Patriarchs are put in Verse, and those of the 12 Apostles.

In the 37th and 38th, he reconciles the Two Genealogies of Jesus Christ, by explaining the Opinion of *Africanus*. 'Tis a very surprising thing, that he could put this Critical Question into Verse, and make all the Names of the Genealogies of Jesus Christ come into Feet, and yet he has done it, and handsomely enough.

In the following Poems as far as the 46th, he turns some part of the Histories of the Gospel into Verse.

In the 46th, he prefers a Monastical Life to an Hermetical.

In the 47th, he prays *Hellenus* to ease the Monks of Taxes.

In the 48th, he exhorts one *Julianus* a Magistrate to Alms-giving.

The 49th, is written in the Name of *Nicobolus* the Son, who desir'd of his Father, that he would send him to some famous Academy to follow his Studies there.

The 50th, is an Answer made in the Name of this Father who exhorts his Son to study.

The 51st, is written on the Name of the Son of *Vitalianus*, to appease the Anger of his Father.

The 52d, is against a lewd rich Man.

The 53d, is a Prayer of *St. Gregory* as he went into the Fields.

The 54th, is of the Silence which he kept during the time of Fasting; Their he describes the Mischiefs which too great desire of Speaking produces, and the Advantages of Silence.

The 55th, is a Hymn to Jesus Christ upon the Feast of *Easter*, after he had kept Silence all the time of Lent.

In the 56th, he gives to one *Olympias* a Woman ready to be Married, some very useful Precepts for her good Behaviour in Marriage.

St. Gregory Nazianzen.

The 57th. is upon his Departure from *Constantinople*.

In the 58th. he proves the falshood of *Human* Vertue, and shows, That without the Grace of God, all our Endeavours are unprofitable to our Salvation. *Without the assistance of Jesus Christ, says he, a Man cannot walk in the way of Salvation: Therefore we must take heed that we do not attribute to our selves what does not belong to us; we must not trust our own strength; how enlighten'd never we be; we must not despise those who appear to be left advanc'd than we in the way of Vertue, as if we were nearer the Design and End of our Course.* He adds many other Reflections, very proper to beat down the Pride of Man, and to humble him under the Almighty Hand of God.

The 59th. is a bitter Satyr against the Monks, who live disagreeably to the Rules of that State, tho' they wear the Habit.

The 60th. is an excellent Prayer in a time of Sickness.

In the 61st. he exhorts *Nemesius* Governour of *Coepodocia*, to forsake Paganism, and embrace the Christian Religion.

The 62d. is a Collection of very useful Christian Thoughts and Maxims for the Conduct of our Lives.

The 63d. is against the Poms, the Ornaments, and sumptuous Dresses of Women; and particularly he applies himself to condemn their Painting.

The 64th. is an Epitaph upon *St. Basil*.

After this there are several Sentences or Moral Thoughts, which contain the principal Offices of Life.

A Description of Humane Life, and several Rules or Maxims of Morality.

The following Poem is Dogmatical. *St. Gregory* explains the principal Articles of the Christian Religion; and he treats of the Unity of God; of the Trinity, of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, of the Creation of the World, of Angels and Devils, of the Nature and Origin of the Soul, of the Two Testaments, of the Cause and Effects of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, and of the Baptisms of Water and of Blood. After this comes a Treatise in Verse upon Virginity, many exhortations to his own Soul, and Prayers to God.

There are besides 33 Poems written in Iambick Verse upon different Subjects, a Treatise against *Apollinaris*, and some other separate things: The Tragedy, entituled *Christ's Suffering*, wants very much of the Beauty, the Judgment and the Gravity of *St. Gregory's* Pieces, and so 'tis not without reason that the Critics judge it unworthy of him.

We have in the Second Volume of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, at the end of his Poetical Works, a Discourse of this Saint about Bishops; and tho' we have it now only in Latin, yet 'tis plain that 'tis a Translation of a Genuine Treatise of *St. Gregory's*. There he relates after what manner he came to *Constantinople*, and the Troubles he suffer'd there for the Establishment of the Faith, he complains of the Ingratitude of the Bishops who forc'd him away from thence; and then he gives a very disadvantageous Character of them, wherein he represents them either Ignorant and Stupid, or Proud and Ambitious, or Covetous, who think of nothing but heaping up of Riches by all kind of Ways, or Hypocrites who under the appearance of Vertue conceal the greatest Immoralities.

There is in the greatest part of *St. Gregory Nazianzen's* Letters, more Wit, Learning and Eloquence, than Doctrine concerning Religion and the Discipline of the Church; yet there are some of them, wherein he pursues some Moral Thoughts with a great deal of Eloquence; as in the 17th. wherein he reproves *Casarius* because he stay'd in *Julian's* Court.

The 18th. wherein he discourses of the Inconstancy and Frailty of humane Life.

The 19th and 20th. concerning the Reconciliation of *St. Basil* with *Eusebius* his Bishop.

The 22d. and 23d. are written in the Name of his Father to procure the Election of *St. Basil* to be Bishop of *Cesarea*.

The 26th. is about the Calumny that had been rais'd against *St. Basil*, for his disguising his Opinion about the Divinity of the Holy Spirit.

The 31st. and 32d. wherein he complains that *St. Basil* had made him Bishop of *Sasima*.

The 37th. wherein he Comforts *St. Gregory Nyssen* upon the Death of his Brother.

The 38th. to a Lady who would force a Bishop away from his Bishoprick, under Pretence that he ow'd her very considerable Sums of Money, having formerly managed her Estate.

The 43d. wherein he reproves *St. Gregory Nyssen*, because he applied himself more to the Study of humane Learning than of the Holy Scripture.

The 55th. wherein he declares, That he was afraid of all Ecclesiastical Assemblies, *Because I never saw, says he, the End of a Council which was happy and pleasant, and which did not rather encrease the Evil than diminish it.* But this Censure which he wrote when he was vex'd with the Council of *Constantinople*, which had not treated him very favourably, ought not to pass for a Rule, but only for a Testimony of his resentment which came from *St. Gregory* in his Passion.

The 59th. and 71st. wherein he exhorts his Brother and *Pothimianus* to make Peace between the Bishops.

The 63d. wherein he exhorts a Particular Person to embrace the Christian Philosophy, and to despise the things of this World.

The 64th. 66th. 67th. and 70th. wherein he exhorts another Person to bear his Pains and Sickness patiently.

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St. Gregory Nazianzen.

The 81st. is an Excellent Exhortation to Patience, and some others. But the most considerable of them all is the 219. *Theodorus* the Bishop of *Tyanea*, which might be plac'd amongst the Canonical ones: The Bishop to whom he writes had consulted him about an Oath, or an Affirmation made in Writing in a certain Affair: He who made this Agreement not willing to hold it longer, cited him with whom he had agreed, before a Judge, and made void the Compact in Court. Now it was ask'd whether this Man should be treated as a perjurd Person, since he had not made a Solemn Oath, according to the ordinary Forms. *St. Gregory* answers in this Letter, That he is not at all of their Opinion, who think that no Oaths but those which are made with the Mouth; and according to the usual Forms, by laying their Hands upon the Holy Gospels, do oblige in Conscience, and that Affirmations made in Writing do not bind after the same manner: "For, says he, if Contracts made in Writing do more bind a Debtor than bare verbal Promises, Why shall not Oaths set down in Writing have at least as much Force, as those which are spoken with the Mouth? In a word, is an Oath any thing else, but the Affirmation of him who promises, or who assures any thing?" From whence he concludes, That this Man who had brought his Action in Law, to have this Compact dissolv'd, which he was obliged by Oath to fulfil, tho' he gain'd his Cause, yet was guilty of Perjury, and ought to do Penance for his Sin. This is a very useful Admonition in our time, wherein there is scarce any heed given to Oaths and Affirmations that are made in Writing, as if they were nothing but mere Formalities of Law, and not truly and properly Oaths. *St. Gregory* teaches the same thing in the Poem made against those who Swear often, where he says upon this Subject, *Is one less oblig'd by writing than by his Words? and tho' he should not have touch'd the Gospels, yet does he owe ever the less Reverence for God?*

The Letters of *St. Gregory* are in number 242. if we comprehend in that number the 10 last publish'd by *Simondus*; but there are some of *St. Basil's* which are mix'd among them, as the 30th. the 206th. and 207th. His Testament tho' Ancient and Genuine relates only to his Domestick Affairs, and contains nothing but the Dispos'd of his Estate. This is all that we have to say in particular of the Works of *Gregory Nazianzen*: The Judgment which may be made of them in general is this:

It cannot be doubted, but this Author won the Prize of Eloquence from all the rest of his Age; for he does certainly excell them for the Purity of his Words, the Nobleness of his Expressions, the Ornament of his Discourse, the Variety of his Figures, the Justness of his Comparisons, the Beauty of his Reasonings, and the Sublimity of his Thoughts. *St. Jerome* and *Suidas* say, That he imitated an ancient Author call'd *Polemon*, but we may say, That his Style approach'd very near to that of *Isocrates*. How lofty (ever it be, it is Natural, flowing gently, and pleasantly; his Periods are full, and hold up to the End; he has a wonderful abundance of Words, an unparallel'd easiness of Expression, and a most agreeable turn of Wit. His Orations are compos'd with much Art and Method; for in them he uses such Characters as are most agreeable to his Subject and his Auditors, so that one may say of him, That he was one of the most perfect Orators of *Greece*, yet he affected too many Antitheses, Allusions, Similitudes, Comparisons, and certain other Finenesses of Oratory, which seem to render it effeminate. Sometimes also his Thoughts and Reasonings are false; but then 'tis cover'd with the sparkling of his Expressions, and involv'd in the multitude of his words. He is extremely Copious, and says but few things in many Periods. There are great numbers of Philosophical Thoughts interwoven in his Sermons, and they are full of Illustrations taken from History and Fables. He teaches Morality in such a manner as is more proper for Philosophers than the common People; but he is very Sublime and very Exact in the Explication of Mysteries, a Quality which made him deserve the Name of *The Divine* by way of Excellency. He had much Piety, but little skill in Managing of Business. He was so passionate a Lover of Retirement, that he could not for a considerable time apply himself to any Employment that hindered him from it. He easily undertook great things, but he quickly repented of his Undertakings. He had in his Life-time three Bishopricks, and yet it cannot be said that he was lawful Bishop of any one of them. For he would not have that of *Sasima* to which he was Ordain'd; and he did not accept of that of *Nazianzum*, but only for a time, to be Coadjutor to his Father, but upon Condition that he should not Succeed him. When he came to *Constantinople*, he had no design to be Bishop of that Church, neither did he take the Title upon him. 'Tis true that he was afterwards plac'd upon the Episcopal Throne by the Emperor and some Bishops; but he was at last forced to leave it. He was of a Morose and Satyrical Humour; he lov'd Gallantry and spar'd no body; but chiefly the Bishops that were not worthy of their Ministry, or that did not lead a Life agreeable to their Holy Orders.

These are the Editions of the Works of this Father. In the Year 1504, *Aldus Manutius*, a Printer at *Venice*, publish'd one part of his Greek Poems: In the Year 1516 he publish'd sixteen Orations, and Nine more in 1536. Afterwards all the Works of *St. Gregory Nazianzen* were collected together and printed in Greek at *Basse* by *Hervagius* in the Year 1550: The ancient Version of *Rufinus* was printed at *Leipsic* about the Year 1522, without any Name. The Translation of *Bilibaldus Pirchheimer* was Printed at the same time with the Greek at *Basse* by *Hervagius* in 1550. In 1571 *Leonclavius* translated 19 Orations which were printed by the same Printer. But all these Versions being very imperfect, *Jacobus Billius* Abbot of *St. Adolphe* of the Hermitage, who was one of the ablest Men of the last Age in the Greek Tongue, made a New Version of *St. Gregory's* Works, which was first printed at *Paris* in 1569, and at *Cologne* in 1576; but the Edition of the same Version which *Gendard* publish'd at *Paris* in 1583, and Dedicated to Pope *Gregory*

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St. Gregory
Nysien

the XIII. is much more large and more exact. This Version which has the Greek Text on one side, in the Paris Edition in Two Volumes, made by *Morinus* in 1609. Then there follow'd in the Edition of the Greek Text, the Corrections and Notes which *Bellius* made on the Margin of St. Gregory at *Basil*, and it was review'd by many *Marginalists*. The First Volume contains the Life of St. Gregory Nazianzen, written by *Gregory the Elder*, the Orations and Letters of St. Gregory, together with an Addition, which contains the Greek Text of his Oration to the praise of the Martyrs, some Letters, and the Greek and Latin Testament of St. Gregory, with the Notes of *Morinus*, and some Critical Observations upon the Text, the different Readings and many Corrections. The Second Volume contains the Poems which had been already publish'd by *Bellius*, with his Version in Verse, and some others translated by *Morinus*, the Treatise of Bishops, and the Latin Commentaries of *Elias Cretenus*, *Nicetas Serranus*, *Pellus Cyrius*, and *Nyssen* upon all the Works of St. Gregory Nazianzen. This Edition is one of the fairest in Greek and Latin, that was ever printed at Paris: In it the Greek Text is printed very Neatly and Readily, the Latin Version is Noble and Elegant. The Beauty of the Latin Verse is little inferior to that of the Greek, and the Discourses are rang'd in a very good Order; yet there are some Faults in the Text. The Version is not always Literal and Faithful enough, and the Order of time is not exactly observ'd, neither in the Letters, nor in the Orations. There remains now nothing for me to do, but to take notice of the particular Editions of some distinct Pieces of his Works. We have his Theological Orations translated by *Mossellanus*, printed at Paris, by *Chevallier*, in 1532; 38. Orations of *Pierrehernus*'s Version, printed at *Antwerp* in 1551; some others translated by *Gabrielius* at *Antwerp* in 1575; some Greek Sermons at *Ausburg* in 1587; three Sermons with Corrections upon the Text of St. Gregory Nazianzen, printed at *Antwerp* in 1573; the Homily of *Platinius*, Greek and Latin, at *Leipsick* in 1582; the Oration of *The Life of the Poor*, translated by *Zinnus* in 1550, printed by *Vascofannus*; the same Oration with the Apologetical Discourse, and the Sermon upon the Birth of Jesus Christ, by *Engubinus*, printed by *Plantin* in 1513. The Two Invectives against *Julian*, and some other Works at *Edon*, in 1610; the Sermon upon *Esau* translated by *Oecampadus*; the Oration upon St. *Albanus*, at Paris in 1627; some Select Poems printed at *Rome* in 1592, and 1599; the Tetralick Verses at *Venice* in 1562; the Poems translated by *Bellius*, with the Notes of *Cyrius*, at Paris in 1562; the Poems about Definitions translated and published by *Hofschelinus*, with the Translation of *Lancelinus*, in the Printing-House of St. *Andrew* in 1591; some Poems by *Plantin* in 1556; the Poems of the Rules of Life collected by *Sambucus*, by *Plantin* in 1568; the Poems about Principles at *Amsterdam* in 1568; the Poem of his Life with the Translation of *Bellius* in 1598; the Poem of the Canonical Books at Paris in Latin in 1561; some Odes in 1603; the Tragedy of *Jesus Suffering* in Greek at *Rome* in 1542; and at *Louvain* in 1544: his Letters printed with those of St. *Basil*, and translated by *Comanus*; Two Letters to *Themistius* printed apart; the Letter to *Nicobulus* printed also apart in 1597; the Testament publish'd by *Lancelinus* at *Frankford* in 1596; at *Edon* in 1610; by *Briffimus* in his Forms, by *Baronius* in his Annals; and Lastly, by *Sirupadus*, at the End of the Edition, Greek and Latin, of 1609.

ST. GREGORY NYSSEN.

St. Gregory
Nysien

ST. GREGORY Bishop of *Nysa* of *Cappadocia*, Brother of St. *Basil*, was born about the Year 339. He did not embrace a Solitary Life, as his Brothers *Basil*, *Peter* and *Necrarius* did, but continued in the World, and Married a Wife call'd *Theophia*. He profess'd at first Rhetorick, and with much Difficulty quitted that Employment to enter into Orders. He was made Bishop some time after St. *Basil* in the Year 331. But he did not continue long in peaceable Possession of his See; for he was quickly persecuted by the Emperor *Valens*, and forc'd away from his Church in 374, by *Demsobenes* who substituted in his room a false Wretch, as we have already observ'd in the Life of St. *Basil*. He return'd with the other exil'd Bishops in the Year 378, and was restor'd to the Possession of his Episcopal See. He appear'd after this with Splendor at the General Council of *Constantinople* in the Year 381, where he was chosen to make a Funeral Oration upon *Meletius* the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and delegated to be one of those Bishops who should visit the Diocese of *Pontus*, as appears by the Law of the Emperor *Theodosius*, and as St. *Gregory* himself testifies in his Epistle to *Plavianus*. 'Tis believ'd that he was present also at a Council held in this City in the Year 383, and that he spoke there the Discourse against the *Anomaeans*, which is entitl'd, *A Discourse about Abraham, or, Of the Divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit*. In 385, he preach'd also at *Constantinople* the Funeral Oration of the Empress *Placidia*. In short, his Name appears in the List of Metropolitans in the Council held at *Constantinople* for the Dedication of the Church of *Rufinus* in the Year 394. But it is certain died soon after.

This Father wrote many Books which are Commentaries upon Scripture, Dogmatical Treatises,

* He married a Wife call'd Theophia.] In the Relation of St. Gregory Nazianzen in Commendation of St. Basil, he very clearly observes, That St. Gregory Nyssen was he of the Four Brethren that was engag'd in Marriage; and the same St. Gregory in Ep. 94. comforts St. Gregory Nyssen upon the Death of Theophia, wherein he speaks of his Wife

With much Difficulty quitted that Employment to enter into Orders.] St. Gregory Nazianzen reproves him in Ep. 34. for that he having discharg'd the Office of a Reader in the Church, seem'd willing to embrace his ancient Profession, attending himself wholly to the Study of Rhetorick and Humane Learning.

Sermons upon the Mysteries of Religion, Discourses of Morality, Panegyrics upon the Saints, Funeral Orations, and some Letters concerning Discipline.

The First Book upon the Scripture is a small Piece upon the Creation, wherein without insisting upon the Questions which St. Basil had explain'd before, he endeavours principally to explain the Sense of the Words of *Genesis*, and the Order of the Creation.

The Second Book of St. Gregory Nyssen is his Treatise about the Formation of Man, divided into Thirty Chapters, wherein he handles many Questions more Curious than useful concerning the Creation of the World, the Formation of Man, the Nature and Origin of his Soul concerning the Resurrection, and the Structure of a Humane Body. The e he teaches, That the Soul is a Spirit which is equally in all parts of the Body; he refutes the Opinion of *Origen* concerning the Pre-existence of Souls before the Body, and maintains that they are form'd in the same Moment with the Body. He thinks, That in the State of Innocence there would have been no Generation, but that Men would have multiplied by some other means.

The Two following Homilies about the Formation of Man are St. Basil's, as we have already observ'd. There is also a Homily in the Second Volume, upon the same Subject, wherein he explains all the Senes in which it can be said, That Man was created after the Image and Likeness of God. We may place among the number of Commentaries upon the Old Testament, the little Tract of the Witch of *Endor*, wherein he explains a part of the 28th. Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, and proves that it was not truly the Soul of *Samuel* that appear'd to *Saul*, but that it was the Devil who assum'd the Likeness of this Prophet.

The Book of the Life of *Moses* is an Allegorical Explication of all the Actions of this Lawgiver to the Jews, from whence he draws ether Moral Instructions, or some Reflections upon Religion; upon which account 'tis also entitl'd, *Of a perfect Life*.

The Two Treatises upon the Inscriptions of the Psalms, are more useful than the preceding. In the First, he treats of the End, the Order, and the Distribution of the Psalms. He affirms, That their End is to teach the way of Vertue which leads to Happiness; That they are useful and delightful to all sorts of Persons, in what State and Condition soever they be, and whatsoever their Disposition be. He divides the Psalms into Five Parts, the First ends at the 40th. Psalm, the Second at the 71st, the Third at the 88th, the Fourth at the 105th, and the Fifth continues to the End of the Psalms. He is of Opinion that the Psalms contain'd in the First Part were compos'd to dissuade Men from Vice, and induce them to Vertue; That those which are in the Second, represent the Thrift and Ardour of those who have any Knowledge of Vertue and any relish of its Sweetness; That those of the Third Part describe the State of those Persons who are advanc'd to the Knowledge of Divine Things; That those of the Fourth raise Men's Minds above all things in this World; That those of the Fifth elevate a Man to the highest top of Perfection. There is more Wit than Solidity in these Reflections, as well as in the Interpretations of the Titles or Inscriptions of the Psalms, which he has given in his Second Part, and are almost all of them Allegorical. The same Judgment ought to be made of his Homily upon the 6th. Psalm which follows this Treatise.

The Eight Homilies upon *Ecclesiastes* are less forc'd, more useful and more natural: Those upon the Canticles are wholly Allegorical; but this Book cannot otherwise be explain'd. He wrote also upon the Proverbs, as he testifies at the beginning of the Homilies upon *Ecclesiastes*; but that Commentary of his is lost. *Possinus* has promisd his entire Commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*.

The First Discourse of Prayer is concerning the Necessity of it, and the manner wherein we ought to pray. The Four other Discourses are an Explication of the Lord's Prayer, as the following Treatise is an Explication of the Beatitudes: He always interweaves his Moral Reflections with a multitude of Allegories, Comparisons, and Histories; which render them less profitable and more tedious.

In the Homily upon the Words of Chap. 14. of the 1st. Epistle to the Corinthians, *When all things shall be subdu'd unto God even the Son*, wherein *shall the Son himself also be subject unto him*, which is the First in the Second Volume; he refutes the Consequences which the *Arians* draw from this Passage, and shows, That by the subjection of the Son, we must not understand a State of Servitude, but the Immortality and Happiness of the Humane Nature of Jesus Christ.

The Longest and most Excellent of all the Dogmatical Works of St. Gregory Nyssen, is his Treatise against *Eunomius*, divided into Twelve Books, wherein he refutes a part of what this Heretic had assert'd in his Apology in answer to St. Basil. St. Gregory compos'd this Book after the Death of this Father, as we learn from the Letter at the beginning of it, which is address'd to his Brother *Peter of Schafesha*. At the beginning of the First Book he defends the Person and Conduct of St. Basil against the Calumnies of *Eunomius*: He describes the Life of this Heretic and that of his Master *Arius*, and afterwards refutes the impious Reasonings of this Heretic, and explains the Passages of Scripture which he alleges to prove his Errors. *Plotinus* assures us, That in this Book St. Gregory did far excell the other Two Authors which have written against the same Book of *Eunomius*, as well for the Beauty and Sweetness of his Eloquence, as for the Strength and Multitude of his Arguments. He particularly praises the last Book which in his time was consider'd as a distinct Treatise.

His great Catechetical Discourse is an Excellent Treatise of the Manner, in which the Jews, Pagans

* His Treatise against Eunomius, divided into Twelve Books.] There are some who have reckon'd Thirteen; but they have inconveniently divided the Fifth Book into Two: These Books are quoted according to the

present Division by *Theodoret*, and the Sixth Council. St. *Jerom* in his Catalogue Testifies, That St. Gregory Nyssen sent this Division of his Treatise to him.

and Hereticks are to be instructed, to convince them of the Truth of our Religion. *St. Gregory Nyssen* observes in the Preface: That the Reasons which are to be used against Pagans, who deny the Unity of God, are different from those that must be alleged against the Jews who oppose the Trinity; and that the Method which is to be followed in refuting the Hereticks who oppose the Divinity of One of the Three Persons, should be different from that which is observed in proving the Trinity against the Jews: That in Disputing both against the one and the other, we must use Principles agreeable to Reason, in which they and we are agreed; That when one Disputes against an Atheist he must prove the Existence of a God by the Creation of the World; and when he has to do with a Pagan who admits many Deities, he must prove to him that there is but One, because God must be absolutely perfect, and there can be no more of this Nature but One. With respect to the Jew, he would have us endeavour to make him understand the Divine Word, by comparing it with the Word of Understanding, or the Reason that is in Men, and give him also some Idea of the Holy Spirit by comparing him to the Breath that is in us, and then after that he would have us to prove the Existence of this Divine Word by the Testimonies of Holy Scripture. To make the Incarnation appear probable to the Jews and to the Gentiles, he sheweth them, That Man has fallen from the State wherein he was created; That his Nature is corrupted by Sin; That it cannot be said, that God is the Author of Evil; That therefore Man must have fallen by his own Fault, and by abusing his Liberty; but that Man being once fallen, must be raised up again by him who created him; and thus it was reasonable that the Word who created him, should come himself to raise him from his Fall, and save him from his Shipwreck. Afterwards he answers all the Difficulties which are proposed against the Incarnation; he says, That it was not unworthy of God to be born of a Virgin, to Eat, to Drink, to Die, and to be Buried, because these things are neither criminal nor dishonourable; That the Divinity being united to the Humane Nature did not lose its Divine Perfections, as the Soul does not lose its Spiritual Perfections by being united to the Body; That the Union of Soul and Body to compose a Man is no less incomprehensible than the Union of the Divine and Humane Nature in Jesus Christ; That the Miracles of Jesus Christ, his extraordinary Birth and his Resurrection are evident Proofs of his Divinity; That the Reason which mov'd him to become Man, was his Good-Will towards Men, and his Compassion towards Mankind; That his Divinity always continued impassible and incorruptible; That the Incarnation of Jesus Christ was the most natural Remedy for us miserable Sinners, and most agreeable to the Goodness, the Justice, the Wisdom and Power of God; That he came at such a time when Wickedness was arriv'd to its highest pitch; That he called all Men, but by calling them to the Faith he did not take away their Liberty; and this was the reason why many of them still perish'd; That Men ought not to be compell'd and forc'd to do good, for this would take away the praise of good Actions and the blame of bad ones; That Christ ought to die, that he might be wholly like unto us, and that he might confirm our Resurrection by his own; That all that he did after his Resurrection firmly proves his Divinity. Afterwards he speaks of Baptism and the Eucharist: He says of Baptism, that there are Three Things in this Sacrament which conduct us to Immortal Life, Prayer, Water and Faith; That the Regeneration which is wrought in Baptism ought not to be attributed to the Water, but to a Divine Virtue; That by dipping the Person under Water Three Times, the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ is represented; That without Baptism, no Man can be wash'd from his Sins, because by it the Divine Virtue is rendered effectual, in consequence of that which he believes to depend upon Free-will; That as the Soul is united to God by Baptism and by Faith, so the Body is united to God by the Eucharist. This is the Doctrine of *St. Gregory Nyssen*, who says, That the Body of Jesus Christ entering into us, is an Antidote or Preservative against Sin; That it changes and transforms us into him, and communicates unto us Incorruptibility. After wards he enquires, "How it is possible, that this Body which is distributed all over to so many Millions of the Faithful over all the Earth, should be entire in each of these, and in each part which they receive, and yet not cease to remain still entire in itself: And he answers, That the Body of Jesus Christ having been the Habitation of the Word of God, was chang'd into a Divine Dignity: And therefore I have reason to believe, says he, that to this Day the Bread being Sanctified by the Word of God, is chang'd into the Body of the Word of God: For here the Bread is Sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer, not that 'tis presently turn'd into the Body of God by eating it, but because "it is transform'd and chang'd at the same time into his Body, as the Word has said in these Words, *This is my Body*." He adds, That this Flesh of Jesus Christ is communicated to us, and is chang'd into us, by means of the Bread and Wine which God hath chang'd and transform'd into his Body, by Virtue of the Sacred Benediction. He speaks in the following Discourse of Regeneration. He thinks that it depends in some manner upon our Will and Free Pleasure; and shews that it is unprofitable, unless after we have received the Sacrament, we lead a Life free from Sin. At last, he Discourses of the Reward of those who have liv'd well, and the punishment of the wicked. He affirms, That the Fire of Hell is of another Nature than the Fire upon Earth. There are at the End some Periods added against the Heretick *Severus*. Some Protestant Critics have call'd this Book in Question, whether it was *St. Gregory's* or no; but the ablest, as *Cassander* and *Albertin* have been forc'd to acknowledge it, because they found it quoted oftentimes by *Theodoret* in his Dialogues, and taken notice of by *Enthymius Zigabenus*.

In the Book of Faith address'd to *Simplicius*, *St. Gregory* treats of the Trinity. There he proves the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, and Answers the principal Objections of the Hereticks.

The Discourse which was formerly Entitled, *Of Great Abraham*, is now, *Of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit*; there he answers the *Anomæans*, whom he compares to the *Epicureans*; and the

the *Stoicks*; he makes also a great Digression in praise of *Abraham*, wherein he describes the Sacrifice of his Son very naturally.

In the Treatise address'd to *Ablavins*, and Entitled, *That we must not say there are Three Gods*, he shews that the Three Divine Persons cannot be call'd Three Gods, but that they are One God only.

The Treatise to *Eustathius*, and that of the Difference of *Hypostasis* and Nature, are upon the same Subject; but they are found, as we have already said, among the Letters of *St. Basil*, and 'tis probable that the first was written by him.

The Latin Treatise which contains the Passages of the Old Testament, to prove the Divinity of the Son against the Jews, is not *St. Gregory Nyssen's*, since *St. Chrysostom* who liv'd after *St. Gregory*, is cited in it.

The Treatise of *Common Notions* address'd to the Greeks, is a scholastical Treatise about the Terms, by which the Ancients us'd to explain the Mystery of the Trinity.

There are two little Tracts of *St. Gregory Nyssen's* against *Apollinaris*; the one very short in the First Volume, which is probably nothing but a Fragment; the other a little longer in the Second Volume. There he refutes some Objections of this Heretick; and proves, that 'tis the same Word which appear'd to the Patriarchs, and which assum'd real Flesh in time, and which is so intimately united to the Humane Nature, that what agrees to God is attributed to Man.

In the little Tract against the *Manichees*, *St. Gregory* proves against these Hereticks, that Evil is not an uncorruptible and uncreated Nature, no more than the Devil who is the Author of it. He demonstrates this by Ten Syllogisms.

In the Treatise of *Destiny* he particularly disputes against Judicial Astrology, which makes our Actions depend upon the Course and Influence of the Stars.

In the Treatise of the Soul which is in the Second Volume, he first relates the different Sentiments of Philosophers and Hereticks concerning the Original and Nature of the Soul, and then proves that it is a Spiritual and Immortal Substance which is united to the Body, which penetrates, and affects it. He compares this Union to that of the Divine and Humane Nature in Jesus Christ, and rejects the Opinion of *Origen* concerning the Ascension and Descent of Souls.

The Second Treatise of the Soul and the Resurrection, which is in the Third Volume, is a Dialogue which *St. Gregory* is suppos'd to have had with his Sister *Marcina*, after the death of *St. Basil* their Brother. There he proves the Immortality of the Soul. He is of Opinion, that it will distinctly know its Body at the Day of Judgment. He explains the Story of the wicked Rich Man and *Lazarus* Allegorically. There he refutes the Transmigration of Souls, and proves the Resurrection.

In the Treatise address'd to *Genius* concerning the untimely death of Infants, he endeavours to Answer this Question, Why God suffers Infants to Die before they come to the Use of Reason? The most general Reason that he offers is, That he does it to prevent those Sins that these Infants would have committed, if they had come to the Age of Discretion. And because it may be Objected to him, Why then does God permit so many wicked Persons to live, who had been more happy if they had never been, or if they should have died sooner? He Answers, That God permits it, First, because he draws Good out of the Evil which they do; Secondly, because their Punishment serves for an Example of God's Justice.

Some Critics have question'd whether the Book of *Virginity* was *St. Gregory Nyssen's*: The only Reason which they alledg'd for calling it in question, is, because the Author was Married: But this Reason is so far from proving what they intend, that it rather proves the contrary, since 'tis certain that *St. Gregory Nyssen* had a Wife, as we have already shewn. He describes in this Treatise the Advantages of Virginity, and the Inconveniences of Marriage; nevertheless he does not design to condemn Marriage. He adds, that the Christian Virginity does not only consist in the Purity of the Body, but also in the Purity of the Soul. He recommends Temperance, and the shunning of Pleasures and Voluptuousness, and gives many Rules and Examples of Christian Vertues.

The Sermons or Homilies of the *Mysteries* have much of the nature of Dogmatical Treatises. Thus in the Sermon upon the Nativity, having exhorted the Faithful to celebrate this Festival with joy; he explains some Questions about the Incarnation, and clears up some Circumstances about the Nativity. He follows the same Method in the Five Sermons upon *Easter*, which are fill'd with many Allegories. In the Sermon of the Ascension of Jesus Christ, he explains the 23d and 24th, Psalms.

In that of *Whitsunday*, he exhorts Men to make themselves worthy to Receive the Holy Spirit.

In that upon the Festival of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, he treats of the Spiritual Regeneration which is wrought by Baptism, and exhorts those that are newly Baptiz'd, to lead a pure Life and free from Sin.

In the Discourse of the presenting of Jesus Christ in the Temple, of the Purification of the Virgin, and of *Simeon*, he makes many Allegories upon these Mysteries.

The Discourses of Morality are less Allegorical and more useful than those that we have spoken of already. The Subject of those which we now have is as follows.

In the Oration upon his Ordination, *St. Gregory* discourses of the Miseries of the Church, and the little Faith which was to be found among the Christians of his time. He condemns the Divisions which were in the Church, and the Sophisms that were us'd about Mysteries. He exhorts Men to pray for the Gifts of the Holy Spirit and to dispose themselves to receive them.

St. Gregory Nyssen.

In the Discourse against those that delay Baptism, he exhorts the Catechumens to receive Baptism presently without delaying it from day to day, as many Catechumens do. He invites them to draw near to Baptism, that they may be deliver'd from their Sins. He terrifies them with the fear of Death, the time whereof is uncertain. He makes them afraid of continuing so long in the Rank of Catechumens. He inspires them with a Desire of receiving Baptism, by representing to them the Graces which it conveys, and the wonderful Effects which it produces. He thinks that it would be better to sin after Baptism, than to die without it. He refutes the Pretence of those, who delay to receive Baptism, because they find themselves still inclin'd to Sin: He says, that they deceive themselves, if they think that after they have spent their Life in Pleasures and Debauchery, they shall be purified by receiving Baptism at the point of Death. He distinguishes, as St. Gregory Nazianzen did, Three Sorts of Persons with relation to another Life. The First Sort are the Saints and Righteous who are happy; The Second, are those who shall neither be Happy nor Miserable; The Third, are those who shall be punish'd for their Sins. He places in the second Rank those who delay their Baptism till the Point of Death. This is a singular Opinion of his, and does not agree with the Holy Scripture; which has made some believe that this Treatise was not St. Gregory Nyssen's: But it has his Style and Air, and is not much different from his Doctrine, nor from that of St. Gregory Nazianzen in the Discourse which he made upon the same Subject.

The Discourse of Penance contains Two Parts: The First against those who reprove their Brethren with much sharpness, and condemn them upon slight Grounds; and the Second against those Sinners who do no Penance, or do it very negligently. He proves by the Example of Jesus Christ who convers'd among Pharisees and Sinners, that Sinners are not to be treated with much rigour, nor to be condemn'd rashly. He adds, that by using them hardly we throw them into Despair; That we ought to consider that we are all Sinners; That God invites all the World to accept of his Grace; That we ought to support the Weak, according to the Example of Jesus Christ; That the greatest Sinners have obtain'd Mercy; and that God is always ready to pardon those who are penitent. He shows afterwards, that Harshness and Rigour do not agree with the Laity, who by condemning others with too much Severity, condemn themselves; nor with Bishops and Priests, whose Character should be Mild and Charitable, as he proves by the Examples of Moses and Jesus Christ. He observes, that a good Pastor should do as the Gardener mention'd in the Gospel, who pray'd his Master to spare the barren Fig-tree a little longer, and that he should follow the Example of Moses, who continually begg'd pardon of God for the People of Israel; and whose Affection went so far, that he wish'd he might be blotted out of the Book of Life, if God would pardon the Sins of his People. He subjoins the example of the prodigal Son, and says, That from thence we ought to learn to open the Church to penitent Sinners, and to treat them with Mildness and Charity. But after he has said these things against the too great Severity of some Ministers of the Church, who despise those that came near them as Supplicants, who would not regard them in their Afflictions, who humn'd and repuls'd them; he exhorts Sinners to Repentance by the example of the Woman that was a Sinner who is mention'd in St. Luke. He says, that they must imitate her Weeping, her Tears, her Humility and Penance. He declaims against those Penitents, who liv'd after the same manner that they us'd to do before they were in a State of Penance. "They have," says he, the same Gravity in their Countenances, the same Magnificence in their Apparel, they fare as Sumptuously as they did before, they Sleep as well as they did, they mind the same Buusiness as before; in short, they take upon them the name of Penitents, and do no Actions of Penance. "They are by their own Fault debar'd from the Sacred Mysteries, and from the Communion of Holy Things, and they take no care, nor are any ways solicitous to be readmitted to them; on the contrary they seem to despise them, and look upon them as very vile things." After this he shews by the Comparison of one who was debar'd from a King's Table, and of one that being Sick desir'd to be heal'd, how great the Folly is of those who never think of doing Penance. "You, says he, whose Soul is sick, Why do not you run to a Physician? Why do you not discover your Sins to him by Confession? Why do you suffer your Disease to encrease till it be inflam'd and deeply rooted in you? Re-enter into your own Breasts, reflect upon your own Ways. You have offended God, you have provok'd your Creator, who is the Lord and Judge, not only of this Life, but also of the Life to come. If you be sick with Pleasures, you must cure your Disease with Fasting and Abstinence; if your Soul is sick with Lust, you must use continence for a Remedy. Covetousness is like a Fever that consumes us, drive it away by giving of Alms and by Liberality; this is the Remedy of a Soul that loves Riches immoderately. Have you taken the Goods of another? Make Restitution. Are you ready to perish by Lying? Avoid the danger you are in by the love of Truth. You are in Error and Heresy; blot out this Sin by embracing the Faith of the Church; for what is doing Penance, but effacing and destroying the Evil we have done? Enquire into the Disease where with you are seiz'd, be sorry for it, afflict your selves and communicate your Affliction to your Brethren, that they may be afflicted with you; that so you may obtain the Pardon of your Sins. Show me bitter Tears, that I may mingle mine with yours. Impart your trouble to your Bishop, as to his Son, he will be touch'd with a sense of your Misery, as Jacob was when he saw the Coat of your Son Joseph stain'd with Blood; or as David was upon the Death of his Son Absalom:

d The Discourse of Penance.] This Discourse as well as that of Fasting, and the Panegyrick upon St. Stephen, belong to Asterius Amaseus, to whom Photius attributes them in Vol. 27. of his Bibliothecae. See what we have

said of them, when we give an account of the Works of this Father, where we have retrac'd what we said upon this Subject in the First Edition.

"Discover

"Discover to him the most secret Corners of your Heart; show this Physician your most hidden Wounds, he will take care of your Honour and your Health. The time of our Death is uncertain; my St. Gregory Nyssen. "Brethren; let us prevent the Hour of our Death by our Vigilance, as Men use precaution against the Diseases of the Body before the Dog-days; let us endeavour to recover the Groat, which we lose by our negligence.

The Discourse of Benevolence and Liberality towards the Poor, contains the most convincing Reasons, the most pressing Motives, and the most lively Expressions which can be employ'd to excite Men to give Alms to the Poor, and to help them in their Necessities.

In the Discourse against Ujurers, he shews that Usury is forbidden by the Laws of Charity, especially when he to whom the Money is lent, is poor.

In the Discourse about Fasting which was preach'd at the beginning of Lent, he exhorts the Faithful to fast exactly during this time. In the Sermon against Fornication, he gives a faithful representation of that Sin.

The Discourse against those who hardly endure Reproof, teaches that Humility and Submission wherever they should receive the Chastisements of the Church. St. Gregory discourses there against those who despise Excommunication. He gives a faithful description of the Soul of an excommunicated Person; and says, that it cannot partake of Glory, nor enter into the Kingdom of Heaven; That we must not imagine that Excommunication is an Invention of the Bishops; That it is an ancient Law of the Church, the Custom of our Fathers founded upon the Scripture which first introduc'd it: He shews the necessity of it. Towards the end he observes, that he did not wonder that many were troubled to bear his Rebukes, and murmur'd against him; that this Abuse had been of a long time, but he was resolv'd to bear with patience the Reproaches of others.

We may place at the head of the Funeral Orations and the Panegyrics of St. Gregory Nyssen, the Discourse wherein he proves, That we ought not to be troubled at the death of the Faithful, because it delivers them from this Mortal and Miserable Life, that they may enjoy Immortal Life and Eternal Happiness.

In the Funeral Oration upon Pulcheria the Daughter of Theodosius, after he has aggravated the loss which he suffer'd by the death of this young Princess, he shows that they should comfort themselves, since she is now happy.

In the Panegyrick upon the Empress Flaccilla, he describes the Vertues of this Princess, and represents the Happiness which she enjoys in Heaven.

In the Panegyrick upon the Martyr St. Stephen, after he has given an Account of the History of his Martyrdom and prais'd his Constancy, he refutes the Enemies of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit.

There are Three Discourses of St. Gregory Nyssen's in Honour of the 40 Martyrs, wherein he relates their Martyrdom, and praises their Constancy.

In the Panegyrick upon the Martyr Theodorus, having describ'd the Honours which the Church bestows upon Saints and Martyrs, and the Rewards which they enjoy, he relates the Martyrdom of Theodorus, and concludes with addressing a Prayer to him, for obtaining the Graces and Blessings of God by his Intercession.

In the Panegyrick upon St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, he praises the excellent Vertues of this great Saint; he relates many of his Miracles, whereof some are very extraordinary. Suidas names this Panegyrick among St. Gregory's Works, and there is no reason at all to doubt of it.

The Panegyrics upon St. Basil, Meletius and St. Ephraem, contain nothing but the Life and Praises of those great Men. To these Orations we may join the Life of St. Macrina his Sister.

The Canonical Epistle to Letoins contains the Rules or Laws of Penance. St. Gregory there distinguishes Three Sorts of Sins, which refer to the Three Faculties of the Soul, Reason, Lust and Anger. He says, that the greatest Sins are those which belong to the Spirit of a Man, such as Idolatry, Judaism, Manichaeism and Heresy. He would have those that voluntarily fall into these Crimes be depriv'd of the Sacraments till the Hour of Death: But, he says, that those who have been forc'd by the rigour of Torments to commit some of these Crimes, ought not to be punish'd more severely than Fornicators. He ordains also, that those who deal in Magic, Witchcraft and Divination of things to come, should be treated as wilful Apostates, if they have practis'd this Art through Infidelity; but he would have them treated as those who yield under the rigour of Torments, if they have used it only through too much Credulity, or in hope of some considerable Gain. He says, that as to what concerns the Sins of Lust, they may be refer'd to Adultery and Fornication; and that Fornication is a kind of Adultery. He returns to Adultery the Crimes which are against Nature. He imposes Nine Years Penance upon simple Fornication, and double the time upon Adultery; yet he leaves to the

e The Panegyrick upon Theodorus the Martyr.] Some Critics think that this Panegyrick is Supposititious. First, because the Author of this Discourse, prays the Holy Martyr to hinder the Incursions of the Scythians: Now, say they, the Scythians had not made any Incursions into Armenia, till a too Years after the death of St. Gregory, under the Reign of Anastasius. Secondly, the Author says, that Theodorus was of the Country of Job, that is, of Arabia, and yet his is a Greek Name, and 'tis said in the same Panegyrick that he was of A-

mesia in Cappadocia. But 'tis easy to answer the first Difficulty, for the Scythians had made Incursions into the Roman Empire in the time of St. Gregory Nyssen, as appears by St. Jerom Ep. 30. and by Cedrenus, who says that they enter'd into Thrace under the Reign of Valens. The second Objection has no Difficulty, for the Author of this Panegyrick does not say, that Job was of Arabia, nor that Theodorus was of the same Province with Job, but only that they were both of the East.

Bishop

Bishop a liberty of Moderating or Lengthning the Penance according to the Disposition of the Penitent; and he would have those treated more gently who confess their secret and hidden Sins. In short, as to the Sins which proceed from Anger, he says, That tho' the Scripture reproves all Sins severely, yet the Fathers have made no Laws but against Murder. He imposes 27 Years Penance for Willful Murder: and for involuntary Murders, the same space of time as for Fornication; yet he allows this Penance to be diminish'd according to the Fervor of the Penitent. In general he observes, that all those who fall sick before they have perfectly finish'd their Penance, should be reconcil'd at the Point of death, and be admitted to receive the Sacraments; yet upon condition that they fulfil their time of Penance if they recover their health.

As for Covertness, he says, That tho' this Crime be another kind of Idolatry, yet there are no Canons made to subject the Covetous to Penance; and therefore it is sufficient to purify them from this Crime, by Instruction and Prayer. As for Robbery, he says, there are Two Sorts of it; that which is done Publickly and by force of Arms, and that which is done Secretly: That those who are guilty the first Sort, ought to be put under the same Penance as Murderers; but as for those who steal another's Goods in secret, it was sufficient that they should restore them and give Alms to the Poor. He looks upon the Action of those who dig up the Dead as a very great Crime, and puts them under the same Penance as Fornicators.

At last, he says, That tho' Sacrilege was one of the Crimes which was punish'd under the Old Law by flogging the Person that was guilty of it; yet this Punishment was mitigated under the New Law, and that now sacrilegious Persons were treated less harshly than Adulterers. He concludes with this Advertisment to *Letoius* to whom he writes, that he should chiefly consider the Disposition of the Person that does Penance, because it is not the length of time, but the Conversion of the Person and change of his Life which cures the Sin.

Some Critics have doubted whether this Letter was *St. Gregory Nyssen's*; but there is no reason to reject it, and it has been own'd by the Greek Church, as appears by the Council held in the Emperour's Palace which approves the Canons of *St. Gregory Nyssen*, and by the Commentaries of *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* who acknowledge it to be Genuine; and besides 'tis sufficiently evident that 'tis the Work of an ancient Author.

In the Letter of the Profession of a Christian, he shews that it consists in imitating Jesus Christ, and he explains in what sense this can be done.

In the following Letter to *Olympius*, he explains particularly wherein Christian Perfection consists, and makes a particular Enumeration of all the Offices and Virtues of a perfect Christian.

The Treatise concerning the End which Christians ought to propose to themselves is almost upon the same Subject. *St. Gregory* proves, That the End of all Christians should be to shun Vice, to practise Virtue, to purify themselves from their Sins, to beg the Grace of Jesus Christ, to be humble, to be Charitable, to be diligent in Prayer, to despise the World, and to fix their Affections upon God. This Treatise is address'd to the Monks.

In the Letter to *Flavianus*, he complains of the evil treatment he had receiv'd from *Helladius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

In the Letter concerning Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, he dissuades Christians from undertaking lightly these kind of Journeys, because of the Abuses which happen in them. There have been great Disputes occasion'd by this Letter: Some have believ'd it superstitious; others have maintain'd that what is there said Respects only the Monks and the Nuns. But First, there are no Arguments strong enough to reject it; and the most learned Catholics have acknowledg'd it as a Genuine Work of *St. Gregory's*: And in the Second place, some Reasons which are us'd to dissuade Men from Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, respect all Christians in general. In the mean time, 'tis no ways probable, that *St. Gregory Nyssen*, who was so very much devoted to the Saints, should absolutely condemn the Piety of those who travell'd upon a good Design to visit the Holy Places, especially since this Practice was Authoriz'd and Approv'd from the beginning of the Fourth Age of the Church. It must therefore be said, that he did not condemn it but upon the account of the Abuses and Superstitions, which began in his time to creep into these kind of Devotions, of which he was a Witness in his Journey to *Jerusalem*. Thus *St. Jerome* who was very much devoted to the Holy Places, in his 13th. Epistle, dissuades *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, from a Journey to *Jerusalem* upon the same Reason that *St. Gregory* uses. And to show that *St. Gregory* could have no other Aim or Design, one needs but compare this Letter with the following to *Eustathia*, *Ambrosia* and *Basilissa* wherein he acknowledges, that 'tis a Happiness to see the Holy Places, provided a Man represents the Death and Sufferings of Jesus Christ by his own Actions to himself. He complains in this Letter, that the Church of *Jerusalem* was no more exempt from Divisions than other Churches, and explains towards the latter end the Mystery of the Incarnation. There he teaches, that the Divinity was not chang'd into the Humanity, but that the Divinity was united to a Nature like to ours, that it assum'd a Body and a Soul, and was never separated from them; that the Virgin ought to be call'd the Mother of God, and not the Mother of a Man. He rejects the Opinion of the *Millenaries*. He complains of some that would not communicate with him in the Journey which he made to *Jerusalem*. At last, he exhorts those to whom he writes, who were at *Jerusalem*, to continue firm in the Faith of their Fore-Fathers, and not to prefer Novelties to the Ancient Doctrine receiv'd from their Fathers by Tradition.

St. Cyril in the Book written to *Evagrius*, quotes a Passage of *St. Gregory's* taken out of his Commentary upon the Epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Philippians*, which can be no other *St. Gregory* but this of *Nyssa*.

Nyssa. The Eight Books of *Nemesius's* Philosophy have formerly been attributed to him; but now it is generally agreed that this was a gross Error.

Tho' *St. Gregory Nyssen* profess'd Rhetorick, and *Photius* assures us, That his Style is Lofly and Smooth; yet one may say, that he came not near the Eloquence of *St. Basil*, and *St. Gregory Nazianzen*. His way of Writing is affected, and his Style is no ways Natural; he speaks more like a Declaimer than an Orator; he is always abstruse either by Allegories, or abstracted Reasonings; he mingles Philosophy with Divinity, and makes use of the Principles of Philosophers, both in his Explications of Mysteries, and in his Discourses of Morality: Upon which Account his Works are more like the Treatises of *Plato* and *Aristotle*, than those of other Christians. He follows and imitates *Origen* in his way of Allegorizing, and there are also some of this Author's Errors in his Works, about the Nature of Souls, and the End of the Pains of the damned; but he rejects and refutes them expressly in other places: 'Tis very probable therefore that the places wherein these Errors are to be met with were added since, which *Germanus* the Patriarch of *Constantinople* shows in a Book, out of which *Photius* relates an Extract in Vol. 218. of his *Bibliotheca*; wherein he proves as well by what goes before those places, as by what follows after them, and by an infinite Number of contrary Passages, that those places which agree with the Doctrine of *Origen* concerning the End of the Pains of the damned, were either added, or corrupted by the Disciples of this Author. He observes also, That the like happened to the Conference about the Soul with *Macrina*, to the Catechetical Discourse, and the Book of the Perfection of a Christian: And he should have added also the Treatise about Infants who die before they come to the use of Reason. It may be said also, That *St. Gregory Nyssen* having his Head full of the Books and Principles of *Origen*, could not always be so careful but some of his Errors would slip unawares into his Reasonings, tho' he was not really of his Opinion, and he rejected them at other times when he was more attentive. Yet 'tis plain that there is an Addition at the End of the great Catechetical Discourse, wherein mention is made of the Heretic *Severus*.

'Twas a long time before the Works of *St. Gregory Nyssen* were all collected together into one Body. The First Editions have only the Eight Books of *Nemesius's* Philosophy. In 1536, *Aldus Manutius* printed at Venice three Greek Orations, and in 1537, the Greek Text of the Book of the Formation of *Man*; and the Version of this Book made by *Dionysius Exiguus*, was printed with the Treatise of the Life of *Moses*, and the Eight Books of *Nemesius*, at Cologne in 1551. The Book of the Life of *Moses*, translated by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, was printed at Basle in 1521. In 1544 *Camerarius* publish'd a Version of the Homily upon *Abraham*. In 1550, *Zinnus* publish'd a Version of some Moral Homilies, which was printed by *Vasiosanus*. The Conference about the Soul, translated by *Angerius*, was printed at Paris in 1557. *Laurentius Sifanus* collected together and translated several Treatises of *St. Gregory Nyssen's*, and caused them to be printed at Basle in 1562. In 1567, *Leinclauius* made a New Translation of the Book of the Life of *Moses*. In 1564, *Höschelius* caus'd the Greek Text of some Orations of *St. Gregory Nyssen* to be printed at Augsb. In 1567, the Book of Virginity was printed at Rome translated by *Galesinius*, together with Five Orations; the same Book was also translated by *Levinusius*, whose Version appear'd in 1574. The Discourse of Purification and of the Soul was printed at Cologne in 1568. The Edition of the Year 1562 was re-printed at Basle in 1571. There was added to it the Exposition upon the Canticles translated by *Leinclauius*, and the Letter to *Flavianus*. The Edition of *Nivelle* of the Year 1573 is larger, and contains the Version of almost all the Treatises of *St. Gregory Nyssen* which had been then publish'd: Since that Edition *Maximus Margurius*, caus'd the Version of the Book of Perfection, and of the Letter to *Letoius*, and of the Book upon the Titles of the Psalms, to be printed at Venice in 1585. The Letter to *Letoius* was also printed at Venice in 1589, together with the Notes of *Antonius Angustinus*, and at Paris with those of *Balsamon* in 1561; at Augsb. together with the Homily of the Divinity of the Son and Holy Spirit, translated by *Heruetus*, in 1591. The Book of Perfection of *Zinnus's* Translation, was printed at Venice in 1575. In 1593, *Höschelius* printed in Greek at Amsterdam, the Book of the Christian Profession, and that of the Life of *Moses*, the Treatise against *Apollinaris*, and that of Faith. *Fronto Ducaeus* printed in Latin at Ingolstadt in the Year 1598, the Treatises against *Apollinaris*, of the Witch of *Endor*, the Discourse upon the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, that of *St. Gregory* upon his Ordination, his Book against the *Manichees*, the Treatise of Destiny, and the Oration against Ulfers. The Book of the Titles of the Psalms in Greek and Latin, translated by *Gretser* was also printed at Ingolstadt in 1600; the Treatise about the End of a Christian was publish'd by *Morrellus* in the Year 1606, the same Year appear'd in Greek and Latin the Letter about Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*, and that to *Eustathia*, *Ambrosia* and *Basilissa*, the first printed by *Morrellus*, and the last by *Robert Stephens* with *Cassaubon's* Notes; both the one and the other were printed at *Hanover*, the first in 1607, with the Notes of *Da Moulin*, and the second in 1611. In 1605, *Fronto Ducaeus* printed a New Latin Edition of the Works of *St. Gregory Nyssen*, which contains all that had been publish'd. At last, in 1615 there came out a Greek and Latin Edition of the Works of this Father which was printed in Two Volumes by *Morrellus*, with the Notes of *Fronto Ducaeus*; but because in this Edition there was not the First Book against *Eunomius* nor the Greek of the Moral Orations, therefore there was a Supplement made at the End of *St. Basil's* Works printed in 1618. The last Edition in 1638 was Copy'd after this, where the same Version of the last Homilies is put twice, once by it self apart, and once over against the Greek. This Edition was done very negligently, and is very incorrect.

St. CASARIUS.

St. Casarius.

CASARIUS the Brother of St. Gregory Nazianzen, after having finish'd his Studies at *Alexandria*, came to dwell at *Constantinople*, and pass'd the greatest Part of his Life at Court in the Quality of Physician to the Emperour. He continued also some time with *Julian*, but finding himself solicited to quit the Christian Religion, he retir'd into his own Country. After the Death of this Emperour he return'd to Court and came into Credit again under the Reign of *Valens*. He was honour'd with the Office of Treasurer of *Bithynia*. He was like to have perish'd in the Earthquake which happen'd at *Nice*, where he lost part of his Goods. He died at Court in the beginning of the Year 369, and made the Poor his Heirs.

There is no great probability, that a Man who liv'd as *Casarius* did, should compose Dialogues upon the most subtle Questions of Philosophy and Divinity; yet Four of them are attributed to him, which some have thought were written in his Name by St. Gregory Nazianzen; but they can neither be the one's nor the others. For, First, it is not credible, that *Casarius*, who spent his Life at Court, and was but a simple Catechumen, should be the Author of those Questions, which suppose the Writer of them to be very well vers'd in the most subtle Parts of Theology. Secondly, The Title of these Dialogues import that the Author of them was Secretary to the Emperour, and that he had taught Twenty Years at *Constantinople*; which cannot be said of the Brother of St. Gregory Nazianzen, who was not Secretary, but Treasurer, and who did not profess Theology at *Constantinople*, but Physics. Thirdly, St. Gregory Nazianzen in his Funeral Oration says not a Word of his Skill in Theology; nor that he had written about Religion. Fourthly, This Treatise has neither the Style nor Genius of the Writers of the Fourth Age. Fifthly, it cites St. Gregory Nissen, who died long after *Casarius*, and *Maximus* an Author of the Seventh Age. All which does plainly show, That it can neither belong to *Casarius* nor St. Gregory Nazianzen, whose Style is as different from the Author's of this Dialogue, as the Style of *Demosthenes* is from that of the Declamations of *Aphthonius*.

Photius says, That 'tis easy to perceive, that the Style of these Dialogues, is the Style of a Young Man who had learn'd some Rudiments of Rhetoric, and was proud of that little Knowledge which he had in Divinity and Philosophy; That his Sallices of Wit are most of them unpleasant; That he often makes use of Poetical Terms, and without any reason varies from the common Construction; That his Style however is clear enough, and that there are few things to be plained in his Doctrine. These Dialogues contain 195 Questions and Answers about Matters of Theology and Philosophy, more Subtle and Curious than Useful and Profitable. In *Photius's* time, there were 220 of them. There are still in many Manuscripts thereabouts more or less, which plainly shows that these Questions were written by some Modern Greeks, who lov'd to busy their Minds with these sort of Questions, and to publish them under the Names of Ancient Authors. *Leontius* was the First who translated these Questions, and his Version was printed at *Basil* in 1571. Afterwards *Elias Elingberus*, Library-keeper of *Ausburg* publish'd in 1626, 78 of these Questions in Greek and Latin. Last of all, *Erasmus Dincus* publish'd the Greek Text and Version of 195 Questions and Answers, divided into Four Books, and those were printed in the Addition to the *Bibliotheca Patrum* in 1624, and in the Eleventh Volume of the Edition in 1644.

St. AMPHILOCHIUS.

St. Amphilo-chius.

ST. AMPHILOCHIUS an intimate Friend of St. Basil and St. Gregory Nazianzen, was of *Cappadocia*. Having for some time profess'd Rhetoric, he afterwards attended the Bar, where he discharg'd the Office of an Advocate and a Judge. Leaving this he retir'd into a solitary place of *Cappadocia* call'd *Ozizala*, and after he had led there for some time a very Holy Life, he was in the Year 375 Ordain'd Bishop of *Iconium* the Metropolis of *Lycania*, a Province, of the Diocese of *Asia*, bordering upon *Cappadocia*. When he was Bishop he took Care not only of his own Church, but also of the Affairs of the Neighbouring Churches. He was present at the Council of *Constantinople*, and there the Care of the Ecclesiastical Affairs of his Country was committed to him. About the Year 383, or 384, he held a Council at *Syda* against the *Mellitians*, which *Photius* mentions in Vol. 52. *Theodoret* relates in Ch. 16 of B. V. of his History, that St. Amphilo-chius petition'd the Emperour *Theodosius* to prohibit the Heretics to hold their Assemblies in Cities; That the Emperour, judging his Petition too Rigorous, deny'd it; but *Amphilo-chius* returning some time after to the Palace, and seeing *Arcadius* his Son close by the Emperour *Theodosius*, who had already been proclaim'd Emperour, he Saluted the Father without Saluting the Son. That *Theodosius* thinking he had fail'd in his Duty through inadvertence, commanded him to Salute his Son, to whom St. *Amphilo-chius* made answer, That it was enough that he had Saluted him. Whereupon *Theodosius* tell him a Passion, and declar'd how much he was offended with him for his neglecting of his Son; That then *Amphilo-chius* discreetly told him, You cannot suffer an Injury to be done to the Emperour your Son, and do you suffer those who dishonour the Son of God? That the Emperour being surpriz'd with this Reply,

^a Advocate and a Judge. St. Gregory Nazianzen recommends to him the Affairs of his Friends in Letters 109, 106, 160. and it appears by Letter 106; that he commends to him the Affairs of his Friends in Letters 109, 106, 160. and it appears by Letter 106; that he

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made a Law; wherein he forbids Heretics to hold their Assemblies any longer. *Theodoret* says, That this happen'd after *Theodosius's* Return into the East, that is, about the Year 392. But 'tis much more probable, that St. *Amphilo-chius* spoke thus to the Emperour, sometime after the Council of *Constantinople* in the Year 382, since it was then that the Law of *Theodosius* was made against Heretics, forbidding their Assemblies. The Year of *Amphilo-chius's* Death is not certainly known. St. *Jerom* in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers written in 392, mentions him as one then living. There also he mentions a Treatise of the Holy Spirit, which St. *Amphilo-chius* had read to him a little while before, wherein he proves that the Holy Spirit was God, Adorable and Almighty.

The Works of this Father have been quoted with Commendation by the Councils and the Ancients. The Councils of *Ephesus* and *Chalcedon*, produce some Testimonies out of them against the Errors of *Nestorius* and *Eutyches*, but they do not tell us, out of what Book they are taken. *Theodoret* in his Dialogues produces others which are taken out of the Homilies upon these Words of the Gospel; *My Father is greater than I*, and upon these other Words, *The Son can do nothing of himself*; and out of a Homily upon these other Words of Jesus Christ in St. *John* Chap. 5. *He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me hath eternal life*; and out of a Homily upon these Words of Jesus Christ in St. *Matth.* Chap. 26. *My God, let me not drink of this Cup*; out of a Discourse against the *Arians*, which is the same with that upon these Words, *My Father is greater than I*, as appears by *Leontius*; and out of another Sermon upon the Word, the Son of God. *Facundus* in Ch. 8 of B. XI. of his Treatise, cites Four Passages out of St. *Amphilo-chius*, whereof the First is taken out of the Homily upon these Words, *My Father is greater than I*; the Second out of the Homily upon these Words, *He that believeth in him that sent me hath eternal life*; the Third out of the Homily upon these Words, *I ascend to my Father and my God*; and the Last out of the Homily upon these Words, *Let me not drink of this Cup*. The Seventh Council in Action Five, quotes a Fragment of St. *Amphilo-chius* against the Books written by Heretics who bear the Name of the Apostles. *Leontius* and *Anastasijs Sinaita* quote also some Passages of St. *Amphilo-chius*. St. *John Damascene* produces some Passages taken out of Two of his Letters, whereof one was address'd to the *Suaderenses* and the other to *Seleucus*. There is also a Fragment and a Question concerning the Flesh of Jesus Christ which is thought to have been extract'd by *Photius*, and another Fragment of a Letter written to the Deacon *Pancratius*. *Barlaam* has also collect'd some Passages taken out of the Letter to *Seleucus*, out of the First Sermon upon these Words, *No Man knows either the day or the hour of judgment*; out of another upon these Words, *The Child Jesus grew*; out of another upon these Words, *Destroy this Temple*. These Fragments have almost all been collect'd together by Father *Combefis*, who has also publish'd the entire Works, as many as could be found, under the Name of *Amphilo-chius*, and print'd them at *Paris* in 1644.

These are Eight Sermons, a Poem upon the Holy Books, and the Life of St. *Basil*. The 1st. Sermon is upon the Nativity of Jesus Christ. The 2d. is upon the Circumcision, wherein he enlarges upon the Praise of St. *Basil*. The 3d. is upon the Purification of the Virgin the Mother of God, upon *Anne* and *Simeon*. The 4th. is a second Sermon upon the Virgin and *Simeon*, which is not written by St. *Amphilo-chius* Bishop of *Iconium* the Friend of St. *Basil*, but by another *Amphilo-chius* Bishop of *Syda*, who was present at the Council of *Ephesus*; for this Sermon is written directly against *Nestorius*, and is of a Style different from the former.

The 5th. is upon *Lazarus*. The 6th. upon the Woman in the Gospel that was a Sinner. The 7th. which had been formerly printed at *Antwerp* in 1598, is of the Holy Saturday. The Last is about Penance. This has not the same Style as the others. The Author speaks against the Heresy of the *Iconoclasts*, and relates Fabulous Stories, from whence it appears that this Homily is the Work of some Modern Greek. It cannot be certainly known of any one of these Sermons, that it belongs to St. *Amphilo-chius* of *Iconium*, rather than *Amphilo-chius* Bishop of *Syda*.

The Poem to *Seleucus* has the Style of St. Gregory Nazianzen, whatever Father *Combefis* says to the contrary, and it is very probable that it was written by this Father under the Name of *Amphilo-chius*. There he makes an Enumeration of the Canonical Books which is not different from that which is in the 33d. Poem: For tho' he speaks of the Book of *Esther* and the *Revelation*, yet he does not put them in the Rank of those Books which all the World receives for Canonical; he only observes, that some have admitted them, and others have rejected them.

The Life of St. *Basil* attributed to *Amphilo-chius*, translated into Latin by Cardinal *Orsius*, whose Translation was printed by *Roswedus*, publish'd in Greek and Latin by Father *Combefis*, contains many Fables, and many particulars of the Life of St. *Basil* contrary to the Truth of History, so that it is plainly the Work of a Modern Greek. Father *Combefis*, who endeavours to maintain its Authority against the Opinion of *Possevinus*, *Baronius* and *Bellarmin*, says, That some places in it are added and

^b Contrary to the Truth of History. The Author of this Life supposes, that St. *Basil* was Bishop in the time of *Julian*, that *Liberian* was of *Julian's* Retinue; that when this Emperour was kill'd, he was convert'd in a few Days after, and retir'd with St. *Basil*. Now 'tis evident that St. *Basil* was not Bishop in the Emperour *Julian's* time, and that *Liberian* was so far from being converted after his Death, that he wrote a Elegy upon in his praise. All the Histories where are related in this Life are Fabulous, and do no ways agree with what the Ancients have said of St. *Basil*. In a word, No body can read this Piece but they may presently discover its Imposture.

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corrupted, but that the Body of this Work is *Amphilochius's*; which he does not prove at all, nor can it appear probable to those that read it, who will neither find in it the Style, nor the Genius of the Fourth Age of the Church. The Life of *St. Amphilochius* written by *Macaprafter*, is also of no great Authority. Wherefore one may say, That excepting the Fragments produced by the Councils of *Epheſus* and *Chalcedon*, by *Theodorus* and *Facundus*; all the other Discourses publish'd by *Father Constantine* under the Name of *Amphilochius*, are either manifestly supposititious, or at least very doubtful. But we must not say the same of the Letter publish'd by *Cotelerius* in his Second Volume of the Monuments of the Greek Church, p. 98. It is a Synodical Epistle written to the Bishops of another Province. The Bishops in whole Name *St. Amphilochius* wrote it, declare, That they wish'd *St. Basil* had been present at their Synod; but he being detain'd by a grievous Sickness, they would be satisfied if he would send to them his Book of the Holy Spirit. They add, That they receive the Faith of the *Nicene* Council; but that the Fathers of this Council had said, that we must believe in the Holy Spirit, as in the Father and the Son, yet they had not explain'd the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, because this Question was not then disputed. Afterwards they explain themselves more clearly upon this Subject. They prove the Divinity of the Holy Spirit by Baptism; they say that we must acknowledge in God, but one Nature only, and three Hypostates. At last, They exhort those to whom they write, to maintain the Faith and the Peace of the Church, and to sing the in Doxology, *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost*; and add, That 'tis in vain to reject the Communion of the *Arians*, if they do not believe the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. This Letter has relation to the 403 Letter of *St. Basil*, wherein he writes to *Amphilochius* to send Deputies into *Lycia*, to inquire into the Faith of the Bishops of that Country, who were for the most part Orthodox. Probably *Amphilochius* did as *St. Basil* desired him in this Letter; and these Deputies brought a Letter from the Bishops of *Lycia* to which *St. Amphilochius* answers by this.

MAXIMUS.

THIS *MAXIMUS* was a Philosopher of *Alexandria*, who procur'd himself to be Ordain'd Bishop of *Constantinople*, and did all that he could to force away from thence *St. Gregory Nazianzen*. He wrote a Book of Faith against the *Arians*, which he presented to the Emperor *Gratian* at *Milan*; this he did in all probability, when he came into the West after he had been driven away from *Constantinople* and *Alexandria*. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* gave him at first great Praises, but afterwards he blacken'd his Reputation in a wonderful manner. The Western Bishops protect'd him, but those of the East declar'd his Ordination null, and made void all the Ordinations that he had made, by the Fifth Canon of the Council of *Constantinople*.

EUSEBIUS VERCELLENSIS.

EUSEBIUS born in *Sardinia* was Reader of the Church of *Rome*, and afterwards Bishop of *Vercellensis*. Pope *Liberius* sent him Delegate to the Emperor *Constantius* after the Fall of *Vincennes* of *Capua*. He was present at the Council of *Milan*, from whence he was banish'd into the East, and sent away into *Synopolis*, where he suffer'd very much from *Patriophilus* the *Arian* Bishop of that City. He obtain'd his Liberty under the Reign of *Julian*, and was present at the Council of *Antioch*, but he could not compass his Design, because of the Ordination of *Paulinus*, which was rashly made by *Lucifer*; for this was an hindrance to the Reconciliation. And therefore having blam'd the Conduct of *Lucifer* he returned into *Italy*, where he took a great deal of Pains to re-establish the Faith. He died in the Year 370. *St. Ambrose* made a Panegyrick upon him. The Title of Martyr is commonly given to him: But *St. Ambrose*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Gregory of Tours*, and all the Ancients give him no other Title but that of Confessor; and *St. Ambrose* seems to prefer *Dionysius of Milan* before him, because he died in Banishment.

We have a Letter of this Bishop written in the time of his Exile, and sent to his own Church, together with a Protestation against all the Violences of *Patriophilus*. There is also among the Fragments of *St. Hilary*, a Letter to *Gregory* Bishop of *Elvira*, written in 363, and a little Note that he wrote to *Constantius* before he went to *Milan*. *St. Jerome* testifies, That he translated into Latin the Commentaries of *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* upon the Psalms. It is probable that he wrote it in his Exile, where he learned the Greek Tongue, and publish'd it after his Return.

MELE-

MELETIUS.

MELETIUS was of *Melinite*. He was at first engag'd in the Party of the *Acacians*, and sign'd their Confession of Faith in the Council of *Selencia*. *St. Jerome*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*, say, that he was first Ordain'd Bishop of *Sebastea*, a City of *Armenia*, in the Council of *Constantinople* in the Year 360. After that, if you will believe *Socrates*, he was Translated to *Berea*, and from thence to *Antioch*: But it is more probable, that he was never Ordain'd Bishop of *Berea*; and that when he could not be receiv'd at *Sebastea*, he retir'd to *Berea*, from whence he was call'd to *Antioch*, after *Eudoxius* had quitted that See to go to *Constantinople*. The *Arians* thinking that he would be of their Opinion, propos'd him for Bishop of that City in a Council held at *Antioch* in 361, and the Orthodox knowing him better than the *Arians*, consented to his Election. Some time after the Emperor *Constantius*, who was then at *Antioch*, desired those Bishops who were most able, to Discourse in Publick, to Explain these Words of Scripture; *The Lord created me in the beginning of his Ways for his Works*; and Order'd their Expositions to be written down, that they might be oblig'd to make them the more exact. *George* Bishop of *Laodicea* did first explain those Words, and diffus'd all the poison of his Errors. *Acacius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, did next give an Explication, which held the middle way between the Impiety of *Arius* and the Catholic Doctrine. But *Meletius* propos'd the Orthodox Doctrine of the Church. 'Tis also said, that his Arch-Deacon having stopp'd his Mouth, he made known his Doctrine by Signs. The *Arians* assembled immediately to Depose him, and having Ordain'd in his Room an *Arian* nam'd *Euzoius*, they caus'd *Meletius* to be banish'd to the place of his Birth. Then the founder part of the People separated themselves from those that were infected with the Error of *Arius*, and assembled in the Church of the Apostles, which was in the old City. But besides the Catholics, there were at *Antioch* a small number of the ancient Orthodox, who after the Deposition of *Eusebius* continued without Bishops. These would not be reunited to *Meletius* and those of his Party, tho' they had separated themselves from the *Arians*: *Lucifer* coming to *Antioch* after the death of *Constantius*, ordain'd *Paulinus* for their Bishop; but they were but few in number, and *Meletius's* Congregation was more numerous. When all the Orthodox Bishops after the death of *Constantius* had liberty to return to their Dioceses, *Meletius* return'd to *Antioch*; but *Euzoius* continued Minister of the Churches, till the *Acacians* were reconcil'd to *Meletius* under the Reign of *Jovian*, and made Profession of the Orthodox Faith in the Council of *Antioch* in the Year 363.

Under the Reign of *Valens*, *Meletius* was persecuted again and sent into Banishment, but he was no less odious to the Orthodox of the West than to the *Arians*. For the Church of *Alexandria* and the Churches of the West, supported *Paulinus* and those of his Party, and would have no Communion with *Meletius*. We have already seen the trouble and labour that *St. Basil* underwent to reconcile *Meletius* to them, yet he could not compass his Design while he liv'd. But Nine Months after his Death, it was agreed between *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, that whenever one of them two should die, no Person should be Ordain'd in his Room, but the Survivor should continue sole Bishop of the Place. *Meletius* coming in the Year 380, to the first Council of *Constantinople*, in which he presided, died in that City to the great grief of all the Bishops. After his death the Eastern Bishops, without any regard to the Agreement made with *Paulinus*, chose in his room *Flavianus*. This Election renew'd the Schism of the Church of *Antioch*, which was not ended even at the death of *Paulinus* which happen'd in the Year 389, for before he died he Ordain'd *Euzoius* for his Successor. This Difference was carried to the Council of *Capua*, which nam'd *Theophilus* and the Bishops of *Egypt* for Judges in this Cause. But *Flavianus* refusing him address'd himself to the Emperor, whom he perswaded of the goodness of his Cause. This Conduct of *Flavianus* very much disgust'd the Western Bishops, as *St. Ambrose* informs us in the ninth Letter of his first Book. However he had so much Interest, as to hinder the placing of a Bishop in the room of *Euzoius* who died in 393, and he reconciled himself to the Western Bishops in 398, by means of *St. Chrysostom* who perswaded *Theophilus* to make up this Peace. Yet there were still some obstinate Persons at *Antioch*, who notwithstanding the Agreement of the whole Church, would keep up a Faction by themselves, and would neither be reconcil'd to *Flavianus* nor to his Successors; so difficult it is to bring those back to the Church, who have gone astray through too much Zeal for Religion, and have made a separation under pretence of Purity of Doctrine, and strictness of Discipline. *St. Epiphanius* has preserv'd for us in *Harcl.* 73, the Discourse of *Meletius*, which contains clearly the Doctrine of the Church, and the proofs of the Eternity and Divinity of the Word. We may attribute to him also the Creed of the Council of *Antioch* in the Year 393; related by *Socrates* Ch. 25. of the 3d B. of his History. These Monuments are authentick Proofs that *Meletius* was a Catholic, which was acknowledg'd by almost all the Fathers, and even by *St. Athanasius*. Neither can any one blame him for the Holiness of his Life; but his Ordination for some time was encumber'd with great Difficulties: First, because it was believ'd, that he was Translated from one Church to another; Secondly, because he was Chosen and Ordain'd by the *Arians*, to whose Party he was addict'd. But as to the first Difficulty, besides that we have in Antiquity some examples of Translations that have been approv'd of, when they were made for the Good of the Church, as the Event did plainly show this to be: It cannot be said, properly speaking, that *Meletius* was Translated from one Bishoprick to another. For tho' he had been Ordain'd Bishop of *Sebastea* in *Armenia*, yet the People of that Church not being willing to receive him, he was oblig'd to withdraw immediately to *Berea*. Now the Canons are so far from forbidding to give Bi-

Meletius.

Photius upon such Occasions as they could not take possession of that which was design'd for them, that on the contrary they should. That it is an error, another Bishoprick should be given unto them as soon as possible. The other Bishoprick is of much greater consequence, and upon it especially those grounded their separation who would not communicate with him. They said, that they could not acknowledge for a lawful Bishop one that was Ordain'd by Heretics. But it must be consider'd that when he was Ordain'd, *Chrysostom* was Master of the Empire, and the Church of *Antioch* could have no Bishop that was Ordain'd by others; that the *Acacius* of *Caesarea* and the other Eastern Bishops were in an Error, yet they were neither depos'd nor depriv'd of their Bishopricks, and therefore they might act in such Matters as concern'd the Government of the Church; that when the Bishops ordain'd by Heretics return'd to the Church, they left them almost always in possession of their Sees; that the Orthodox had consented to the Ordination of *Meletius*; that all the Catholic Bishops of the East approv'd it, that *Eusebius* of *Samosata*, and *Eusebius* of *Vercellae* acknowledge'd his Ordination to be valid; and in short, that the Council of *Constantinople* put it past all doubt. But if we ought to approve the Ordination of *Meletius*, what can we say of that of *Paulinus*, but that it was done with much indelicacy and rashness? As to that of *Flavianus*, it cannot be altogether approv'd; since it was made contrary to an Agreement concluded between *Meletius* and *Paulinus*. Yet the Eastern Bishops may be excus'd, because perhaps they had no hand in this Agreement, and they thought that the People of *Antioch* could never agree with *Paulinus*. In a word, the Ordination of *Eusebius* can be approv'd by no body, since it tended only to perpetuate the Division and Schism in the Church of *Antioch*.

DIODORUS Bishop of Tarsus.

Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus.

DIODORUS a Priest and Monk of *Antioch*, the Scholar of *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, Master of *St. John Chrysostom*, and *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, after he had acquir'd a great Reputation in *Antioch* by his Conduct and Prudence, was Ordain'd Bishop of *Tarsus* in the Year 375. While he was yet but a Priest, he took care of the People of *Antioch*, in the absence of *Meletius* who was then banish'd under the Reign of *Valens*, and maintain'd the Orthodox Faith in this Church. After he was Bishop, he was present at the Council of *Constantinople*, and was one of those that were choic'd to take care of the Eastern Diocets. He was very skillful in the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, and wrote Commentaries upon almost all the Books of the Bible. He was one of the first Commentators that apply'd himself to a literal Explication, without amusing himself with Allegories. He was highly esteem'd of by all the great Men of his Age, who wrote very obliging Letters to him, and have given very Authentick Testimonies of his Doctrine and his Piety. One part of these Letters may be seen in *Faustinus* Ch. 3. of his 4th. Book. But in the following Ages Men did not give so favourable a Judgment of this Man's Doctrine, for he was accus'd of Teaching in his Writings the Errors of *Nestorius*, as they were afterwards call'd. It may be for this Reason that none of his Works are preserv'd. We have nothing but a very considerable Extract out of his Treatise of *Destiny*, produced by *Photius* in Volume 223 of his Bibliotheca, and the Argument of another Treatise of the *Holy Spirit* produced by the same Person in Volume 102. *Theodoret* also in his Commentaries upon *Genesis* Quest. 20. p. 22. and Quest. 21. p. 25. produces two other Fragments of this our *Diodorus*.

St. Basil in Letter 167 speaks of Two Books of this Author's writing against the Hereticks, whereof the Second was compos'd by way of Dialogue. *St. Jerom* mentions his Commentary upon *St. Paul*; *Socrates* and *Sozomen* assure us, that he made Commentaries upon almost all the Books of the Bible. *Leontius* in his Third Book quotes a Book of this Author written against the *Simonists*, that is, against the *Apollinarists*. *Suidas* has given us a Catalogue of his Works taken out of *Theodorus*, which is as follows. "An Explication of all the Old Testament, of *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and upon the *Psalms*, and upon the Four Books of *Kings*, upon the *Chronicles*, upon the *Proverbs*; a Treatise of the Difference between Allegory and Contemplation; a Commentary upon *Ecclesiastes*, upon *Canticles*, upon the Prophets; a Chronicle wherein he has correct'd some Faults of *Eusebius*; Commentaries upon the Four Gospels, upon the *Acts*, upon the Epistle of *St. John*; a Treatise to prove that there is but One God in the Trinity; a Book against the *Melchisedecians*, a Treatise against the Jews concerning the Resurrection of the Dead, one of the Soul against several Errors; a Treatise of *Destiny* against the Astrologers, where he speaks of the Globe of the World, and of Providence; and a Treatise wherein he proves that Invisible things were made at the same time with the Elements, tho' they were not made of them; a Tract to *Euphronius*, by way of Question and Answer, against *Aristotle's* System." He says nothing in this Catalogue of the Book of the Trinity, nor of the Treatise against the *Apollinarists*.

The Treatise of *Destiny* was divided into Eight Books and 53 Chapters. There he refutes all the Follies of Judicial Astrology, and shows that the World had a Beginning and was Created, that Man was endow'd with Free-will, that God was not the Author of Evil, and that the World is govern'd by Divine Providence. *Photius* makes a particular enumeration of the Subject of each Chapter in this Work, wherein he produces some part of his Reasonings. He had reason to ridicule the Proposition which this Author had advanc'd, That the Heaven was not round, supposing that if it were so, the Astrologers would have some good Ground for their Opinion of Fatality. For as he observes, the Figure of the Heaven has nothing in the World to do with this Question.

Photius

Photius observes, that the Style of this Author is pure and clear; but *St. Jerom* says, that it is not lofty, and that he could never reach the Eloquence of *Eusebius*, *Emisenus*, tho' he endeavour'd to imitate it, because he was not skill'd enough in humane Learning. *Fachinus* who quotes this Passage of *St. Jerom* says only *Eusebius*, without adding *Emisenus*. Now if one should thus read the Text of *St. Jerom*, it would be more convenient to understand the Writings of *Eusebius* of *Caesarea*, whom *Diodorus* rather imitated than those of the Bishop of *Emesa*, because the Works of *Diodorus* have no great relation to his Books, whereas they had a great affinity to those of *Eusebius* of *Caesarea*, either for the Matters which he treated of, or for the Manner or Style wherein he treated of them. For the Evangelical Preparation or Demonstration of *Eusebius* of *Caesarea*. The Judgment which *St. Basil* has given of this Author's Style may be seen in Letter 167, of which we have given an Abridgement in *St. Basil's* Life. As to what concerns his Doctrine of the Incarnation, we could better judge of it, if we had his Books; but there is no great probability, that one who was prais'd, esteem'd and cherish'd by *Meletius*, *St. Basil*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Epiphanius*, and even by *St. Athanasius*, and his Successors *Peter* and *Timothy* of *Alexandria*; who was also consider'd in a General Council as one of the most Learned and most Orthodox Bishops of all the East; and in short, who was Master to *St. Chrysostom*, should be guilty of so gross an Error as that of *Nestorius*. 'Tis true that he had for his Scholar *Theodorus* of *Mopsuestia*, and that he was Accus'd of the same Error with *Nestorius*; and that he was condemn'd as Convicted of this Error after his death in the 5th. Council. But besides that there have been some Persons who have undertaken to justify him; Yet if it should be granted that he was guilty of this Error, it would not follow that he learn'd it of his Master, since we daily see Heretical Disciples, who have had Orthodox Masters. Should not the Faith of *St. Chrysostom*, rather serve to justify *Diodorus*, than the Error of *Theodorus* to condemn him?

HILARY the Deacon.

HILARY of *Sardinia*, Deacon of the Church of *Rome*, was deputed by Pope *Liberius*, together with *Lucifer* Bishop of *Calari*, and the Priest *Pancratius*, to go to the Emperor *Constantianus*, after the Synod of *Arles*, in the Year 353. He was banish'd after the Council of *Milan*, and afterwards he join'd with *Lucifer's* Party, whereof he was one of the most zealous Defenders. 'Tis this *Hilary*, who is call'd in *St. Jerom's* Dialogue against the *Luciferians*, The Deacon of the World, because he would Regenerate and Renew by a Second Baptism, those that had been baptiz'd by Hereticks.

Tho' there has been no Book printed under the Name of this *Hilary*, yet the Learned have attributed to him the Commentary upon the Epistles of *St. Paul*, which bears the Name of *St. Ambrose*, and the Questions upon the Old and New Testament, which are at the end of the 4th. Tome of *St. Austin*. These are the Reasons which have mov'd them to attribute to him the Commentary upon *St. Paul's* Epistles. First, *St. Austin* in Ch. 4. of the 4th. B. to *Boniface*, cites under the Name of *St. Hilary* an Explication of this Passage of *St. Paul*. 'Twas from him that all Men sin'd, which is taken Word for Word out of this Commentary. Now this *Hilary* whom *St. Austin* quotes, could neither be *Hilary* of *Syracuse*, nor *St. Hilary* of *Arles*, since they were after *St. Austin*. No more can it be said, that the Author of these Commentaries was *Hilary* of *Poitiers*, because the Style and the Version which he makes use of, are no ways like to the Style and Version of these Commentaries, and there are some Opinions in the one, which are different from those in the other. This Commentary agrees wonderfully to him; for he says on Ch. 3. of the 1st. to *Timothy*. That tho' all the World was God's, yet the Church whereof *Damascus* at present was Governour, is call'd his House. Which plainly shows, that this Commentary was written by one Well-affect'd to the Church of *Rome*, who liv'd in *Damascus's* time. And therefore it cannot with any reason be attributed to *Remigius* of *Lyons*, but most probably was written by this *Hilary* whom we now speak of.

Yet *Petrus* thinks that it cannot be attributed to him for Two Reasons; First, because this Author speaks in favour of *Damascus*, and 'tis not likely that a Man engag'd in the *Luciferian* Schism which favour'd *Origenism*, should acknowledge *Damascus* lawful Bishop of *Rome*. Secondly, because upon Chap. 1. of the 1st. Epistle to the *Corinthians*, he blames the *Novatians* and *Donatists* who it was injurious to the Baptism of our Saviour. Now the principal Error of *Hilary* the Deacon, acc'd baptiz'd by the *Arians*. This objection cannot be answer'd, but by saying, that this *Hilary* did contrary to the Testimony of *St. Jerom*, who says in his Book against the *Luciferians*, that this Deacon died out of the Church. This Man, says he speaking of *Hilary* the *Luciferian*, being dead, his *Seiz* ought to do with him, because he being but a simple Deacon, could ordain no Person to succeed him. Wherefore it must be granted that we have no absolute certainty, that this Book belong'd to this *Hilary* of *Sardinia*.

The Commentary upon the Two First Chapters of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, is an Extract out of the Commentary of *St. Chrysostom*, which is not made by the same Author as that upon the other Epistles.

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Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus.

Hilary the Deacon.

History the Deacon.

'Tis thought that the Questions upon the Old and New Testament which have been formerly printed under St. *Austin's* Name, in his 4th. Tome, were written by the same hand as these Commentaries. To prove it, 'tis said, first, that the Author of these Questions liv'd at the same time as the Author of the Commentary, for he says in Qu. 44. that he wrote 300 Years or thereabouts, after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, and he speaks of *Plinius* as an Author then living. He speaks also of the Devastation of *Pannonia* which happen'd in 357, and the Famine of the Year 363; as Calamities which happen'd in his time. Secondly, 'tis thought, that he speaks in Qu. 115. of *Sardinia* as his own Country. And in short, 'tis may maintain that there is so great an agreement both in Style and Doctrine between these Two Treatises, that it cannot be doubted but they are written by the same Author. Which must be understood of the 47 Questions upon the Old Testament, the 50 upon the New, and the 36 upon the one and the other which are all written by the same Author, and not of the other following Questions, which are for the most part a repetition of what had been said in those that went before.

But whoever was the Author of these Questions they are full of Falsities and Errors, and almost all of them are of very little use. The Commentary upon the Epistle of St. *Paul* is better done, and has more sense in it: It is clear, plain and literal, and gives the meaning of the Text of St. *Paul* well enough; but it gives very different Explanations from St. *Austin's*, in those places which concern Predestination, Provocation, Grace and Free-will.

a There is so great an Agreement both in Style and Doctrine, &c.] Compare Quest. 7. with the Commentary upon Ch. 6. to the *Ephesians*. Quest. 13. with Comment. upon Ch. 5. to the *Rom.* Quest. 18. with Comment. upon Ch. 6. to the *Rom.* Quest. 21. with Comment. upon Ch. 6. and 11th. of the 1st. Ep. to the *Corinth.* Quest. 23. with the Comment. on the 7th. Ch. of the Ep. to the *Rom.* Quest. 24. with the Comment. upon the 1st. Ep. to the *Corinth.* Ch. 11. Qu. 113. with the Com. upon Ch. 1st. of the Ep. to the *Ephes.* and on Ch. 1st. of the Ep. to the *Coloss.* Qu. 47. with the Com. upon the 2d. Ch. of the 1st. to the *Corinth.* and upon Ch. 5. of the 2d. to the *Corinth.* Qu. 99. with the Com. upon Ch. 10. of the 1st. to the *Corinth.* Qu. 102. with the Com. upon Ch. 11. of the Ep. to the *Rom.* and upon Ch. 2d. of the 2d. to *Timothy.* Qu. 108. with the Com. upon Ch. 3. to the *Philipp.* Qu. 109. and 25. with the Com. upon Ch. 8. to the *Rom.* Qu. 112. with the Com. upon these Words: I see another Law in my Members, &c. Qu. 113. with the Com. upon Ch.

2d. of the 2d. Ep. to the *Thessalonians.* Qu. 134. with the Com. upon Ch. 3. of the Ep. to the *Ephes.* and Qu. 115. with the 1st. Ch. of the Com. upon the same Ep. These two Authors make often use of the same Words and in the same Sense; as, *Diffidentia*, to signify Incredulity, and the Words, *Prævaricandi*, *Meliorandi*, &c.

b Full of Falsities and Errors.] A Catalogue of them may be seen in the Censure which the Doctors of *Lozan* have prefix'd to this Work; one of the chief of them is their Opinion, that *Melchisedech* was the Son of God.

c Different Explanations from St. *Austin*.] For this one needs only read almost all the places of St. *Paul*, which concern Predestination or Grace. Particularly the Commentaries upon the 6th. and 9th. Chapters of the Ep. to the *Romans*, upon the 2d. of the Ep. to the *Philippians*, and the Questions, 13, 24, 47, 115, 223, where he proposes *Maxims* which are a little *Pelagian*.

PRISCILLIAN and Matronianus, Tiberianus and Dictinius his Disciples.

PRISCILLIAN whom St. *Jerom* places among the Number of Ecclesiastical Writers, was the Author of a Sect which was accus'd of many Impieties. *Sulpitius Severus* who knew more of the History of the *Priscillianists* than any Ecclesiastical Author whatsoever, gives this Account of them: That towards the End of the Fourth Century, one *Mark* originally of *Egypt*, being leav'd with the Principles of the *Gnosticks* and *Manichees*, came into *Spain* to spread his Errors there; That at First he had for his Disciples a Woman call'd *Agape*, and one *Elpidus* a Rhetorician; and that these were the Persons who instructed *Priscillian*; That he was a Person of Quality, Rich, Powerful, Quick and Restless, but very Eloquent and very Learned; That he acquir'd much Learning by hard Study, and that he had a wonderful Easiness in Speaking and Disputing. Happy had he been, adds *Sulpitius Severus*, if he had not corrupted his fine Parts by joining with a wicked Faction. He had many good Qualities of Body and Mind. He endur'd with ease, Watchings, Hunger, and Thirst. He had no desire to be Rich and liv'd with much Frugality; but he was proud, and profane Learning had puff'd him up intolerably. 'Tis said that he had formerly exercis'd the Art of Magic. This Man having as we have said, embrac'd the pernicious Doctrine of *Marcus* and *Elpidus*, drew many Persons of his own Country after him, either by persuading them with Reasons, or flattering them with Caresses. Women who naturally love Novelty, and have commonly much Curiosity, and but little Steadiness, flock'd after him in great Multitudes, to be admitted among his Party. In a word, he procur'd the Love and Respect of all the World, by the show of Humility which appear'd in his Clothes and his Countenance. *Spain* began to be infected with the Venom of this Heresy, and even some Bishops were corrupted with it. There were particularly two of them call'd *Instantius* and *Salvianus*, who were engag'd by Oath into the Faction of *Priscillian*. But *Hyginus* Bishop of *Corduba* their Neighbour understanding it, inform'd against them to *Idacius* of *Merida*, who kindled, as one may say, the Fire of Division by the Rigour which he us'd, and irritated Men's minds without putting a stop to the growing Evil. In short, after many Disputes, the Synod of *Saragoza* was Assembled, at which the Bishops of *Aquitaine* were present;

Priscillian, and his Disciples.

present; and these Hereticks not daring to appear there were condemn'd for their Contumacy. Sentence was given against the Bishops *Instantius*, *Salvianus*, and against *Elpidus* and *Priscillian*. 'Twas also added, That all those who should receive them into Communion, should expect the same Condemnation with them. *Idacius* Bishop of *Orbona* was entrusted with the Publication of this Sentence, and with the Management of the Excommunication against *Hyginus* the Bishop, who being the first that oppos'd *Priscillian* and his Disciples, was afterwards himself corrupted, and received them into his Communion. But *Instantius* and *Salvianus*, without any regard to the Judgment of the Council of *Saragoza* Ordain'd *Priscillian* Bishop of *Avila*. Then the Bishops of the other Party had recourse to the Authority of the Emperor, and obtain'd of *Gratian* an Edict, wherein the *Priscillianists* were condemn'd to be driven out of the Churches, and to be banish'd out of the Cities where they dwelt. *Instantius* and *Salvianus* being chas'd away out of their own Country, went to *Rome* and *Milan*; but they were rejected by *Damasus*, and St. *Ambrose*. After which they had recourse to the Emperor, and obtain'd of him a Rescript, wherein he permitted them to return to their own Country, and ordain'd, that their Churches should be restor'd unto them. They return'd into *Spain* with this Edict and having gain'd the Proconsul, they forc'd away *Idacius*. He fled into *France* and carried his Complaints to the Tyrant *Maximus*, who was enter'd as a Conquerour into the City of *Triers*: This Prince caus'd *Priscillian* and his chief Disciples to be carried to a Synod held at *Bordeaux*; in the Year 384, in which *Instantius* was Depos'd; and when they would have proceeded to Judge *Priscillian* also, he appeal'd from them to the Emperor *Maximus*, who committed the Judgment of this Affair to the Prefect *Eudodius* who having Convicted *Priscillian* of Witchcraft and Uncleanness, made his Report of the whole Matter to *Maximus*, who condemn'd him and his chief Followers, to have their Heads cut off, which was done in the Year 385. Some have thought that *Priscillian* was Innocent, and that he was unjustly oppress'd by the Faction of *Idacius*, whose Conduct was disapproved by the most Pious Bishops of that time. It seems that St. *Jerom* favours this Opinion in his Catalogue, where he speaks of *Priscillian* in these Words: *Priscillian* Bishop of *Avila* was Executed in the City of *Triers* by the Commandment of the Tyrant *Maximus*, having been oppress'd by the Faction of *Hilarius* (it must be read, *Idacius*), and *Idacius*: He wrote many Treatises whereof some are come to our Hands. Some accuse him even at this Day of the Heresy of the *Gnosticks*, of *Basileides* and *Marcion*; but others vindicate him, and maintain that he held none of those Errors that are charg'd upon him. 'Tis true, that the same St. *Jerom* in a Letter to *Crescentius*, speaks of *Priscillian* as a notable Heretic, which made *Monfieur Quesnel* think, that this place of St. *Jerom's* Book of Ecclesiastical Writers was interpolated. This Conjecture, which is not founded upon the Authority of any Manuscript would be of some moment if it were not known that St. *Jerom* does often speak differently of one and the same Person. Perhaps St. *Jerom's* way of speaking of him in his Catalogue, gave occasion to put *Priscillian* and his Disciple *Matronianus* into some Martyrologies, and to rank them among the Holy Martyrs.

St. *Jerom* speaks of this last after this manner: *Matronianus* of *Spain*, a learned Man, and one that was comparable to the Ancients for Poetry, was also put to Death with *Priscillian*, *Felicissimus*, *Julianus* and *Euchrota*, who were all of the same Party. We have some of his Works in *Verse*, which are Evidences of his Wit and Parts. *Sulpitius Severus* call'd this Disciple of *Priscillian*, *Latronianus*, for *Matronianus*.

Tiberianus of *Betica* was also an Author of this Sect, who wrote, says St. *Jerom*, an Apology to vindicate himself from the Suspicion of Heresy, whereof he was accus'd together with *Priscillian*. His Style is swelling and affected. After the Death of those of his Party, being overcome by the tediousness of a long Exile, he married a Virgin consecrated to *Jesus Christ*.

Dictinius was a Priest, who had been accus'd of the same Error, and condemn'd for it in the Council of *Langres*. St. *Ambrose* wrote Letters in his favour to procure his Restoration; But upon condition that he should condemn what he had done, and that he should continue Priest without being capable of rising to a higher Dignity. Nevertheless he did not perform these Conditions, for he continued still in his ancient Error, and got himself Ordain'd Bishop of *Asturica Augusta*. Being cited upon this Account to the First Council of *Toledo* in the Year 390, together with *Symphosius* who Ordain'd him, he did not appear before the Synod; but appearing afterwards at a Second Synod held about the Year 400, there *Symphosius* declar'd, That he was forc'd by the People to Ordain *Dictinius*, and *Dictinius* himself made a Solemn Recantation of his Errors, whereupon they were both absolv'd. He wrote some Treatises for the Error of the *Priscillianists*, which are mention'd by St. *Leo*, in a Letter to *Turribius*. What we have said of the Restoration of *Dictinius*, seems to be contrary to the Testimony of *Idacius*, who says, that *Turribius* was plac'd in the room of *Dictinius* after he was Depos'd for his Heresy; but St. *Leo* declares very plainly in the Letter which we just now cited, that *Dictinius* died a Catholic. From whence it appears, that *Idacius*, (the Author of the Chronicle, who lived in the Fifth Age of the Church, and is different from him of whom we have now spoken) was deceived, and that *Turribius* succeeded *Dictinius* after his Death, and not after his Deposition. For to say, as *Monfieur Quesnel* does, that the Acts of the Council of *Toledo*, are falsified, or that *Dictinius* relaps'd a second time after his Retraction, is to allege that which has no Foundation, which is contrary to the Testimony of St. *Leo*, who affirms that this Bishop died a Catholic, and that we may have a Veneration for his Memory after his Retraction.

ITHACIUS, or IDACIUS.

THIS IDACIUS or ITHACIUS, Summ'd *Clarus*, Bishop of *Ossebona*, a City in the Province of *Batavia*, was, as we have already said, one of the greatest Enemies of the *Priscillianists*. St. *Isidore of Sevil* observes in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers, That he wrote a Book by way of Apology, against the detestable Doctrines of *Priscillian*, wherein he discovers the Witchcraft and Infamous Crimes of those Sectaries, and shews, That a certain Magician call'd *Mark*, a Native of *Memphis* in *Egypt*, was the Disciple of *Manichæus* and Master of *Priscillian*. The same Author adds, That this *Idacius* was depriv'd of the Communion of the Church, together with the Bishop *Orsacius*, upon the account of the Death of *Priscillian*, whose Accusers they had been, and that he being sent into Banishment, ended his Days there under the Reign of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*. St. *Isidore* makes no mention of the Books against *Varimadus*, which bear the Name of *Idacius*; and indeed they do not belong to this Author but to *Vigilius Tapsentis*, as we shall show when we come to speak of *Vigilius*: This Apologetic of *Idacius* is lost. St. *Isidore* observes that it was well written. [*Idacius* and *Ithacius* are not two different Names for the same Person as here seems to be implied; for in *Sulpicius Severus* they are constantly divided.]

FAUSTINUS.

GENNADIUS assures us, that *Faustinus* a Priest (or a Deacon according to others) wrote to the Empress *Placidia* Seven Books against the *Arians* and *Macedonians*, wherein he refutes and confounds them by the very same Passages that the Heretics use to establish their Blasphemies. This Work was a long time attributed to *Gregory of Batavia*; but at last the True Author of it was own'd, and it was printed under the Name of *Faustinus*, with a Letter to *Placidia*.

The same *Gennadius* says also, That this same *Faustinus*, wrote a Petition, which he presented with the Priest *Marcellinus*, (or rather *Marcellianus*) to the Emperours *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*, which shews evidently that he was engag'd in the Schism of the *Luciferians*. *Sirmondus* publish'd this little Piece in the Year 1656. Before the Petition there is a Preface written by the same *Faustinus*, wherein he gives a little Historical Abridgment in favour of his own Party. There he relates, That under the Reign of *Constantius*, almost all the Bishops attempted to condemn St. *Ambrosius*; That *Liberius* of *Rome*, *Eusebius* of *Vercelles*, *Lucifer of Calaris*, and St. *Hilary of Poitiers*, refusing to approve this unjust Condemnation, were sent into Banishment; That *Damasus* who was then Deacon of *Rome*, pretended he would accompany *Liberius*, but returned again immediately; That the Clergy of *Rome* in the presence of the People took an Oath, not to receive another Bishop while *Liberius* liv'd; That notwithstanding this, in a little time after, the Clergy chose the Archdeacon *Felix* to fill his Place; That *Liberius* having consented to Impiety, [by subscribing an *Arian* Confession of Faith] return'd about three Years after and was restor'd to the Possession of his See, and that *Felix* was driven away from *Rome*; Upon whose Death, which happen'd Eight Years after *Liberius* came back, he received into Communion those of the Clergy that had been of *Felix's* Party; That he died also in a little while after, and then the Priests and Deacons who had been Faithful to *Liberius* in his Banishment chose *Orsacius* in his room; but the perfidious Party chose *Damasus* an ambitious Man, who had always aspir'd to the Episcopal Chair; That this man had committed all sorts of Cruelties and Outrages against those who adhered to *Orsacius*, and at last had driven them all out of the City. That since this time those of the Orthodox Party had been abus'd, dispers'd and banish'd, and that two of them call'd *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus* presented this Petition to the Emperours *Valentinian*, *Theodosius* and *Arcadius*.

They complain in this Petition of the Persecutions and Cruelties which they say they still suffer from their Enemies; They affirm, That no Error nor Heresy can be charg'd upon them, and then accused their Adversaries of having been formerly Heretics, or of having consented to the Condemnation of the Faith of the Church. They describe the miserable End of *Arius*, to beget a Horror of his Impiety, and they say, That God hath by this visible Judgment approv'd all that was done in the Council of *Nice*. They relate afterwards what pass'd in the Councils of *Seleucia* and *Ariminum*, and how the Bishops were forc'd to sign the Heretical Confessions of Faith; They bewail their Unhappines, and praise the Faith and Constancy of *Paulinus of Trier*, of *Eusebius of Vercelles*, of *Lucifer of Calaris*, and a very small number of Bishops, who chose rather to suffer all things than do any thing against their Conscience. They describe the Defection of *Hosius* Bishop of *Cordoba*, and say, That he died by a visible Judgment of God, for pronouncing Sentence against *Gregory of Batavia*, who had always boldly defended the Faith. They say, That the same thing happen'd to *Potamius* of *Ossebona*. They add, That these visible Judgments of God do plainly shew, that those who would not communicate with the Bishops that were deserv'd with these Crimes, are so far from being guilty of Impiety, that they do great Service to the Church; That the great number of those who communicate with them, ought to be no Prejudice to others, since this Conduct is contrary to Scripture; That the Pretence of promoting Peace ought not to make us own Apostates for Lawful Bishops; That the Inconstancy of the Catholics, has given occasion to *Valens* to embrace the *Arian* Faction.

Faction. They represent afterwards in a most Odious manner, the Cruelties which they say were committed against their Party in different places of the World, and they conjure the Emperour to put a stop to this Persecution by his Edicts. Nor, add they, that we are afraid to Suffer, or to Die, being perswaded, that when we die for a good Cause, we shall enjoy after our Death great Tranquillity, and have a perfect certainty of our Blesseds. But we give you Notice of this Disorder, for fear lest the Blood of Christians, if it still continue to be shed, bring down the Wrath of God upon your Government. Tho' the Complaints of these Two Priests were injurious to the Church, yet *Theodosius* was mov'd by them, and granted a Rescript in their Favour address'd to *Cygnius* the Praetorian Prefect, wherein he testifies his Indignation against the manner of treating them, and ordains, That the Bishops *Gregory of Spain*, and *Heraclides* of the East, who are mentioned in their Petition, and all those who communicate with them be suffer'd to live in quiet. This Petition must have been presented after the Year 383, because *Arcadius* to whom it is address'd, was not admitted a Partner of the Empire till that Year, and the Rescript must be before 388, which was the Year wherein *Cygnius* died. It seems to have been presented while *Damasus* liv'd, who died in the Year 384.

There is some probability, that *Faustinus* presented the Confession of Faith which goes under his Name in the Roman Code, publish'd by Monsieur *Quefnel* at the End of the Works of St. *Leo*, along with this Petition. I know very well, that this Learned Man pretends, that this Confession of Faith was made about the Year 379, before the Council of *Constantinople*; but his Conjectures are not convincing: He attributes to the Priest *Marcellinus*, the Confession of Faith which precedes this in the New Code; but this also is a Conjecture that is not absolutely certain.

The Style of *Faustinus* in his Treatise of the Trinity, is very plain and simple: He contents himself with producing Passages of Scripture, from which he draws consequences to prove the Doctrine of the Church, and with answering the Objections of the *Arians*; but the Style of his Petition is swelling and paterfical. In it you may see the Humour and Genius of all Reformers, who *Glory* in their small number, who blame the Multitude, who read in Pieces the Reputation of those who are promoted to Dignities, who testify their Indignation against the Higher Powers, who make a show of much Firmness and Constancy, of a great Conquest of this Life, of Honours and Riches; who look upon themselves as unblameable, and attribute to the Divine Vengeance all the Fatal Accidents which happen to those that are not their Friends; who are always complaining of being Persecuted and ill used; who exaggerate the Evils which they justly suffer, and affect to show a great Zeal for Piety and Religion.

They ought to shew by a proportionable firmness of Mind, that they place their Confidence in a Being that is Superior to any Powers here below; and if they find Fault with the multitude who do not join with them, they Act according to their own Principles, since all Men who think themselves to be in the Right, must believe that their Adversaries are mistaken; their standing to their own Assertions cannot reasonably be interpreted to be injurious to Men in Eminent Places; Constancy, Contempt of the World, of Life, Riches and Honours, are Virtues, which, when Supported by a good Cause, are glorious Ingredients in the Characters of the greatest Saints; and therefore are favourable Prejudices for all those Reformers in whom they are to be found; if they are too apt to attribute the ill Successes of their Enemies to Divine Vengeance, they are not Singular, since all Parties and even all Religions constantly practise it; if they are hardly used they may reasonably complain of their Usage; and Mr. *du Pin* knows that his Church has always taken very particular Care that her Adversaries should never claim against her for Persecuting without Just Cause; whilst they believe themselves to be in the right: Reformers, as all Men naturally do, will aggravate their Sufferings, that they may lay load upon their Persecutors; and last of all, every Man is tempted to think his Adversary's Zeal for Religion to be only Hypocritical.

If we consider what good Success these Two *Luciferian* Priests had in their Business, we ought not hastily to condemn them: *Theodosius* the Great always shew'd an unshaken Zeal for the Orthodox Faith; and his Carriage towards St. *Ambrose* who censured him for his hasty and cruel Orders against the *Thebaldians*, was an Evidence how very much he Reverenc'd the Orders and Discipline of the Church; and besides, if we reflect upon the Accounts which *Ammonius Marcellinus* gives us of the Differences between *Damasus* and *Orsacius*, they will seem to plead for *Orsacius's* Party. His being a Heathen is no prejudice against him in this Matter, because he was not a Bigot against the Christian Religion; so that it rather gave him the Advantage which all Neuters have of judging impartially of both sides.]

PHILASTRIUS.

PHILASTRIUS Bishop of *Brescia*, flourish'd under the Elder *Theodosius*, and was one of the Bishops in the Council of *Aquileia*. St. *Austin* says, That he had seen him sometimes with St. *Ambrose*. We have his Life written as is thought, by St. *Gaudensius* his Successor. He died before St. *Ambrose* about the Year 387.

• About the Year 387.] The Author of this Life, says, this was the Mistake of a Figure, and that they put a C for an L, which would make it [just] 380.

He wrote a Treatise of Heresies; wherein he reckons 20 Heresies before the Birth of Jesus Christ, and 128 afterwards to the Year 380, in which he wrote, and tells in a few Words the principal Errors of each of them. St. *Austin* observes at the beginning of his Book about Heresies, that it was a surprising thing that *Philastrius* who was much less learned and less exact than St. *Epiphanius*, should reckon up many more Heresies than he did; from whence he concludes, that these two Authors could not have the same Notions of Heresy, because indeed it is very difficult to give a just Definition of it. Wherefore, adds St. *Austin*, in giving the Catalogue of Heresies, we must carefully avoid these two opposite extremes, whereof one is to make those Heresies that are not, and the other is to omit those Heresies which really are such. 'Tis a rare thing for those who make the Catalogues of Heresies to fall into this last Fault; but the first is very common, and *Philastrius* was more subject to it than any body. For he feigns a multitude of Heresies that never were, and sometimes he puts in the number of Heresies those Opinions that are true, or at least problematically disputed. And therefore we need not wonder, that he made so numerous a Catalogue of Heresies, which he also multiplied, by mentioning one and the same Heresy many times.

The Style of this Author is mean and flat; he had no great Learning, and has committed many gross Faults in this little Tract, which is not written with any exactness: Yet there are some remarkable things in it.

This Treatise was printed at *Basle* in 1528; and at *Helmstadt* in 1611, and in 1614, and with St. *Austin's* Book of Heresies, in several places, and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

^b Heresies that never were.] As the *Nazareans*, the *Heliothes*, the Adversers of *Mice*, the *Muscavonites*, the *Troglodytes* in the Old Testament, the *Formations*, the *Badites*, the *Celebites*, the *Molochites*, the *Tophites*; making several Sects of Heretics, of the Abominations committed by the Jews, and the Sacrifices of the People that were their Neighbours. But nothing is more pleasant than his Invention of the Heresy of the *Pneumatics*, which he founds upon that Passage of *Jeremy*. They have forsaken me the Fountain of Living Water, to make to themselves broken Cisterns. That which he founds upon the 8th. Ch. of *Ezekiel* is not better grounded. Never any but he mentioned the Heresies of *Judas*, of the *Passaloriniches*, the *Rheborians*, the *Discalceati*, and some others: Of one and the same Heresy, he many times makes many; and in a word, he reckons the number of Heresies, not by the Sects, but by every particular Opinion. In our days, he might have multiplied at a much greater rate the number of Heresies, by counting as many Errors as have been invented by one or other.

^c He puts in the number of Heresies those Opinions that are true or at least problematical.] As in *Herety 26*, that the Soul of *Samuel* was brought back by the Witch of *Endor*; in the 59th. the Error of the *Millenarians*; in the 75th. that the Elements shall not perish; in the 88th. that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* may be St. *Luke's* or St. *Barnabas's*; in the 63d. that there are more than 7 Heavens; in 94. that there is no other Earth but this; in 96. that the likeness of Man to God may be explained with relation to his Body; in 97. that the Breath which God infus'd into Man was his Soul; in 101. that Earthquakes are natural Effects; in 102. and 111. that the Names of prophane Gods may be given to the Stars; in 110. that the number of Years since the Creation is not certain; in 126. that *David* was not the Author of all the *Psalms*; in 129. that the Stars are fasten'd to Heaven; in 137. and those that follow, that we may follow another Version besides that of the Seventy, and some others; in the 56th. he condemns those that admit *Eusebius* as a Canonical Book.

^d Many gross Faults.] There are an infinite number of them in this Book; take some few of them. He places the *Ophebes*, the *Gaimines*, and the *Troglodytes* among the Heretics which were before Jesus Christ, which is an Error in Chronology. He says, the *Sammarians* came

from a King call'd *Samarius*, the Son of *Canaan*. What a strange Mistake is here! He says that *Mercurius Trimegistes* came to the *Celtae*, and taught them to adore the Sun. He affirms that the God *Magus*, *Balides*, &c. but also *Cerdon*, *Marcion*, and many other Heretics, publish'd their Errors while the Apostles were alive: a wonderful Mistake in Chronology. There are many more in it of this Nature.

^e There are some remarkable things in it.] He confirms in many places the Immortality and Spirituality of the Soul, and chiefly in *Herety 122*. In *Herety 87*, he admits as Canonical the Two Epistles of St. *Peter*, that of St. *Jude*, and the Three Epistles of St. *John*. He explains the Mystery of the Trinity in *Herety 91, 92*. He discourses of Grace in *Herety 97*. He says very curious things about the Diversity and Gift of Tongues in *Herety 103, 104*. He rejects in 105. the Opinion of those who thought that the Day of Judgment should happen 563 Years after Jesus Christ. In 106 he rejects the Opinion of those who imagin'd, that the Sons of Men spoken of in *Genesis*, were Angels. In the 112, he laughs at those that say there are many Worlds. In *Herety 116*, he plainly admits Original Sin. In 121, he rejects the Opinion of those, who believ'd that Jesus Christ descended into Hell, and preach'd the Gospel there to all the Damned, and that those of them who believ'd in him were sav'd. In 129, he explains the Eternal Generation of the Word. In 124, he teaches that Men ought to run in the Ways of Virtue, and to desire what is Good, but they ought not to do it with Pride and Haughtiness, for they should acknowledge that they cannot deserve Salvation by their own Works, but by the Mercy of Jesus Christ; that it is indeed in our Power to run, but we ought to hope for greater things from God; and therefore we ought not to magnify our selves, and say, I can be a Martyr, I can be an Apostle, but we must add, If Jesus Christ will. Because it is from him that we obtain these Graces, and they are not to be acquir'd by a vain Presumption. In *Herety 144*, he observes that the Church celebrates Four Solemn Fasts, before *Christmas*, before *Epiphany*, before *Easter*, and before *Whitsunday*. I leave the other Observations to those who will take the pains to read this little Tract, whose brevity is one of its best Qualities.

TIMO-

TIMOTHY of Alexandria.

TIMOTHY the Successor of *Peter of Alexandria*, who was present at the Second Council of *Constantinople*, wrote the Lives of the Monks of *Egypt*, which is mention'd by *Socomen* Ch. 29. of B. VI. of his History. *Facundus* in Ch. 2. of B. IV. cites a Letter of the same *Timothy* address'd to *Diodorus of Tarsus*.

We have now the Responses or Canon-Laws of this Bishop, upon which *Balsamon* has written Commentaries. The Questions that were propos'd to him, were Questions about Customs and Practices of the Church, and his Answers are very Judicious.

In the First he says, that those young Catechumens ought to be Baptiz'd, who being present in the Church with the Faithfull had receiv'd the Eucharist.

The Second and Third concern those that are possess'd by an Evil Spirit; he says, that those Catechumens ought not to be baptiz'd who are afflicted with this Evil, until the Point of Death. As to the Faithful, he would have them permitted from time to time to approach the Holy Mysteries, provided the Devil do not seduce them to discover these Mysteries or to blaspheme them.

In the 4th. he says, that those Catechumens may be Baptiz'd, who have lost their Wits by Sickness.

In the 5th. he counsels married Persons to abstain from the use of Marriage, on that day in which they intend to Receive the Communion.

In the 6th. and 7th. he would not have Women Baptiz'd, nor Receive the Communion, but at certain times.

In the 8th. he exempts Women newly brought to Bed from the Fast of *Lent*: Because, says he, Fasting was not appointed but to afflict the Body, and therefore where the Body is already afflicted, they may take what is necessary for it.

In the 9th. he says, that the Clergy ought not to use the Publick Prayers in the presence of the *Arians* and Heretics, if they have a Design to forsake their Heresy: He takes notice, that the Deacon was wont to say with a loud Voice, before he saluted the People, Let those who do not Communicate withdraw.

In the 10th. he exempts sick Persons from the Fast of *Lent*, and permits them to eat Oyl in that time.

In the 11th. he says, that a Clergy-man ought not to marry Persons contrary to Law.

In the 12th. he excuses Nocturnal Illusions, when they do not proceed from a voluntary Cause.

In the 13th. he would have Persons that are Married abstain from the use of Marriage on *Saturday* and *Sunday*, that they may be capable of Receiving the Communion.

In the 14th. he says, that an Oblation may be offer'd for those that kill themselves through madness, having lost the use of their Reason; but because this Pretence is often alleg'd to procure an Offering for those that kill themselves knowingly, therefore the Matter should be well examin'd.

The 15th. Question is of great Consequence. It was ask'd, supposing a Wife to be perfectly Foolish and Mad, so that she must be bound, Whether an Husband, who, says he, cannot contain himself, may lawfully marry another Wife? He answers, That this Action would be Adultery in him, and that nothing else is to be said upon the Question.

In the 16th. 'twas ask'd, Whether a Person that fasted in order to Communicate, having by chance swallow'd down a drop of Water, either in bathing himself, or in washing his Mouth, ought to Communicate or no? He answers, that he ought to do it so much the rather, because 'tis the Devil that uses this Artifice to hinder his Receiving the Communion.

In the 17th. he says, that those who hear the Word of God and do it not, are in some measure excusable, if they be angry with themselves for their Omision, and accuse themselves of it.

In the Last, he says, that Men begin to sin, when they come to the use of Reason, and so some begin to sin at Ten Years of Age; some sooner and some later.

NECTARIUS.

NECTARIUS who was chosen Arch-bishop of *Constantinople* in the Year 382, after St. *Gregory Nazianzen* withdrew, passes for the Author of a Homily upon the Festival of the *Martyr Theodorus*. Printed at *Paris* by *Nivelle* in 1554, together with some Homilies of St. *Chrysostom*. He discourses in this Homily of Alms-giving and Fasting. *Nectarius* died in 397. He could not be very skilful in Divinity, having spent all his Life at Court, and being only a Catechumen when he was chosen to be Bishop.

Nectarius.

GELASIVS.

GELASIUS of Caesarea.

GELASIUS places *Gelasius* Successor to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Caesarea* in *Palastine*, amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers. He assures us, that he had an exact and polite Style, but that he would not publish his Works. *Photius* in Vol. 89, assures us, that he read the Continuation of the History of *Eusebius*, written by *Rufinus*, Translated into Greek by this Author. He observes, that he was the Nephew of *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, and that this Father was his Fellow-labourer in the Translation of this History. *Theodoret* in his first Dialogue quotes with commendation a Passage of this Author, taken out of a Homily upon the Apparition of Jesus Christ, which proves the distinction of the Two Natures in Christ.

SIRICIUS.

SIRICIUS succeeded Pope *Damasus* in the Year 385, and govern'd the Church of *Rome* till the Year 398. The Letters of this Pope, are the first Decretals which are truly the Pope's whole Name they bear.

The first Letter he wrote soon after he was promoted to the Pontifical Dignity, in answer to *Himerius* Bishop of *Tarricon*, upon some Questions which he had propos'd to *Damasus* Predecessor to *Siricius*.

The first Question was, Whether the *Arians* must be Re-baptiz'd who were readmitted into the Church. *Siricius* answers, That this was by no means to be permitted, because the Apostle forbids it, because the Canons condemn it, and because it was forbidden by the Constitutions of his Predecessor *Liberius*, which were sent to all the Churches of the World, after the Annulling of the Council of *Arminium*. "Wherefore, adds he, in obedience to what was Ordain'd, by a Synod, We reconcile them to the Church, as well as the *Novatians* and other Heretics by Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and by Imposition of hands made by the Bishops: This is the Method which all the East and all the West observes, and you cannot vary from this Practice, but you will deserve to be separated from our Society by a Synodical Sentence.

The Second Question propos'd by *Himerius*, was about the time wherein Baptism ought to be Administer'd. *Siricius* thinks, that in this we should follow the Custom of the Church of *Rome*, that this Sacrament should not be Administer'd but at *Easter* and *Whitsontide*; yet he excepts Infants and such as are in danger of their Life, who should be relieved with all speed. "For fear, says he, lest we be guilty before God of the loss of those to whom we have refus'd Baptism. He would have this Law observ'd by all the Bishops, and threatens those who shall not observe it, to separate them from the Apostolick Rock, upon which Christ has built his Universal Church. Yet this Law was never punctually observ'd, neither in the East nor in the West; and nevertheless the Bishops who did not observe it, were never upon this Account separated from the Apostolick Rock upon which Christ built his Universal Church.

The Third Question is concerning those who having receiv'd Baptism had fallen into Apostasy. *Siricius* ordains, that if they acknowledge their Fault, they should do Penance for the rest of their Life; but that the favour of Reconciliation should be granted them at the Point of Death.

The Fourth Question was, Whether a Man could marry a Woman that was promis'd to another. *Siricius* answers, that we must not suffer it to be done, because it was a kind of Sacrilege to violate the Blessing which the Priest or Bishop gave to her that was to be married.

The Fifth concerns Penitents who have relaps'd into the Sins of the Flesh, after they had completed their Penance and were reconcil'd to the Church. *Siricius* says, that since they have no further the benefit of Penance, he thinks it convenient to give them leave to be present at the Prayers of the Church; but upon condition that they shall be kept back from the Holy Table, that is, from the participation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist; yet he would have this *Vaticum* granted them at the Point of Death. He Ordains that the same Method shall be observ'd towards Women that fall into Sins of this Nature. And in fine, as to Monks and Religious Persons guilty of Uncleanness, he Ordains, that those detestable Persons shall be separated not only from the Assemblies of the Church, but also from the Society of Monks, and that being shut up in Prison, they shall bewail their Sin all the remainder of their Life, that so they may be capable of deserving the Communion of the Church at the Hour of Death.

After this, he speaks in the 7th Canon against those Persons who being in Orders do not observe Celibacy. And he declares, That if for the future any Bishop, Priest, or Deacon shall not continue unmarried, he is to hope for no more pardon, because it was necessary to cut off with the Knife those Sores that could not be cur'd by other Remedies.

The Eighth Canon is against those who get themselves Ordain'd after they have had several Wives.

In the Ninth, *Siricius* observes the several Degrees through which one must pass before he arrives at the Priesthood. He says, that he who devotes himself to the Service of the Church, should be baptiz'd very young, and plac'd among the number of Readers; that if he behaves himself discreetly till he be 30 Years old, he may during that time be made an Acolyte and Sub-deacon, provided that he

he does not marry above once, and when he does not marry a Widow; that after he shall be Ordain'd Deacon, if he obliges himself to live unmarried; Five Years after the Order of Priesthood may be obtain'd upon him; and that in the end of Ten Years, he may be made Bishop. This *Siricius* disposes of those who are design'd for the Clergy, from the first Years of their Life: But for those that would enter into Holy Orders when they are already come to Years, he says, in the Tenth Canon, that immediately after their Baptism, they should be plac'd in the Rank of Readers only, for two Years after they should be made Acolytes and Subdeacons, at the end of Five Years Deacons, and some time after Priests, and afterwards Bishops. If the People and the Clergy should choose them, These Rules are very fine in speculation; but it was never seen that they were exactly observ'd, and indeed it had been very difficult to do so.

In the 7th he declares, that every Clergy-man who shall marry a Second Wife or a Widow, shall be turn'd out of Holy Orders, and reduc'd to Lay-Communions.

In the 12th he observes, that no other Women must be suffer'd to dwell with the Clergy, but those whom the Council of *Nice* has allow'd.

In the 13th, he speaks of the Ordination of Monks. "We wish, says he, and desire, that those among the Monks who are recommended by the Holiness of their Lives and the Purity of their Faith, may enter into the Clergy, upon Condition that they pass through the Inferior Orders, that they be not Ordain'd Deacons or Priests till they come to a good Age, and that they do not ascend "all of the sudden into the Episcopal Chair, but only after they have continued the time prescrib'd in each of the Sacred Orders.

In the 14th, he says, that as a Clergy-man is not permitted to do publick Penance, so neither should a Lay-man be allow'd, after he has done publick Penance, to enter into the Clergy. At last, he Ordains in the last Canon, that considering the greater part excuse themselves as not knowing these Laws, that their Ignorance be pardon'd; but upon Condition that the Penitents and Bigamists who have been Ordain'd, shall continue in that Order wherein they are; without being capable of ascending higher. He concludes these Canons with threatening the Condemnation of the Holy See to all Metropolitans who did not observe these Laws; and ends his whole Letter with exhorting *Himerius*, to observe the Canons and the Holy Decrees, and to publish them in *Spain*.

The Second Letter of Pope *Siricius* furnishes us with a good Example of the ancient Manner of judging us'd by the Holy Apostolick See: There he acquaints the Church of *Milan*, that having Assembled all his Clergy, he had condemn'd *Jovinian* and his followers; with the Advice and Consent of the Priests, Deacons, and all the Clergy. *Omnium nostrum tam Presbyterorum & Diaconorum, quam etiam totius Cleri una sententia.*

The Third Letter of the Pope *Siricius* is address'd to all the Orthodox; he exhorts them to observe the Canons of the Council of *Nice* in the Election of Bishops; he recommends to them, not to give Bishopricks to Persons unknown, nor to Novices, nor to Lay-men, but to Clergy-men, whose Life was unblamable.

The Fourth Letter of *Siricius* which is address'd to the Bishops of *Africa*, is suspected of Forgery by the most able Critics, who prove it by very strong Conjectures; and it contains nothing remarkable.

The last Letter written to *Anysius of Thessalonica*, and other Bishops of *Illyricum*, was for a long time attributed to *St. Ambrose*, tho' he speaks there of this Father in the Third Person, and was restor'd to *Siricius* by *Hollstenius*. The Bishops to whom he writes had consulted him about the Cause of *Bonosus*, who was accus'd of saying rashly, That the Virgin *Mary* had Children. *Siricius* answers *Anysius* and those Bishops, that the Synod of *Capua* having ordain'd that the neighbouring Bishops to *Bonosus*, and chiefly those of *Macedonia*, should take cognizance of the Charge that was drawn up against him, it did no longer belong to him to judge of this Cause; that it belong'd to

* By very strong Conjectures. [Blondel had before rejected this Letter, but with some Doubt, and without giving any convincing Reason; but Monsieur *Quesnel* has perfectly destroyed the Credit of it, by tapping the foundation upon which it was built, which was the Council of *Telepta*, wherein this Letter is quoted, and by alleging many new Conjectures against this Letter. These that follow are the chief. 1. The first Canon of this Letter has no Sense in whatever manner it be read, or explain'd; for according to some it must be read, *in fine consensum sedis Apostolice Primatis, nemo audet ordinare*, according to others, *in extra consensum sedis Apostolice, i. e. Primatis, nemo audet ordinare*. The first is ridiculous, first, because the Popes never pretended to take cognizance of the Ordinations of all the Metropolitans. Secondly, because in *Africa* there was but one Primate only, all the other Ecclesiastical Metropolitans were the most ancient Bishops of the Province. The Second is equally ridiculous: For what probability is there, that a Pope should give to all the Metropolitan Churches the Title of the Apostolick See, which Pope *Leo* in Ep. 78, said could not be granted to the Bishop of *Constantinople*? Secondly this Letter is copied from that of *Innocent* to *Vilricius*. Thirdly, the Author of this Letter says impudently, That the Bishops of *Africa* would have come to the Synod of *Rome*, if they had not been hinder'd by old Age or Sickness from coming thither. Fourthly, he makes *Siricius* speak to the *Africans* with too much Authority. Fifthly, he only advises Priests and Deacons to Celibacy, as a thing that they were not oblig'd to; whereas 'tis certain, that *Siricius* lookt upon it as an indispensable Law. Sixthly, what this Author has not copied from the Letter of *St. Innocent* is barbarous and ill-turn'd. Seventhly, the Subscription of this Letter is singular; *Data Roma in Concilio Episcoporum* 80. This is always put at the beginning and never at the end of Synodical Letters. In fine, this Letter was never quoted in the *African* Councils, which have treated of the Continuity of the Clergy, no more than that Council of *Telepta*, wherein it is pretended that it was quoted. 'Tis true that *Ferdinandus* the Deacon has infer'd the Canons of this Council, as well as those of this Letter, into his Collection; but he may be mistaken as Father *Quesnel* proves in this Dissertation, which is the 15th. of his Learned Dissertations upon

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SIRINUS. them to whom this Judgment was committed to give their Sentence, and that neither the Accused, nor the Accusers could avoid it; That the Synod of *Capua* having chosen them to Judge it, the Judgment which they should give was to be lookt upon as the Judgment of the Council; That *St. Sirinus* having consulted *St. Ambrose*, whether he could be readmitted to his Church, he had answer'd him that he must attempt nothing unreasonably; but must wait for the Judgment of those to whom the Synod of *Capua* had given Authority to determine this Affair: Yet in the following part of this Letter he does not omit to acquaint them with his thoughts of this Question, and to refute the Opinion of *Bonifacius*; but he does it as a private Doctor and not as a Judge, declaring at the end of this Letter, that he waited for their Judgment upon this Affair, that he might follow it as his Rule. This is a very authentick Testimony of the Reverence which the Ancient Popes had for the Decisions of Councils.

SABINUS.

SABINUS Bishop of the *Macedonians* at *Heraclaea* in *Thracia*, liv'd about the end of the Reign of *Theodosius* the Great. He collected together the Acts of several Councils of the Fourth Century, which *Socrates* quotes several times; tho' he wrote very spitefully against the Church, yet his Memoirs had been very useful for clearing up the History of the Councils of that time, if they had come to our hands.

AMBROSE of Alexandria.

ST. Jerom speaks of this Author in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers after this manner: "Ambrose of Alexandria, the Scholar of *Didymus*, wrote a great Dogmatical Treatise against *Apollinarius*, and Commentaries upon *Job*, of which some spoke to me not long ago: This Author 'is still alive,' which shews that he died not till after the Year 392. And this is all that we have to say of this Author."

THEOTIMUS.

THEOTIMUS Bishop of *Tomi* in *Scythia*, has written, according to the Testimony of the same *St. Jerom*, short and sententious Treatises by way of Dialogue, according to the ancient manner of Writing. This Bishop was one of the Defenders of *St. Chrysostom*. He was present at *Constantinople* when *St. Epiphanius* came thither, and spoke to him briefly in Defence of *Origen's* Books. *Socrates* produces his Words Ch. 12. of the VIth. B. of his History. *Sozomen* commends in Ch. 26. of the VIth. B. of his History, and mentions some Miracles which he wrought.

EVAGRIUS of Antioch.

ST. Jerom assures us that *Evagrius*, who was ordain'd in 386, Bishop of *Paulinus's* Party at *Antioch*, was a Man of a brisk and fervent Spirit; that when he was Priest, he wrote many Treatises upon different Subjects which he had read to himself, but that they had not yet seen the light; and that he had Translated into Latin the Life of *St. Anthony* written by *St. Athanasius*. This shews, that they are to blame, who attribute the Translation of this Life to *St. Jerom*. This Author died in the Year 393.

ST. AMBROSE Bishop of Milan.

ST. Ambrose The Father of *St. Ambrose* was Praetorian Praefect of *Gaul* when this Saint was born, which was about the Year 340, and was Nurs'd in his Father's Palace. 'Tis reported, that while he was sleeping one day with his Mouth open in the Court of this Palace, a Swarm of Bees came and

* About the Year 340. The date of *St. Ambrose's* Birth, depends upon the date of that Letter which was formerly the 32d. and is now the 60th. address'd to *Severus*; for there he says, That he was 53 Years old, and that he wrote in a time of War. *De officiis barbaricus moribus, & bellorum procellis, in medio versatum omnium molestiarum feto.* This may relate either to the

War of *Maximus*, in 378, or to that of *Eugenius* in 393; if it refers to the first, he was born in 324, if to the second, in 340. 'Tis hard to say whether it refers to the one or to the other.

* Was Nurs'd in his Father's Palace. *Paulinus* the Author of *St. Ambrose's* Life says plainly, That he was born in his Father's Palace, who was then the Praetorian Praefect

flew

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flew about his Cradle, and having many times crept in and out to rest themselves upon his Mouth, at last they mounted up into the Air: so high, till they quite vanish'd out of sight; which was look'd upon by his Father as a Prodigy, and a presage of the future Greatness of this Infant. *Profrane Antiquity* relates the same thing of *Plato*, and affirms, That it was a Presage of the Sweetness of his Eloquence; but there is more Reason to believe what the Author of the Life of our Saint says, That this swarm of Bees form'd those Honey-combs in his Mouth, which should one Day make us relish the Sweetness of Heavenly Gifts, and raise our Hearts up to Heaven.

The Father of *St. Ambrose* dying sometime after, his Widow left *Gaul*, whether the was come to dwell only upon the account of her Husband's Office, and return'd to *Rome* which was their Country. Thither she carried *St. Ambrose* who was yet very Young, together with *Marcellina* his Sister, and *Saturus* his Eldest Brother; and she took special Care of the Education of her Children. Her Daughter profess'd Virginity and received the Veil from the Hands of Pope *Libertus*; *St. Ambrose* professed very much by the Domestick Examples of the Piety and Vertue of his Mother, his Sister, and the Virgins that were with them; they inspir'd into him from his tender Youth, the love of Vertue, and secur'd him from the Corruptions of the Age, and he joy'd in Learning to his Piety. His Works discover how vigorously he applied himself to humane Learning. Having finish'd his Studies, he acquir'd by his Merits the Friendship of *Avitus* *Probus*, and of *Symmachus*, two very Honest and Learned Men, tho' of different Religions. The First was the Praetorian Praefect of *Italy*, in whose Court *St. Ambrose* pleaded Causes with so much renown, that *Probus* made choice of him to be his Assessor. Afterwards he made him Governour of *Liguria* and *Emilia*, that is, of all that Country, which comprehends at this Day, the Archbishopsricks of *Milan*, *Liguria*, *Turin*, *Genoa* and *Bologna*. 'Tis reported that *Probus* said to him at parting, *Go thy way, and Govern more like a Bishop than a Judge*; which Words were a Prediction of what happened afterwards. For a little while after, *Avientius* Bishop of *Milan*, who was of the *Arian* Faction, being dead, the Bishops of the Province of *Italy* assembled to place one in his room, according to the Orders of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who would not himself interpose in the Election; and upon this Occasion there arose a great Contention among the People, because the *Arians* and the Orthodox on each side, did all that laid in their Power to choose a Bishop of their own Party. This Quarrel being like to raise a Tumult, *St. Ambrose* thought it the Duty of his Office to come into the Church and prevent it, whither being come, he made an Oration to the People with much Discretion and Mildness, exhorting them to proceed in their Choice with the Spirit of Peace and without Tumult. While he was yet speaking, the People

of *Gaul*. *Poisto in administratore professura Galliarum Paucis Ambrosio natus est Ambrosius, qui infans in Aera Praetoris in Cuneulis positus, &c.* This plainly enough discovers the place of his Birth and Education, for the Dwelling-House and Palace of the Praefect of the *Gauls* was certainly in *Gaul*: 'Tis true that the same *Paulinus* speaking afterwards of *St. Ambrose's* Journey to *Rome*, says, That he went to his own Country, proprium solum, and that *St. Basil* writing to *St. Ambrose*, says, He was of the Imperial City: But on these Occasions, the Place of his Parents abode, the Origin of the Family, and the common Residence of *St. Ambrose*, was consider'd as the Place of his Country. And indeed it was according to the Roman Laws; and the Children born in a Place where their Parents were by chance about their Affairs, were esteem'd to be of that Place, which was the ordinary Residence of their Parents and Mothers. See *L. v. ff. de capivo, & L. filius C. de municij, & L. i. ff. de incolis*. 'Tis more difficult to Assign precisely that City of the *Gauls*, where the Praetorian Praefect then resided, which is not certainly known. Some are of Opinion that it was at *Tiers*, which *St. Athanasius* and *Theodoret* call the Metropolis of *Gaul*, as *Milan* was the Metropolis of *Italy*: For the Residence of the Praetorian Praefect of *Italy* was at *Milan*. *Ammian* *Marcellinus* calls the City of *Tiers*, the Dwelling-Place of Princes; to which we may add, the Praefect which many Authors have given of this City; but this proves nothing. In the time of the Tyrant *Maximus*, *Evodius* the Praetorian Praefect of the *Gauls* Resided at *Tiers*, as appears by the History of the *Priscillianists* related by *Sulpicius Severus*. But it does not follow from hence, that this City was the Ordinary Residence of others, because that *Maximus* a Tyrant, who was newly raised to the Empire, dwelt at *Tiers*. Some have thought that the ordinary Residence of the Praetorian Praefect of the *Gauls* was at *Arles*. The Conjectures for this Opinion are these, That the Emperor *Constantine* resided in this City, that he honour'd it with many Privileges, and particu-

larly to be the Place for the meeting of a Council; That there is a Law of *Honorius* and *Theodosius*, which Ordains that every Year an Assembly of the Seven Provinces should be held in the City of *Arles*, in the presence of the Praefect, *sub Illustri praesentia Praefectus*; That *Agrippinus* the Praetorian Praefect of the *Gauls*, to whom this Law was address'd, received it at *Arles*; That in the Petition which those Counties presented to *Pope Leo*, they establish the Dignity of the Ecclesiastical Metropolis of *Arles* upon the Privileges which had been granted to this City by *Valentinian* and *Honorius*, which made it be look'd upon as the Mother of all the other Cities, and upon the Honour which it had to serve for the Residence of the Praetorian Praefect. 'Tis added, That *Honorius* writes in the Life of *Hilary* of *Arles*, that the Praetorian Praefect came to see this Bishop when he was reduc'd to Extremity; That *St. Prosper* in his Chronicle speaks of a Praetorian Praefect call'd *Exuperantius*, who resided at *Arles*; That *Liberius* Praetorian Praefect of *Gaul*, who confirm'd the Second Council of *Orange*, dwelt at *Arles*; That *Faustus Rhetorius* writing to *Felix* the Praefect of *Gaul*, says, That he resided in a City where he profited by the Instructions of *Ennius*, and this Man was Bishop of *Arles*. All these Proofs plainly shew, that in the Fifth Age the ordinary Residence of the Praetorian Praefect of *Gaul* was in the City of *Arles*; but they do not prove, that it was also in the time of *St. Ambrose*. One may rather believe, that it was the City of *Lyon*, which at first was the ordinary Residence of the Praetorian Praefect of *Gaul*. For, First, This City was look'd upon as the Chief City of *Gaul*. Secondly, *Strabo*, assures us, That the Praefects and Governours of *Gaul* commonly resided there, and cou'd not Money there of Gold and Silver: Now there is no probability, neither is there any Proof that *Constantine* changed this Custom in favour of the City of *Arles*: And therefore there is nothing very certain upon this Subject.

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unanimously proclaimed him Bishop of Milan. This unexpected Choice surprised him; he presently withdrew, and made up his mind. The Ambrose he could not deny the Bishopric. He attended the Bench of the People, and made them feel the authority of the first Book, because the Criminals to be brought before him, came with Chains, and commanded them to be shackled with great severity. This Ambrose, in contrived another, by making Women as Jews, Lives come into his house. But when people perceiving all this to be affected, continued still in their Choice: Whereupon he stole out of the City by Night, with a design to retire to Ticinum; but calling his way, he wandered up and down all Night, and found himself next Morning at the Gates of Milan. His Flight being known, a Guard was sent about him, and a Relation of all that had passed, was sent to the Emperor: St. Ambrose wrote also to him on his own behalf, that he might be excused from that Office. But the Emperor being wonderfully pleased with this Choice of the People, did not only confirm the Election, but gave Order to the Lieutenant of 600 to see the thing effectually done. In the mean time St. Ambrose once more made his escape, and hid himself in the House of one *Valentinian*. But the Lieutenant of that having published the Orders against all who did, knew where he hid, and did not let him go. Being by an innocent kind of Ignorance declared where he was, and then St. Ambrose finding it was in vain to resist any longer, was first baptised, and some time after made Bishop of Milan, at the End of the Year 374, or the Beginning of 375. Immediately after his Ordination he distributed to the Poor, or gave to the Church all the Money that he had. He sold his Lands also upon the Church, reserving only the Possession of them for Life. He committed the Care of his Affairs to the Brother *Savinius*, who being gone to Rome by Sea, left pursuit of a Man who had unjustly possessed himself of some part of their Estate, was like to have perished in a Shipwreck, which made him resolve to be baptised: Nevertheless he escaped the danger, and returned safe to Milan, where he died in 379. Thus St. Ambrose having renounced all Care of Secular Affairs, applied himself wholly to the worthy discharge of his Episcopal Function. Tho' he was but newly baptised, and never had time to study Religion before his Ordination, yet by his great Industry he attained to that Perfection, that at the same time he both learned and taught the Truths of the Christian Religion. He did every Day celebrate the Holy Mysteries; there said not a Sunday but he preached to his People. He hearkened to all Men with Meekness and Charity, he relieved the Poor, he comforted the Afflicted, so that all his People loved and admired him. He applied himself vigorously to root out the remnants of Arianism that were yet in the Church of Milan. He convicted *Secundianus* and *Palladius*, and procured their Condemnation in the Council of Aquileia held in the Year 381. The Death of *Gratian* changed the face of Affairs in the Western Empire. The Tyrant *Maximus* who had put him to Death, having usurped Gaul, was become formidable to all Italy. It was feared, that he would pass the Alps, and carry Italy by force from *Valentinian* the Younger, who was then but Twelve or Thirteen Years old. St. Ambrose was sent Ambassador to this Tyrant in the Year 384; and by his Prudence and Boldness diverted his Design of passing then into Italy. The Empress *Juliana*, Mother to *Valentinian*, who was an Arian, having a Design to restore Arianism after his Expiration in the Church of Milan, did at first desire of St. Ambrose, one of the Churches called the *Portian* Church, which St. Ambrose refused to grant her; and so great was Possession of his Church, and to entreat him also to appease the People. Sometime after the Empress sent him to demand in the Emperor's Name, not only that Church, but also the *New Church*. Our Saint opposed them with wonderful Boldness, and answered them with such a fearless Courage, as astonished the Persons who brought the Emperor's Orders to him. This happened at the Beginning of the Year 385. On Palm Sunday in the same Year, Officers were sent to seize upon the *Portian* Church, when St. Ambrose was officiating in the *New Church*. This irritated the People, who run to that Church; and having apprehended one *Cassulus* an Arian Priest, would have made a Riot; if St. Ambrose had not sent some Priests and Deacons to appease them. The Emperor caused many of the Seditious to be Arrested and sent armed Soldiers to take Possession of the Church, which for all that was not put in Execution. On Wednesday in Passion Week the Soldiers were sent to seize upon the *New Church*, but the People flocking thither in great Multitudes, the Soldiers never entered it; but the People within it spent the whole Night and Day, in singing of Psalms; and the next day after, the Emperor being prevailed upon by the Boldness and Wisdom of St. Ambrose's Carriage, who had put a stop to the Sedition, and yet had yielded nothing of what was demanded of him, ordered the Soldiers who surrounded the Church to retire.

In the Year following the Persecution was renewed against the Catholics and St. Ambrose, by an Edict of the Emperor in favour of the Council of Ariminum. A design also was laid to take from the Catholics the *Portian* Church. Orders were given to apprehend St. Ambrose and send him into banishment; but he was still secured by the Affection of the People of Milan, who Guarded him in his Church, where he spent many Days and Nights in singing Psalms and Hymns continually with his People. He was challenged to Dispute in the Palace with *Auxentius* the Arian Bishop; but he refused to do it, because Lay-men and Pagans were chosen to be Judges of their Conference. He offered to refer the Difference to the Judgment of a Council, tho' it was not reasonable to trouble the Peace of the Church for one Man only, nor to call that in Question which had been already deter-

mined. After this he spoke an Oration against *Auxentius*, which provoked the Empress *Juliana* yet more against him: But at last she gave over the further Persecution of this Bishop, seeing it was no purpose, because his own Wisdom and Courage, and the Affections of his People, covered him from all her Designs. 'Tis believed, That the Discovery of the Relicks of St. *Gervasius* and St. *Prothasius*, and the Miracles that were then done by them, contributed to the Peace of the Church. But 'tis very probable that the true Reason which hindered *Juliana* and *Valentinian* from pushing things to extremity, was the State of the Affairs of the Empire at that time. *Maximus* had prepared to pass over into Italy, a Sedition was also to be feared in this Juncture, and they stood in need of St. Ambrose. In effect the Emperor found no Person fitter than he to treat with *Maximus*, whom he sent Ambassador to this Tyrant, who resided at *Triers*: St. Ambrose spoke to him with much boldness, but he could obtain nothing of him; on the contrary, this Tyrant march'd immediately into Italy; and thereby made himself Master of all the Western Empire, so that *Valentinian* was forc'd to retire into the East, and desire Aid of *Theodosius*, who re-establish'd him, after he had defeated, taken and be-headed *Maximus*. This Revolution happened in 387. St. Ambrose continued during this time in his Bishoprick. When *Theodosius* came into the West, he showed no less Courage with reference to him, than before he had done to *Valentinian*. He opposed the re-establishment of the Jewish Synagogue, which *Theodosius* would have done, and of the *Atrium of Victory*, which *Symmachus* had already endeavour'd in vain to restore because of the Opposition of St. Ambrose. 'Tis well enough known, with what freedom he reproved the Emperor *Theodosius* for the Massacre at *Thessalonica* which he gave a Warrant for putting in Execution, and after what manner he obliged him to do publick Penance for it. The Death of *Valentinian* and the Advancement of *Engenius* for some time disturbed the Repose of St. Ambrose. He was obliged to retire from Milan in the Year 393, but he returned in the Year 394, and finished his Course as he had begun it. He died in the Year 396, aged 57 Years.

The Works of St. Ambrose above all the other Fathers, have been most corrupted in the ordinary Editions. The Roman Edition from which those that follow'd after were made, instead of restoring the Text of this Father, hath render'd it more faulty in many places, by the Liberty which the Supervisors of that Edition took, of making Alterations in it by their own Authority. In this Edition the Works were in great Confusion, without Order, and without any distinction of what were Genuine, and what were Supposititious; which induc'd the Benedic'tins of the Abby of St. *Germain de Pres* to undertake a New Edition of this Father's Works, wherein they have restor'd the Text from many Manuscripts, and ranged the Discourses in very good Order. In it they are divided into Two Volumes. The First which is already published, contains the Treatises of St. Ambrose upon the Scripture. The Second which will quickly come forth, and which they have allow'd me to make use of, contains the other Works of this Father. The First begins with the Treatise upon the Creation of the World, compos'd of Nine Discourses of St. Ambrose to his People, preach'd in one of the last Weeks of Lent. 'Tis probable, that he reduc'd them afterwards into the form of a Treatise. 'Tis divided into Six Books, which answer to the Six Days of the Creation. This Work contains many Questions of Controversy, and many Moral and Mystical Considerations upon the Text of the Bible. There are many of them, particularly in the last Books which are very extraordinary, and far-fetched. St. Ambrose made this Treatise about the Year 389. He has imitated St. Basil in it, whose Method he followed, and he has taken many things from him as also from *Hippolitus* and *Origen*.

The Treatise of *Paradise* is one of the first Books of St. Ambrose. He wrote it as he says in his Letter to *Sabinus*, soon after he was made Bishop. He does not dive very deep into the Historical Questions which may be made upon this Subject, but for the most part acquiesces in the Allegorical Explications, which he draws out of *Philo* and other Authors, or which he invents himself: There he refutes the Heretics of *Apelles*'s Sect, and occasionally speaks against the Jews.

St. Ambrose continues the Explication of the Text of *Genesis* in the Treatise of the History of *Abel* and *Cain*, upon which he makes abundance of long Allegories, wherewith he intermixes some Moral Thoughts. He enlarges particularly upon the Sacrifices of these Two Brethren. Upon occasion of the saying that the Blood of *Abel* crys, he says, That God hears the Just even after their Death, because they are even then living before God and enjoy Eternal Light.

The History of the Deluge and the Life of Noah, furnish'd St. Ambrose with very fit Matter for the Continuation of his Mystical and Moral Explications. This is the Subject of the Book of the Ark and of Noah, or of the Ark of Noah, as St. *Austin* calls it. This Treatise is not perfect, for St. *Austin* quotes a Passage out of it, which is not to be found there now.

There are Two Books of St. Ambrose upon the Life of Abraham. In the First he describes the Life and Actions of this Patriarch, and represents his Submission to the Will of God, and his other Vertues. In the Second Book he discourses on the First Actions of this Patriarch, to draw from them a more sublime and spiritual Sense, by applying them to the different Degrees of a spiritual Life, and to the Ways by which we tend to Perfection.

He treats also of the same Subject, tho' in a more compendious way, in the Book of *Isaac* and the *Soul*, where he explains the Union of the Soul with the Word, which was figur'd by the Marriage of *Isaac* and *Rebecca*. There he distinguishes Four Degrees through which the Soul must pass, that it may be delivered from all earthly Affections, and arrive at a State of perfect Union with God. By this Union he explains the *Canticler*, on which he makes a kind of a Mystical Paraphrase, and therefore this Treatise may pass for a Commentary upon this Book of Scripture.

* Ordain'd Bishop of Milan about the Year 374, or 375. In *Eusebius's* Chronicon, his Ordination is plac'd in the Year 375. But since it is certain that *Valentinian* died November 10th. 375, and that his Ordination was

made the 10th. of December under this Emperor, we must of necessity place it in the preceding Year.

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St. Ambrose having discoursed of the Soul at the End of the preceding Treatise, found himself irresistibly engag'd to treat of Death in the following Book. 'Tis entitled, *Of the Benefits or Advantages of Death*. There St. Ambrose first distinguishes three kinds of Death, The Death of Sin which kills the Soul, The Mystical Death by which we die to Sin, and the Natural Death by which the Soul is separated from the Body. All the World considers the First as a great Misery, and the Second as a great Happiness; but their Opinions are divided about the last: Some wish for it as a great Advantage, and others dread it as a great Punishment. St. Ambrose declares for those who hold it to be a great Benefit, he makes the Advantages of it appear, and opposes to them the troubles of this present Life from which Death deliver us. He exhorts Christians, not to set their Affections upon this Life nor the Pleasures of this World; he makes them sensible of the bitterness which accompanies them; he represents the Dangers to which we are continually expos'd, the Temptations to which we are subject in all sorts of Occurrences, and the Sins into which we fall every moment. Afterwards he discourses of the State of departed Souls, he supposes that till the Day of Judgment, they are in Places or Habitations, where they expect Eternal Glory or Damnation, tho' they enjoy already by anticipation some kind of Happiness or Misery. *All Souls wait, says he, for what they have deserved; some expect Damnation and others Glory; but in this waiting, the former are not without Pain, nor the latter without some Reward.* St. Ambrose insists particularly upon the Joy which the latter enjoy, and distinguishes Seven Degrees of their Happiness, whereof the last is to rejoice in the assurance they have of seeing God face to face. He concludes with exhorting the Faithful to die without Fear. "Let us go on," says he, without fear in the way to Jesus Christ; Let us march without anxiety to the Assembly of the Patriarchs and Saints; Let us enter with Confidence into Abraham's Bosom. Yes, O Holy Patriarch, open to us your Bosom, extend your Arms to these poor Faithful. Jesus is gone before us to prepare Habitations, where we are to be received; he promised to do it before we asked it of him. We desire to follow thee, O Lord, but call thou us unto thee, that so we may effectually follow thee, because without thee no Man can ascend unto thee. Thou art the Way, the Truth and the Life, thou givest us the Power, the Faith, and the Reward; receive us, since thou art the Way; confirm us since thou art the Truth; grant us Life, since thou art the Author of Life; make us to enjoy that good thing which David desired; show us that Eternal, that Immutable Bliss, which we shall enjoy for all Eternity." This Treatise of St. Ambrose has another sort of a relish than the foregoing; 'tis full of useful and solid Reflections, and of just and natural Reasonings. He founds all that he says upon Passages of the Holy Scripture, which he applies very pertinently and very naturally. He builds very much upon the Fourth Book of *Eldras* which he cites as Canonical. This Treatise was written about the Year 387. The Book of *forsaking the World* was written soon after this, of which we have already spoken: the Title of it sufficiently discovers the Subject. There St. Ambrose makes use of several Allegories taken out of the Old Testament, to exhort the Faithful to flee from this World, that they may be wholly united to God.

The Books of *Jacob* and *a Happy Life*, treat of the Happiness of the Righteous. In the First, he discovers the means of arriving at Happiness; the Chief whereof is, to follow the Light of Right Reason, which can command our Passions, and repress the Motions of Lust: For tho' we cannot wholly extinguish our Passions, yet we may restrain their Violence by practising the Virtue of Moderation; for he maintains that we do Good or Evil freely. Jesus Christ, he says, will have none for his Servants which are not free, and the Devil has none for Slaves, but those that are voluntarily Sold to him by their Sins. But because of Man's weakness the Divine Assistance is necessary. The Law which God has given him does clearly discover to him his Sins; but it has not sufficient Virtue to deliver him from Sin and Death; there is nothing but Grace could set us at Liberty, which Jesus Christ by his Death hath merited for all Men. This Grace is so powerful, that provided we be willing to follow its Motions, nothing shall ever be able to separate us from Jesus Christ. Whatever befalls us we shall be happy; a just Man is above all the Miseries of this Life; 'tis true indeed, he suffers Losses, Afflictions, Dileases, Pains, Captivity, &c. but he does not think himself less happy for being subject to these Accidents. There is nothing wanting to him that possesses Virtue, he fears nothing, he hopes nothing, he desires nothing; tho' he be weak, he is strong enough; tho' he appear to be poor, he is rich; tho' he is despised, he believes himself the more honoured; tho' he is alone, yet he is not forsaken; whatsoever Disease he has, he enjoys a perfect Health.

These Maxims are confirm'd in the Second Book by the Example of *Jacob*. St. Ambrose there describes the Life and Actions of this Patriarch, and shews, that the Afflictions and Crosses which befall him did not hinder him from being happy. He concludes with the Example of *Elezazar* and the *Maccabees*, on whom he makes a very lively and eloquent Panegyrick.

After he has discours'd of the Patriarchs *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, and treated, as he says himself, of *Submission to the Will of God*, upon the occasion of *Abraham*, of *Purity of Spirit* from *Isaac*, of *Patience under Miseries* from the History of *Jacob*; he treats of *Chastity* in explaining the History of *Joseph*, who has given an illustrious Example of the practice of this Virtue in resisting the Solicitations of *Potiphar's* Wife. This Action of *Joseph* is so much the more Glorious, by how much the Charms of this Woman were harder to be overcome; which St. Ambrose studies to set off to the best Advantage, that the Virtue of *Joseph* may the better appear. After this he pursues the History of this Patriarch, and discourses of all the Circumstances of his Life, which he refers to Jesus Christ, of whom *Joseph* was a Figure. He lays open this Mystical Sense with much Art and Probability, by comparing what is said of *Joseph* in *Genesis*, with what is said of Jesus Christ in the Gospel.

The

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The Commentary upon the Benedictions of the Patriarchs, follows naturally after the Book of the Life of *Joseph*. St. Ambrose there gives Mystical Senes to the Blessings, which *Jacob* when he was dying gave to his Children, and refers the greatest part of them to Jesus Christ. This Book and the preceding are Sermons preach'd by St. Ambrose at *Milan* about the Year 387, which he afterwards reduced into a Treatise.

The Book of *Elias* and of *Fasting* contains many Sermons preach'd at *Milan* in Lent. Having formerly spoken of the Actions of *Elias* upon other Occasions, he here enlarges upon the Morals of them. The Person of whom, and the Time when he preach'd do both conspire to invite him to treat of Fasting; and so this is the subject of the First and Principal Part of this Work. He maintains that Fasting is a Duty as old as the World, and pretends that the Law by which God forbid *Adam* to Eat of the Tree of Life, was a kind of Command for Fasting. He alleges afterwards the Examples of *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Elisba*, *Daniel*, and many others to authorize the Practice of Fasting. He discovers at last the Advantages of it, and shews how Intemperance and Excess are pernicious and inconvenient. This leads him insensibly to discourse against the Debauchery, the Drunkenness, and the other Disorders of Mens Tables, which were very common in St. Ambrose's Time: He adds, That these Excesses draw along with them all other Vices, and particularly the Desire of gathering Riches, to furnish the excessive Expences which were necessary to support their Luxury. He exhorts Christians to apply themselves to God who is the Sovereign Physician of these Evils; and proposes the Day of Judgment as a Dissuative from these Excesses. Addressing himself afterwards to the Catechumens, he presses them to purify themselves from their Sins by receiving Baptism. He reproves those sharply who delay to receive this Sacrament, and exhorts them rather to imitate the forwardness of *Abel* than the Negligence of *Cain*. 'Tis easy to perceive, that this Treatise was compos'd of many Pieces collected together. St. Ambrose has taken a great part of it out of St. *Basil*, and in it there are many excellent Passages, and some things very remarkable about the Discipline of the Church. He says in Ch. 10. that they prepar'd themselves by Fasting to approach to the Holy Table, that they fasted at *Milan* all the time of Lent, except *Sundays* and *Saturdays*; that on *Easter-day* the Fast ended; that on that Day those among the Catechumens, who were call'd *Elect*, were baptiz'd; that they approach'd to the Altar, and receiv'd the Sacrament. In short, St. Ambrose in this Treatise gives very Lively and Moral Descriptions of the Excesses and Debauchery of his Age: One needs only read the 12th. and 13th. Chapters, to be possess'd with a horror of them. Even the Women were given to Wine, and did many Actions unbecoming the Modesty of their Sex, of which St. Ambrose makes them ashamed in Chap. 18.

The Treatise of *Naboth and the Poor* (for so it ought to be call'd, according to the ancient Manuscripts, and according to the Custom of St. Ambrose) is a Discourse full of Zeal against the Rich and Powerful who oppress the Poor, preach'd by St. Ambrose upon the History of the Oppression of *Naboth* by King *Ahab*. This Saint then shews, that there are *Ahabs* and *Naboths* at all times. "The History of *Naboth*, says he, at the beginning of his Discourse, is ancient, if we consider the time wherein it was Transacted, but in Practice it happens daily; *tempore vetus est, usque quotidianum*: For who is the Rich man that does not desire other Mens Goods? Is it not easily seen, that the Rich would take from the Poor the little Estate that they have, and drive them away from the Inheritance of their Ancestors? Where is there one found that is content with what he has? There has not been one *Ahab* only in the World, he is born in it every day; there has not been one *Naboth* only kill'd, there are some such every day oppress'd. Every day the Poor are over-whelm'd, driven away, persecuted, and reduc'd to die by Famine, by the Injustice of the Rich." He declaims afterwards against this Barbarity, and shews the Rich, by the Example of *Ahab*, that they are more unhappy with all their Riches, than the most Miserable and the most Poor in their Wants. He cries out against those sumptuous Feasts and needless Expences which they make, by which they waste the Blood and Substances of the Poor. Here he relates a frightful Story of a Rich Man, who to procure good Wine to his Table, forc'd a Poor Man to sell his Son; and then he brings the Parable of the Rich Man mention'd in the Gospel of St. *Luke* Ch. 12. who purpos'd to pull down his Barns, that he might build larger, and shews from hence how far the Slavery, Blindness and Misery of Rich Men extends. Afterwards he returns to his History of *Ahab*, and having represented the horribleness of the Action of *Ahab* and *Jezebel*, he exhorts Rich Men not to imitate it, by teaching them the use they ought to make of their Riches, which is described in *Psalms* 75. He concludes with this Remark, that God pardon'd *Ahab* for this Crime, but this miserable Man brought upon himself Destruction by new Crimes. 'Tis thought, that this Treatise was compos'd about the Year 395.

The Book of *Tobit* is chiefly written against *Urfury*, which St. Ambrose condemns most severely. There he describes the Miseries to which Ufurers reduce the Poor, and the Artifices they use to ensnare young Heirs. Urfury according to him, is all that is receiv'd above the principal. It is condemn'd by the Divine Law in the Old and New Testament: If it was permitted to the *Israelites* with respect to Strangers, it was only with reference to them whom they might lawfully kill. He refutes those by name, who restrain the Prohibition of Urfury only to the Poor, and rejects the Reasons of Interest which may be alleg'd to excuse it. *Erasmus* doubted whether this Book were St. Ambrose's or no, but it was a doubt very ill grounded, for St. *Austin* cites it. It has St. Ambrose's Style, it contains his Doctrine, which is also to be found in short, in his 23d. Letter to *Vigilius*, and it contains many Passages translated out of St. *Basil*, according to the Custom of St. Ambrose. This Book was written about the Year 386.

The Four Books of the *Intercession* of Job and David, (that is, of the Complaints which Job and David made for the Miseries and Weakness of Mankind) are in this Edition replac'd here in their natural

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tural Order. In the two first Books he enlarges upon the Complaints contain'd in the First Chapters of the Book of *Job*, and in the *Psalms*, particularly in the 72^d and 42^d. In the Two last he answers the Complaints of those who tax Providence, because the Wicked are happy in this Life, and the Just miserable. He proves that the Happiness of the Wicked is not true happiness, and that the Calamities, Miseries and Misfortunes of the Good, do not at all render them unhappy.

In the Book entituled the *Apology* of David, he saves the Honour of this Holy King, not by justifying his Crimes of Adultery and Murder which are used to render him odious; but by shewing, that he rose again from his Fall by a quick and sincere Repentance; that it was for our Instruction that God permitted him to fall into Sin, and that he made amends for his Fault by a great number of good Actions. And therefore he explains the 5th. *Psalms*, that it may serve as an Apology for this Holy King. These Sermons were preach'd soon after the Death of *Gratian*, in the Year 385.

The *Benedictines* have plac'd here among these Works of St. *Ambrose* which are Genuine, the Second *Apology* for David; but it is confel'd in the Preface, that it has been question'd, and that there is reason for doing so: Indeed it is observ'd, that in all the Manuscripts that have been seen, this Book goes under the name of St. *Ambrose*, and the Conjectures which some Critics have alleg'd to show its imposture, are rejected. But then they find the Style is different from St. *Ambrose's*, and the Author uses a different Version of Scripture, and sometimes the Vulgar Latin, and he speaks of Two Sorts of Wills and Operations in Jesus Christ, in such a manner as favours very much of the Times of the *Monothelites*. They add, that this Author only Copies and Enlarges upon what St. *Ambrose* had said before. The Second *Apology* contains a great part of what is in the First; And what probability is there that St. *Ambrose* should twice repeat the same thing? The Subject of both is the same. The Author undertakes to show, that no Man ought to be offended with any thing that is related in Scripture; and that David fell into the Crimes of Murder and Adultery. His Defence is divided into Three Parts. In the First he shows that the Fall of David must be attributed to the Infirmary of Humane Nature, and that his Amendment was the effect of his Virtue. In the Second he says, that David fell, to instruct the *Jews* that they should continue no longer in their blindness. In the last, Christians are instructed in the Mysteries which is typify'd by David's Fall. The Author enlarges upon common Places, and employs part of his Discourse in Retutation of the Hereticks, and chiefly of the *Arians* and *Manichees*. This Treatise is compos'd of popular Harangues.

The Explications of some particular *Psalms* are not a formal Commentary upon them, but a Collection of Homilies upon the *Psalms* preach'd or compos'd upon several Occasions. However it appears by the Preface to the Commentary upon the First *Psalms*, that St. *Ambrose* had a Design to Expound all the *Psalms*. The Homily upon the First *Psalms* was preach'd about the Year 390, after the Institution of Singing in the Church of *Milan*. The Explications of the 35th. and the Five following *Psalms* are also a Collection of Homilies preach'd one after another about the Year 393. The Preface shews that it is a Collection of Sermons, and there are Two or Three Places in the explication of *Psalm* 36, which serve to denote this Epocha.

As to the Explication of *Psalm* 43. he dictated it himself a little before his Death to his Deacon *Paulinus*, as he says, in the Life of his Master.

The Explications of *Psalms* 45, 47, 48, 61, are separate Homilies. In these Explications St. *Ambrose* follows the Text of the *Septuagint*, but he sometimes takes notice of the Differences of the Versions of *Theodotion*, *Symmachus* and *Aquila*. Yet he does not confine himself to a literal Explication, but often gives Mystical Sences of them. Sometimes he lays down Principles of Morality, and upon certain Occasions he opposes the Hereticks. In many places he copies from St. *Basil*, and in others from *Origen*, some of whose Errors have crept into his Explications.

The Work upon *Psalms* 119. is a Collection of many Sermons, wherein St. *Ambrose* rather confines himself to the Moral than the Spiritual Sense; which gave him occasion to reprove the Vices of some Persons in his time, and he spares not even the Disorders of the Clergy-men. He explains the Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, which serve to distinguish the Parts of this *Psalms*. But as he knew but little of Hebrew, to what he says about it is not very solid; and 'tis probable that he took his from the Etymologies of *Philo*, which were full of Faults as St. *Jerom* assures us. These Sermons were preach'd about the Year 386, after the Discovery of the Relicks of St. *Gervasius* and St. *Prothasius*. There are as many Sermons, as there are Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet which make the Divisions of this *Psalms*; each Sermon answers to a Section contain'd under each Letter. There he explains also part of the *Canticles*.

In the Commentary upon St. *Luke*, St. *Ambrose* confines himself more closely to the Historical and Literal Sense, than in his other Commentaries. In explaining the Text of St. *Luke*, he clears some places of the other Gospels, and reconciles the apparent Contradictions which may occur between them. He observes in the Preface to this Work, that the Gospel of St. *John* is more sublime, but St. *Luke* follows the order of History more strictly, and relates many more particulars. He adds, that St. *Matthew* is chiefly employ'd in describing the Birth of Jesus Christ, and informing Men of his Manners; that St. *Mark* dwells longer in the Description of his Strength and Power: That St. *Luke* represents him as a High Priest and a Sacrifice; And that St. *John* insinuates more than any other upon the Miracles of his Resurrection. In the beginning of this Commentary he mentions the many Apocryphal Gospels, as that of the Twelve, the Gospel of St. *Thomas*, and that of St. *Matthias*, and assures us, that the Church never receiv'd any but those Four Gospels which were written by the Inspiration of the Holy Spirit. These are St. *Ambrose's* general Remarks upon the Four Gospels. It were too long to mention particularly all things that are in this Commentary. He confines himself

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for the most part, as we have already said; to the Letter and History of the Gospel, but yet he cannot refrain from having recourse oftentimes to the Mystical Sense, and draws from it Moral Precepts. These are the Homilies which make up the body of this Commentary, which is divided into Ten Books or Parts. He wrote it after the Persecution of the Empress *Justina* about the Year 386.

This Tome ends with a Commentary upon the *Canticles*, extracted out of the Works of St. *Ambrose*, collected by William Abbot of St. *Thierry*, who liv'd about the Year 1142. We have already observ'd that St. *Ambrose* explain'd some considerable parts of it in many places. This gave occasion to many Persons to extract these Places, and make up a Commentary upon the *Canticles*. *Cervinus* caus'd one of his Collecting to be printed at *Louvain* in the Year 1558. Ten Years after *Gillotius* publish'd another which is attributed to *Demochares* a Doctor of *Paris*, who probably did nothing else but augment one that was shorter, which is in a Manuscript in the College of *Navarre*, and in another Manuscript of the Abby of *Vendôme* that is 600 Years old. *Cheffelinus* had also a Manuscript of it more ancient by 200 Years, and he found it quoted by *Florus*, *Magister* of *Lyons*, who liv'd about the Year 855, in a Commentary upon St. *Paul*, which was never printed. The Collection which is publish'd here by the *Benedictines*, was never printed before. It is publish'd from a Manuscript by the fame hand of William Abbot of St. *Thierry*, and afterwards Monk of *Signi*.

The First Book contain'd in the Second Tome of St. *Ambrose's* Works, is his excellent Treatise concerning the Office of Ministers, or the Duties of Clergy-men. For tho' the name of Ministers be cut out in the Roman Edition, and in those that follow'd it; yet it is to be found in all the Manuscripts; and 'tis plain by the Book it self, that St. *Ambrose* compos'd it for his Clergy. But tho' he addresses himself particularly to them, yet he does not forget to treat of the Duties of all Christians, of which he makes a particular Application to the Clergy.

He had been several Years Bishop when he compos'd this Work, for there he speaks to the Clergy whom he had Chosen and Ordain'd himself: He must therefore have been Bishop for some time, since he had already Ordain'd a considerable number of Clergy-men. He there takes notice, that he had endur'd several Shocks from the Civil Powers, because he would not deliver up the *Deposita* which were entrusted with the Church. He says, that Two Persons of whom he had a bad Opinion, had abjur'd the Catholic Faith in the time of the *Arian* Persecution, *Ariane infestationis*; which is to be understood of the Persecution of the Empress *Justina*.

He says also, that he sold the sacred Vessels to redeem Captives and Slaves, whose number was so great, that they would fill a whole Province.

This may have reference either to the War of *Maximus* in the Year 387, or to the Inundation of the *Barbarians*, who having kill'd the Emperor *Valens* ravag'd the Countries of *Thrace* and *Illyricum*, and came over into *Italy*, where they made a great number of Captives, which happen'd in the Year 379. He speaks also of a Famine which afflicted the City of *Rome* under *Damianus* in the Year 383.

Lastly speaking of a *Depositu* entrusted with the Bishop of *Pavia*, he says, that the Emperor did all that he could to wrest it out of the hands of this Bishop, that he might give it to one of his Courtiers. And we find a Law of *Valentinian* publish'd at *Pavia*, *January* the 2d. 386. All these Transactions do clearly demonstrate, that the Books of Offices were not written by St. *Ambrose* at the beginning of his Bishoprick, and that 'tis very probable they were not written till about the Year 390, or 391, when Peace was restor'd to the Church after the Death of the Tyrant *Maximus*. He follow'd and imitated in these Three Books the Design and Method of *Tully's* Offices. He confirms those good Maxims which this Orator had laid down, and corrects those that are imperfect, refutes those that are false, and adds several others which are infinitely more excellent, more pure, and more sublime.

The first six Chapters of the First Book of St. *Ambrose's* Offices, are a Preface to the whole Work, wherein he enquires, when and how it is seasonable to Speak or to be Silent. The Bishops are oblig'd by their Office to explain the Word of God; but they ought to discharge this Duty with Humility; they must learn by teaching, and that they may teach. This is what St. *Ambrose* applies to himself. "For, says he, being remov'd all of the fudden from the Civil Bench, and from the Office of a Judge, that I might be promoted to the Priesthood, I have taught what I had not then learn'd," and was oblig'd to Learn and Teach at the same time." After this he discovers the Advantages of being Silent, and the Dangers to which a Man exposes himself by speaking; but yet he would not have Men always to continue in silence. On the contrary, he says, that it is useful and necessary to speak, provided it be done with Humility and Moderation, provided that one weighs his Words in the balance of the Sanctuary, and does not follow the Motions of his Lusts, but Reason and Justice, and provided that he does not employ his Voice to retaliate Reproaches by Reproaches.

After this Preface he enters upon the Matter, and undertakes to treat of Offices. He affirms that this Name was not only in use among the Philosophers, but that it is in the Holy Scripture. He quotes one single Passage taken out of the Gospel of St. *Luke* Ch. 1. P. 23. Where there is mention made of the Ministry of *Zacharias*, and he translates the Greek Word by Office. This example does not prove very strongly what he has affirm'd. After this he gives two Etymologies of the Word *Officium*; the first is *ab officendo*, *quasi efficiendum*, and the second *ab offendo*. The Philosophers distinguish'd Three Sorts of Offices, of *Honesty*, of *Profit*, and of *Pleasure*. St. *Ambrose* says, that the Christians know no other but that of *Honesty*, because they refer all to the Happiness of Heaven, being persuad'd, that the *Profits* and *Pleasures* of this Life, are neither true *Profits* nor true *Pleasures*. And therefore he treats only of the Offices which have reference to *Honesty*. He affirms that this Term of *Honesty* and Decency was known to David before the Philosophers us'd it; and for proof

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of this, he quotes *Psal. 64. 2. Praise becomes thee, O Lord, in Zion, Te decet hymnus, Deus, in Sion.* He adds some Passages of *St. Paul*, where he speaks of *Decency and Honesty*. He affirms that *Pythagoras* follow'd *David* in imposing the Law of Silence upon his Disciples. But he puts a very great difference between their Precepts, in that *Pythagoras* wholly forbade his Scholars to speak, whereas *David* teaches us to speak with moderation, and to hold our Peace when it is convenient to do so. He distinguishes Two Sorts of Offices, the less perfect which he calls *medium*, and the most perfect. He explains this by the Words of *Jesus Christ* to the young Man, who ask'd him what he must do to inherit Eternal Life. *Jesus Christ* answer'd him at first, *Keep the Commandments, Do not commit Murder nor Adultery, &c.* These, says *St. Ambrose*, are the less perfect Offices, to which there is still something wanting. Those that are perfect are design'd by what *Jesus Christ* said afterwards to the young Man, when he had answer'd him that he had observ'd all these things. *If you would be perfect, go and sell all your Goods, and give them to the Poor, and you shall have Treasure in Heaven, and come and follow me.* This gave occasion to *St. Ambrose* to recommend Alms giving as one of the principal Duties of the Christian Life.

Here he treats very largely of the Providence of God, and proves against the Philosophers, that it extends to all Creatures. Why then do the Wicked here enjoy Plenty? This is the common Objection: To which *St. Ambrose* answers, First, that this Abundance does not make them happy in this Life, because the remorse of their Conscience torments them.

He adds in the Second place, that we must not wonder, if the Wicked seem to be happy in this Life, and on the contrary the Good seem to be miserable, because this is not the Place of Reward or Punishment. That we must wait till the other Life, when every one shall receive according to his Works, that here we are in a place of Combat, that the Just are to endure continual Assaults, that they may obtain one day the Reward of their Victory; whereas the Wicked here enjoy Repose who deserve no Reward, after which shall follow the Punishments which their Sins deserve. That in short, God has granted to those the good Things and Advantages of this Life, that they might be without Exile in the Day of Judgment, for not observing the Commandments of God.

St. Ambrose having thus establish'd these general Maxims, enters upon the particular consideration of the Duties of every State.

He begins with those which belong to young Men: He recommends to them above all things Shamefastness and Modesty; he gives a wonderful description of this Virtue, and proves how necessary it is to Clergy-men. He says, that he had hindred one from entering into Holy Orders, because his Countenance was not modest enough, and that he had forbid another to walk before him, because he had too confident a Gate. He counsels them not to be present at Feasts, and to shun the Conversation of Women; he recommends to them to stay at home, and to apply themselves to the Duties of Piety which are agreeable to their Ministry. Afterwards he gives Precepts for restraining the Motions of Anger and of other Passions. He describes the Discourses of Clergy-men. He does not think it fit that they should use Rallery. He gives them Three Rules for the good Conduct of their Actions. The First is, to hold their Passions in subjection to Reason; The Second is to observe Moderation; The Third is to do all things seasonably and in order. He illustrates these Maxims by the Examples of many Saints in the Old Testaments.

After he has laid down these general Rules, he discourses of Virtues in particular, comparing the Ideas which Christians have of them with those which the Pagan Philosophers had; and shews, that those of the Christians are much more sublime. As for example, Justice among Christians does not allow, that they should render Evil for Evil; it acknowledges no particular Interest, and it takes place, not only with respect to Friends, but also to declared Enemies. Likewise Christians are not only to do good to their Friends and their Relations, but also to their Enemies. It is not Vanity, but Charity, which is the foundation of their Liberality; they do not only give of their Superfluities, but also of their Necessaries. Their strength consists chiefly in suffering with Courage and Constancy, in keeping off the Violence which is offer'd to the Weak, in over-coming their Passions, in despising the Riches of this World, and seeking after, loving and valuing nothing but Virtue. They preferre an evenness of Soul and wonderful Tranquility of Mind in the midst of Crosses: Yet they do not rashly expose themselves, and are not ashamed to fly, when they find themselves too weak to resist Persecutions. In short, their Moderation consists in Tranquility of Mind, in the love of Mildness, in complete Meekness and perfect Honesty. *St. Ambrose* explains particularly all the parts of these Virtues, gives excellent Precepts for observing them, and proposes admirable Examples of them taken out of the Holy Scripture. He produces also some Examples of them taken out of Ecclesiastical History; that of *St. Lawrence* is very remarkable. *St. Ambrose* proposes him as an illustrious Pattern of Constancy. He says, "That this holy Deacon, seeing *Christ* his Bishop dragg'd away to Martyrdom, he fell a weeping, not that the Martyrdom of his Master griev'd him, but because he was left behind him in the World; upon which account he addresses to him in these Words: *Whither go you, my Father, without your Son? Whither run you, O holy Bishop, without being accompanied by your Deacon? You never us'd to offer Sacrifice without a Minister; what is it then that has displeas'd you in me? Is it because you have found that I have not well discharg'd my Office? Try now, whether you have chosen a good Minister: Why do you refuse him with whom you have consecrated, and who has consecrated the Holy Sacraments with you? Why do you refuse him, say I, to mingle his Blood with yours? St. Christ answers in these Words, and others like them. I do not desert you, my Son, I do not abandon you, but you are reserv'd for greater Combats: Mourn not, you shall quickly follow me, within Three Days you shall be where I am.* Such, says *St. Ambrose*, was the glorious Contest of those

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"two Illustrious Martyrs, who strove who should first suffer for *Jesus Christ*. The History of *Orestes* and *Pyhlades* meets with applause, when it is represented how each of them endeavour'd with all his might to die for one another. These two would both have died, the one having committed Parricide, and the other being a Complice in it; but there was nothing that oblig'd *St. Lawrence* to offer himself to Death, his own Zeal only induc'd him to it; and three Days after, as he was roast'ing upon a Grid-Iron, he still mock'd the Tyrant, saying, *I am roast'd enough, turn me and eat me,* and to he overcome the Violence of Fire by the Strength of his Courage." We must not forget the Example of *St. Agnes* which *St. Ambrose* relates before this. "This Holy Virgin, says he, being in danger of losing either her Chastity or her Life, secur'd her Virginity, by yielding up this Mortal Life to purchase an Eternal one.

About the End of this Book *St. Ambrose* insists upon the principal Virtues of Clergy-men; he recommends to them above all things Disinterestedness and Purity. It appears by this place, that *St. Ambrose* thought that Bishops, Priests and Deacons, were oblig'd to live in Celibacy, and that those could not be received into the Clergy who had been twice married, tho' they had been married the first time before their Baptism.

He concludes with speaking of the Trust committed to us, and of the Fidelity we should show in keeping that which is entrusted to us. He recommends to the Clergy-men who take Care of the Vestry, to discharge their Duty with Faithfulness and Modesty.

He begins the Second Book with enquiring, wherein consists true Happiness; and he shews, That it consists in the Knowledge of God, and in Innocency of Life; That all other good things, do not only fall short of our supreme Happiness, but they do not so much as render us more happy; as on the contrary, the Crosses and Miseries of this Life do not render us more unhappy; That the good things of this World, such as Riches, Abundance, Joy, &c. are truly Evils, because they hinder us from working out our salvation; whereas those things which are believed to be evil, as Pain, Affliction, &c. are good for us, because they give us Opportunities of practising Virtue.

Afterwards he treats of the Good that is Profitable; and having shewn that there is no true Profit without Honesty, he discourses of the several sorts of Good Things that are truly profitable, of Friendship, of Advice, of Fidelity, of Liberality, of Good-will, of Civility, of the Protection of the Poor and Afflicted, of Hospitality, and the other Virtues necessary for maintaining Society and Commerce among Men. The Advices which he gives about these things, are very Judicious: Some of them are as follows. Nothing is more profitable than to be lov'd; nothing is more disadvantageous than not to be lov'd. Mildness, Civility and Modesty, cause us to be lov'd of all the World. These Virtues are very becoming to Kings and Princes as well as to private Persons; they maintain Peace and Charity. A Man is more easily trusted, who is lov'd by many. When Counsel is to be ask'd, we should address our selves to a Person who is equally Just and Wise. These Two Virtues are inseparable. We must not only assist the Poor who have nothing to live upon, but it is a Piece of Prudence and Charity to help also those who are unfortunate in their Affairs, chiefly, when it is not by their Debauchery that they are reduc'd to this Condition, but by some unforeseen Misfortune. 'Tis also a Duty of Charity to redeem Captives, and rescue them out of the Hands of their Enemies, to save Women from Disgrace; this is, to restore Children to their Fathers, and Fathers to their Children, and Citizens to their own Country. There are some also that do a Work of Charity, by marrying Orphan Daughters. When we cannot help others by giving them Money, it is good to assist them by our Counsel and Labour. We must do Works of Charity with Prudence, and not give Alms to those that are unworthy. There are some that feign Debts, and others that deplore their Misery; we must examine whether these things be true or no; and we are not only to employ our Hands to give, but also to make use of our Eyes to consider the Persons to whom we give. We must look upon him who does not fee us, and seek after him who is ashamed to be found. Yet we must not retrench our Alms, under a pretence that many ask them who do not deserve to receive them. I omit many other fine Maxims which he proposes concerning Alms, and contempt of Riches; but I cannot forget that place, where he says, That he broke in pieces the Sacred Vessels to redeem Captives. He justifies himself in this Action, or rather he draws from it a great deal of Glory. "The Church, says he, was founded without Gold, if he has it now, 'tis to give it and not to keep it; 'tis for assisting the Poor with it in their great Necessities. What would be said of a Bishop, who to preserve the lifeless Vessels, would suffer the living Members of *Christ* to perish? Would he say, "I am afraid lest the Temple of the Lord should be spoil'd of its Ornaments? Might it not be answer'd to him, That 'tis not necessary that the Sacraments of the Altar should be administered in Gold or Silver; That the Redemption of Captives was an Ornament much more pleasing in the sight of God; That those Vessels could not be put to a nobler Use than when they are employ'd to redeem the Lives of Christians; That the true Treasure of the Lord is that which has the same effect with his Blood; That a Vessel is known to be truly the Lord's when there is a double Redemption to be observ'd in it; that is, when the exterior Vessel redeems from the Enemy, those whom the Blood of *Jesus Christ* had redeem'd from Sin.

He justifies also this Conduct by the Example of *St. Lawrence* who shew'd the Poor when the Treasures of the Church were demanded of him. At last, he concludes, That tho' it be a Crime to break the Vessels of the Church, to turn them to our own Profit; yet on the contrary, it is an Act of Charity and Virtue to do it, to distribute them to the Poor, to redeem Captives, or to build a Church, when such things are necessary. He adds, That he us'd that Precaution, as to take first the Vessels which were not Consecrated, and afterwards to break and melt those that were, lest any should turn the Sacred Chalice to profane Use. He concludes this Book with recommending to the

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Clergy, to keep with Faithfulness and Courage what is deposited in the Churches by Widows, and relates some Examples of the Boldness wherewith some have defended these things against those who came to invade them.

And here I must resume the 24th. Ch. of which I have said nothing. St. Ambrose there describes the chief Duties of Clergy-men towards others in a few Words. "We must, says he, prepare our selves by good Actions and by a good Intention to receive Offices, and chiefly those of the Clergy. We must not carry our selves proudly in them, nor exalt ourselves from them by negligence; we must equally shun Ambition and the Affectation of refusing them. Simplicity and Uprightness comprehends all, and these are of themselves commendable enough: In the Exercise of his Ministry he must neither be too severe nor too remiss, lest he should seem either to exercise his Authority with Dominion over the Flock, or else to neglect the Duties of his Ministry; he must endeavour to oblige all the World. A Bishop should consider and protect the Priests and the other Clergy-men, he should not be offended if they purchase Esteem either by their Charity, or their Fasting, or their Piety, or their Learning: But they ought not to exalt themselves, much less employ their own Merits to diminish the Reputation of their Bishop. The Wicked must not be defended, nor Holy Things given to those that are unworthy of them; but neither are we to reprove and condemn any Person till he be convicted of a Fault. For if Injustice be otherwise above all things offensive, it is inportable in the Church, where every thing should be regulated according to Equity, where Impartiality should be observed. The Powerful and Rich ought to have no more Authority than the Poor, because the Rich and Poor are all one in Jesus Christ. The most Holy should attribute nothing more to himself than others; for the more Holy he is, the more Humble he ought to be. When we Judge we ought not to have any respect of Persons. Favour should have no place in our Judgments but only the Justice of the Cause. Nothing does more wound the Reputation and Credit which we may have, than to betray the Cause of the weak in Favour of those that are more Powerful; to reprove a Poor Man that is Innocent severely, and to excuse a Rich Man that is Guilty. 'Tis true that we are naturally inclin'd to favour Great Persons, lest they find that Injustice has been done them, and afterwards revenge themselves upon us. But, first, if you be afraid of making your self Enemies, do not meddle with judging or opposing. You can say nothing when a Matter of Interest is under debate, tho' it were better done to protect Justice; but when the Cause of God lies at stake, or it is to be fear'd that the Impious will be admitted to the Communion of the Church, then it is a very heinous Sin for Clergy-men to use Disimulation.

In the First Chapter of the Third Book St. Ambrose shows, That this Maxim of *Scipio*, That he was never more busy nor less alone, than when he was by himself, was ancients than *Scipio*; and that it was verified in a more illustrious manner in *Moses*, *Elias*, *Elisha*, and the Apostles, who did so many wonderful things, when they seem'd to mind nothing. He adds, That a just Man is never alone, because he is always with God; That he is never idle, because he is always meditating; That he seems to be unknown, and yet is Famous; That when he is thought to be Dead, he then enjoys a more happy Life; That he is never more joyful than when others think him to be under Affliction; That he is never richer than when he is poor, because he places all his Happiness in Justice and Honesty. He observes afterwards, That the Comparison which the Philosophers make between the Good of Honesty and of Profit, has no place among Christians, because they acknowledge nothing Profitable to be Good which is not also Honest. He distinguishes two sorts of Good and of Duty, that which is more, and that which is less perfect. In short, he maintains, That a just Man ought never to seek his own Profit by doing Injury to others; but on the contrary, that for any Man to seek the Good of others above his own. He enlarges upon this Maxim, and proves, that for any Man to do Injury to his Neighbour for his own Profit, is contrary to the Example, and to the Law of Jesus Christ, to the Law of Nature, to the Dictates of Conscience, and to the Civil Laws. Pursuant to this Principle he determines, that a Christian in a Shipwreck ought not to snatch from his Brother the Plank which he has taken to save himself; and that he ought not to fight against a Robber who would let upon him, and lays it down for a General Maxim, That it is never lawful to preserve our own Life by putting another to Death. The Philosophers were so far in the right when they affirm'd, That a Wife-man, tho' he were secur'd for ever from any Discovery, should do nothing against his Duty; but finding no Example to prove it, they had recourse to the Fable of *Cyger's* Ring: St. Ambrose confirms this Truth by the Example of *David* and *St. John* Baptist.

In a Word, St. Ambrose proves that in all Cases we ought to prefer Honesty to Profit. He grounds upon this Principle his Assertion, That one who has gathered together much Corn, ought not to keep it up in his Barns until a time of Famine that he may Sell it very dear. He condemns this Practice as a sort of Usury, or Robbery. He would not have Strangers hindered from coming into Cities in a time of Famine, and blames the ancient Romans for the practise of this Rigour; but praises an Old Man, who in his time was of a contrary Opinion. Having related many Examples taken out of Scripture, to show that we ought to prefer Honesty to Profit, he reproveth the Conduct of those who are always intent upon sordid Gain, who use all manner of Tricks to Cheat others of their Goods, and leave no means unessay'd to possess themselves of their Neighbours Inheritance. He adds, That this Covetousness is very much to be blam'd in all sorts of Persons; but it is inportable in Clergy-men, who ought to allow dying Men Liberty to make their Last Will with Discretion and Freedom: That a Clergy-man ought never to alienate the Goods which belong to another for his own Profit, because it is his Duty to do Good to all the World, and to do no Injury to any Man. From hence he concludes that when we cannot help one Man but we must do Injury to another, it

is more convenient to deny our Assistance to the former, than by doing him Good to Prejudice the latter. For this cause he would not have Clergy-men meddle in Pecuniary Causes, because in gaining from one they injure another.

At last he collects several Examples taken out of the Old Testament, which he alleges to prove, That Honesty is to be prefer'd before any Interest and Advantage whatsoever. He concludes this Book with some Excellent Precepts which he gives concerning Honesty and Christian Friendship. I shall let down some of them. Friendship it self ought to give place to Honesty. No Man ought to favour his Friend when he is in the wrong, nor to deal unjustly by him when he is in the right: As we ought to vindicate him when he is Innocent, so we ought to reprove him when he is guilty; we ought to speak to him with sincerity, to open our Heart to him, to reprove him with Freedom, to suffer for him when it is necessary, and to relieve him in his wants. The Foundation of Friendship is Faith in God, and no Man can be a true Friend to another who is an Infidel towards God. Piety preserves Friendship, and makes Friends equal. There can be no Friendship between Persons of different Principles. One Friend ought to admonish another without bitterness, and rebuke him without reproaches. Our Friendships ought not to be founded upon Interest, for Friendship is a Virtue and not a Matter of Traffic. There is no true Friendship where there is Flattery. Thus I have given an Abridgment of St. Ambrose's Offices which is a very useful Book to teach all Christians the Principles, Maxims, and Rules of that most Holy Morality which they profess: And this made it so common in former Ages; every one would have it, every one would read it with attention, and those who had leisure made Abridgments of it which are still extant. It were to be wish'd that Christians, and chiefly Clergy-men would do the same still, and that they would draw from this pure Fountain the Morality which they teach and which they practise. The French Translation which has been made of it may render it useful to all Men. But let us proceed to the other Treatises of St. Ambrose.

The Books of *Virginity* were written by St. Ambrose at the Request of his Sister *Marcellina*, who having heard some speak of the Sermons which he had made about Virginity, desir'd him to send her in writing what he had preach'd, since she could not be so happy as to hear him. Whereupon he put his sermons in the Form of a Treatise, and divided them into Three Books, which he address'd to his sister *Marcellina*, in the Third Year of his Bishoprick, that is to say in the Year 377.

After a very humble Preface, he begins his Treatise with a Discourse in praise of St. *Agnes*: He sets off the Glorious Martyrdom of that Illustrious Virgin with inimitable Elegance. "To Day, says he, is the Feast of a Virgin, let us imitate her Purity: It is the Holy-day of a Martyr, let us offer up Sacrifices: 'Tis the Festival of St. *Agnes*, let Men admire her, and Young Children entertain blessed Hopes of her; let Married Women wonder, and Virgins endeavour to imitate her. But what can we say worthy of a Person whose very Name is a sufficient commendation. Her Zeal was above her Age, and her Virtue exceeded the Powers of Nature. . . . This Holy Virgin suffer'd Martyrdom at Twelve Years of Age. By how much the Cruelty of those who did not spare such tender Years is to be detested, by so much is the Virtue of that Faith to be admir'd, which could make a Martyr at that Age. . . . Here is a New kind of Martyrdom. She was not yet of an Age fit to suffer, and yet she was already able to Conquer. She went to Death with more gaiety than a young Bride to the Nuptial Bed. All People mourn'd for her; and yet she shed not one Tear for her self. It was Matter of admiration, to see her prodigally throw away that Life, which she had scarce yet tasted, with as much Ease as if she were arriv'd at the end of her Course. In short, what she did was so incredible of humane Nature, that it was believ'd to be from God, for what Goëty transcends the Power of Nature, must proceed from the Author of it: What Threatnings did not her Executioner use to frighten her? What Artifices did he not employ to persuade her? By what various Solicitations did he attempt her to yield to Marry? That were, said she, an Injury to my Divine Spouse, to entertain any hopes of being able to please others; I am only his who has chosen me first: Why do you delay, Executioner, to do your Office? Let this Body of mine perish, seeing it is so unhappy as to be pleasant in the Eyes of those whom I would not have it to please. Having spoken these Words she put her self into a Posture to receive the Fatal Blow; she pray'd and then submitted her Neck. You see here a double Sacrifice in one Victim. She is a Martyr both for Religion and Virginity; she remains a Virgin and obtains a Crown of Martyrdom.

St. Ambrose, having propos'd this Illustrious Example, treats at large of the Excellency of Virginity. He shews, That this Virtue comes from Heaven, and that God is the Author of it; That the Heathens neither knew it, nor practis'd it as they ought; That the Jews themselves did not esteem it, and that it was not common amongst Men till Jesus Christ came into the World. Afterwards he gives a Catalogue of the Advantages which Virginity has above the married State, by comparing these two Conditions. "I do not condemn Marriage, says he, but I will prove that Virginity is more Excellent. Let us compare, if you please, the more considerable Advantages of married Women with the least Happiness of Virgins: The married Woman may boast of her Fruitfulness, which makes her happy in Children, but the more she brings into the World, the more Pain she suffers. She may reckon upon the Comfort and Support she shall have from her Children; but with this let her balance the troubles they bring upon her. What might I not say of the troubles which Mothers must undergo both in Nursing Children and bringing them up, and then in marrying of them? What is more harsh than that Subjection or rather Slavery to which Wives are reduc'd? What is more uneasy than those perpetual Compliances which they must always use towards their Husbands? Fears and Jealousies and a Thousand other Cares render them unhappy. The Necessity and Slavery they undergo in dressing and adorning themselves is a perpetual Punishment. But,

“you, O blessed Virgins, know not what all this attiring means, you have no other Ornament but Modesty and Chastity; you count no other Beauty than that of Vertue, a Beauty which cannot be shar'd with others, not taken away by Death, nor defac'd by any sickness; you have none to please but God who loveth beautiful Souls, tho' they be shut up in deform'd Bodies; you are not troubled with the Inconveniences of Child-bearing, and of bringing forth Children, and yet you have a very numerous Spiritual Offspring.

St. Ambrose complains that there were so few Persons at Milan who profited by his Instructions, whilst a great many Virgins, not only from *Bologna* and *Placentia*, but even from *Mauritania*, came to receive the Veil at Milan. He reproves Mothers who hindered their Daughters from coming to his Sermons, lest they should embrace Virginity. At last, he commands those Virgins who devoted themselves to God without their Parents leave, and relates the Example of a young Gentlewoman, who being press'd by her Mother and Relations to Marry, threw her self down before the Altars, and would not stir from thence till she had obtained the Consent of her Parents to her professing Virginity. 'Tis observable, that St. Ambrose says, That at length her Relations approv'd her Design, and so she was not depriv'd of her Estate.

In the Second Book he undertakes to instruct Virgins by some Examples which he proposes to them: And because the Virgin Mary was undoubtedly the most perfect of all Virgins, her Example is the first and most illustrious. St. Ambrose here proposes her Life as a Pattern which Virgins ought to imitate, and represents her Vertues in a most Excellent manner. From this Father Preachers and Devots may learn how to praise the Virgin in such a manner as is worthy of her, without stuffing their Discourses with Apocryphal Stories, Excessive Praises, and False Notions. The Picture which he draws of her, represents her as she was, and sets before our Eyes her Natural Beauty; whereas some of the Devots of the latter Ages, have changed and disfigur'd her by vain Ornaments, which are no ways agreeable to her, neither could she herself endure them.

St. Ambrose having propos'd to Virgins the Example of the blessed Mary, as the Pattern of their Life; sets before them also the Example of St. Thecla the Martyr, to instruct them how to die well. He subjoyns the Example of a Christian Virgin of Antioch, who being carried to the Stews because she would not sacrifice to Idols, was deliver'd from the Danger she was in by a Souldier, who chang'd Clothes with her and sav'd her. But when this came to be known, the Souldier was carried to the place of Punishment, where the Virgin also render'd her self, and they both receiv'd the Crown of Martyrdom. St. Ambrose describes this History in very lively and eloquent Figures, and comparing it with the Fable of *Damon* and *Pythias*, he proves that this Action was much nobler and greater, than that which is related of those two famous Friends. Towards the End, he excuses himself for using so many Flowers and Figures of Rhetoric in relating these Examples of Virgins, which he says he did not do to show his Eloquence, but to win the Affection of Virgins by the Sweetness and Smoothness of his Discourse, and to render their Condition the more Amiable by the Beauty of the Examples which he propos'd to them, before he proceeded to the Precepts and Advices which might be less agreeable.

The Third Book begins with an Exhortation which Pope *Liberius* made to *Marcellina* St. Ambrose's Sister when he gave her the Veil at Rome in the Church of the Apostles on Christmas Day. There is no probability that this very Discourse should be *Liberius's*, but it was certainly made by St. Ambrose, and contains very useful Advices to Virgins consecrated to God. After he has exhorted them to love their Divine Spouse, he prescribes Rules concerning their principal Duties; he enjoyns them to be very Sober, to shun Visits from the People of the World, to keep Silence, and to be very Modest and Reserv'd in all their Actions. When he has given these Precepts under the Name of *Liberius*, he praises the Vertues of his Sister, and chiefly her Fastings, but he counsels her to moderate them, that she may apply her self more to other spiritual Exercises, and especially to Prayer. He says, That she should pray in the Morning when she awakes, before she goes out, before and after Meals, towards Night, and when she goes to Bed. He advises her also to repeat in her Bed the Lord's Prayer, and the Psalms, either before she falls asleep, or when she awakes. And he thinks that she ought to repeat every Morning the Creed as the Seal of our Faith. He adds, That she ought to weep, and shun excessive Mirth, the Pleasures of this World, and particularly Dancing. And to dissuade Christian Virgins from it, he relates the Example of the Dancing of *Herodias's* Daughter, and describes the fatal Consequences of it: A fit Example, says he, to teach Wife and Christian Ladies, that they ought not to suffer their Daughters to practise Dancing.

Lastly, St. Ambrose answers the Question which *Marcellina* had put to him, to know what was to be thought of Virgins who kill'd themselves or threw themselves head-long to shun falling into the hands of their Persecutors, who sought to deprive them of their Faith and their Virginity. He relates the Example of St. Pelagia who kill'd her self, and of the Mother and Sisters of that Saint, who threw themselves head-long into the River. He subjoyns the Example of St. Sotera who was of his own Kindred, and concludes from these Examples, that this Zeal is no ways forbidden. Here the Third Book of Virgins ends in all the Manuscripts, tho' in the printed Editions there are many Pages added, that have no relation to this Treatise, which St. Ambrose concludes with these Examples, as appears by the beginning of this last Chapter.

The Treatise of Widows was written soon after that of Virgins, as St. Ambrose declares at the beginning of it. It was the Inconstancy of a Widow which made him undertake this Work. St. Ambrose had Comforted her after the Death of her Husband, and had Exhorted her to lay aside her Mourning, but the abusing his Advices, had made use of them to gain Authority to her Design of marrying again. The Holy Father being unwilling that it should be thought he had counsel'd her to do so,

wrote

wrote this Treatise of Widows, wherein he exalts the State of Widows as approaching near to the Perfection of Virgins. For proof of this he not only alleges the Testimony of the Apostle St. Paul, but he relates also the Examples of many Widows of the Old and New Testament. He exhorts Widows to continue in their Widow-hood, and in his Address to this Widow who had occasion'd his second Marriage, were weak; yet he does not condemn either First or Second Marriages; on the contrary, he rejects the Opinion of the Hereticks who had forbidden them; but he prefers the State of Virgins and Widows before that of married Women, and refutes with sharpness the Reasons which Women use for running into Second Marriages. Altho' he would not openly declare his Opinion of their Conduct, who use the Knife and Fire to Check the Motions of the Flesh, yet he speaks of it after such a manner as plainly discovers that he did not approve it, and observes that it is contrary to the ancient Canons. This Treatise is cited by St. Ambrose in his Commentary upon St. Luke, by St. Jerom in Letter Fifty to *Pammachius*, and so there can be no doubt but it is this Father's.

There is in this Edition a little Treatise of Virginity, which in the former Editions had been plac'd at the end of the Second Book about Virgins, but it is parted from it in all the Manuscripts, and is evidently a distinct Treatise. The Treatise of Widows, which is there cited, was written after the Two Books of Virgins.

This little Piece is not very coherent. In it he praises the famous Judgment of *Solomon*, he blames the Action of *Jezebel*; and then he defends himself against those who accus'd him of giving excessive Praises to the State of Virginity, and demonstrates the Excellency and Advantages of it. He occasionally answers those who said, That the great numbers of Virgins would lessen the Race of Mankind, and he maintains that there are no places more populous than those where there are most Virgins: For Proof of which he observes, that tho' at *Alexandria* in the East, and in *Africa*, there are an infinite number of Virgins, yet these Countries are very well peopled. He adds, that if this Reason were good, they must also advise Women to be lewd, because for they would have more Children.

After this, he examines the Reasons of those who find no fault with the consecration of Virgins, but only say, That we should wait till they be of sufficient Age before they receive the Veil. He confesses, that a Bishop ought to beware of giving the Veil with too much precipitation, but then he ought not to move to regard their Age, as the ripeness of their Parts, nor to consider so much the number of their Years as the Disposition of their Hearts; that every Age can follow Jesus Christ, and embrace the perfection of a Christian Life. This gives him occasion to speak of the way which Virgins ought to hold in following of Jesus Christ, and of the Life they ought to lead to imitate him. He concludes with comparing the Instructions of the Ministers of Jesus Christ, who exhort Virgins and Widows to live in Continence, to the miraculous Fishing of St. Peter; and he prays the Lord, that he would make his own fishing successful to the catching of many. This Piece was compos'd of many Sermons, and was made soon after the Treatise of Widows.

The following Treatise is entituled in the printed Copies, *Of the Instruction of a Virgin*, address'd to *Eusebius*, but in the Manuscripts its Title is, *A Discourse of the perpetual Virginity of the Virgin Mary*. And indeed the principal part of this Treatise is against the Error of *Bonifus*, who had oppos'd the perpetual Virginity of Mary. But that which gave occasion to St. Ambrose to compose whom St. Ambrose had made an Exhortation when he gave her the Veil. He committed the same to Writing afterwards according to his custom, and address'd it to *Eusebius* with a Preface, wherein he discourses of the chief Duties of Virgins that are consecrated to God, which are Silence and Prayer. After this he gives an account of a Discourse which he made when he gave the Veil to *Ambrosia*: There he says many things in praise of Women, and undertakes the Defence of that Sex against those who blasphem'd it. He proves that they are unjustly accus'd as being the cause of Man's Falling and Offending; and he extolls their Piety by proposing the Vertues of many Women. He shows, that if *Eve* gave occasion to the Condemnation of Mankind, this Loss was fully compensated by Mary, who is the Honour of her Sex and of the Church. St. Ambrose wonders, that there have been Christians who durst oppose her perpetual Virginity. He adds, that this Error deserv'd to be buried in Eternal Silence; but because it had been maintain'd by a Bishop (he means *Bonifus*) he thought himself oblig'd to discover and refute it; which he does in the following part of this Discourse, where he establishes the perpetual Virginity of the Virgin Mary, and refutes the Objections of *Bonifus*, which were the same with those of *Helvidius*.

The First Objection which he proposes is taken from the Word *Mulier* or Woman, which is attributed in the Holy Scripture to the Virgin. St. Ambrose shews, that this Word is general, and is given to Virgins as well as Married Women and Widows.

The Second Objection is founded upon this Passage of the Gospel, *Before they came together, and upon that other, He knew her not before she had brought forth her first-born Son*. He answers, that these ways of speaking do not intimate that St. Joseph had afterwards any carnal Knowledge of the Virgin, but only that he had not before; and that the Design of the Evangelist is to discover the principal Mystery, viz. That a Virgin conceiv'd Jesus Christ by the Operation of the Holy Spirit, and not to determine an incidental Question. This Answer is much better than the Second, wherein he pretends, that the Word, *cognovit, he knew*, is to be understood only of the Mystery, which was yet hid from *Joseph*.

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The Third Objection is taken from the Title of *Joseph's Wife* which is given to *Mary*. St. Ambrose answers, That this Title might be given her tho' she were a Virgin, because it is not the loss of Virginity that makes Marriage, but the actual Consent of the Parties, tho' it were never Consummated. Wherefore he makes no Scruple to conclude, That there was a true Marriage between *Joseph* and *Mary*.

St. Ambrose and St. Jerome are of the same Opinion; *Gratian* and the Master of the Sentences follow'd them; and since that time it hath pass'd for a Maxim among Canonists and Divines.

St. Ambrose produces also an Objection taken from the Mention which is made of the Brethren of Jesus Christ, but he does not think that it deserves to be insisted on, since the Word, *Brother*, is a general Word which has many significations, and agrees to others besides those who are born of the same Father and the same Mother.

St. Ambrose proceeds afterwards to the Proofs of the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*.

He says First, that since Jesus Christ was able to preserve the Virginity of his Mother, it is very improbable that he should permit her to be depriv'd of that perfection.

The Second Argument is, that if *Mary* had not always been a Virgin, she should not have been propos'd as a Pattern and Example to Virgins.

The Third is, that the Virgin was designed to be a Person of the greatest Merits and Perfections, but there is none greater than Virginity.

The Fourth is, that *Joseph* durst not come near her, whom he knew to be the Mother of God.

The Fifth, upon which he insists more largely, is, That Jesus Christ sufficiently testified it, by recommending her to his beloved Disciple when he was upon the Cross: For how, says he, could he remove her from her Husband, and give her to another, if she had known a Husband; How could this Disciple take her to his own house, if she had to do with another as her Husband? Jesus Christ would never have divorc'd them, and *Mary* would never have forsaken a Husband. This supposes, that St. *Joseph* was yet alive, when Jesus Christ upon the Cross spoke thus to his Mother. If this Matter of Fact be not certain, the Argument is nothing worth. Besides, supposing there was a true Marriage between St. *Joseph* and the Virgin, as St. Ambrose had already said, they ought not to have been parted; 'Tis true St. Ambrose answers, That this Marriage, being design'd only for the accomplishment of the Mystery, was to cease as soon as the Mystery was perfectly fulfill'd by the death of Jesus Christ. But I doubt this Answer has more Wit than Solidity.

[It is plain from the 2d. Chapter of St. Luke, that the Saviour lived with *Joseph* when he was 12 Years old; for not only *Joseph* and *Mary* then lived together, but he went with them again to *Nazareth*, after he had Disputed with the Doctors in the Temple, and was subject unto Them: Afterwards when he entered upon the Ministry, the *Galileans* took offence at his Preaching because of his being (as they thought) only the Carpenter's Son, which had been a groundless Suggestion, if *Joseph* and *Mary* had not continued together; it does not indeed weaken the Opinion of the perpetual Virginity of the Blessed Virgin, tho' it takes off the force of this Argument by which St. Ambrose went about to prove it.]

The Sixth proof which St. Ambrose alleges for the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*, is grounded upon Ch. 44. of the Prophet *Ezekiel*. He explains what is said in this place of a Gate shut, through which the Lord of *Israel* had pass'd, and thinks it ought to be understood of *Mary*, who is that Gate through which the Lord pass'd without opening it, and which afterwards continued shut: Which shows that she lost not her Virginity, neither by bringing forth Christ into the World, nor after she became the Mother of God.

St. Ambrose having thus prov'd the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*, exhorts the Virgins to follow her. He proposes to them also another most powerful Motive to engage them to keep their Virginity; and that is the Love of Jesus Christ, their Celestial Spouse, who is extremely jealous of their Purity. The Majesty of this Spouse should make those tremble who had any thoughts of being unfaithful to him. He is God, the Son of God, his Eternal Word, consubstantial to his Father. Hence St. Ambrose takes an occasion to make a Digression about the Divinity of the Word, and to dispute against those Hereticks that denied it. 'Tis probable that they were also the followers of *Bonifacius* whom he attacks in this place, since we learn from the Canon of the Council of *Aries*, that these Hereticks follow'd the Error of the *Photinians* and *Pasilianists*; from whence in *Gennadius's* time the *Photinians* were call'd *Bonifacians*, as this Author observes in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers Ch. 14. The *Benedictines* who set out St. Ambrose, whose exactness nothing has escaped, have not forgot to make this Observation.

After he has occasionally answer'd Two Objections of those Hereticks, he returns to his first Subject of the Virginity of *Mary*, and continues to exhort the Virgins to imitate her. He applies to this purpose many Passages of the *Canticles*; in particular he addresses himself to *Ambrosia*, and gives her excellent Instructions about the Virtues she should practise. He concludes with praying the Lord to receive her into the number of his Spouses, and to pour upon her abundance of his Grace.

It appears by the Preface of this Book, that *Ambrosia* was still to continue in her Father's House though she had receiv'd the Veil; which plainly shows, that all the Virgins consecrated to God were not yet shut up in Monasteries, though there were already some Monasteries set up.

Towards the end, the Ceremonies of a Virgin's making Profession, are described. She presented her self at the feet of the Altar, where she made Profession before the People; the Bishop preach'd to her,

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her; and gave her the Veil which distinguish'd her from other Virgins, but her hair was not cut. St. Ambrose says in this Treatise, that he had already written many other Books concerning Virgins; and in it he recites many things which are in his Commentary upon St. Luke compos'd in 388: At last he speaks of the Error of *Bonifacius* as a Heresy publish'd not long before, which shows that this Treatise was written in the Year 392. For the Affair of *Bonifacius* being carried into the Council of *Carthage*, held in the Year 391, they sent it back to the Bishops of *Macedonia*.

When St. Ambrose fled from the Tyrant *Eugenius* he retir'd to *Bologna*, where he discover'd the Reliques of St. *Vitalis* and St. *Agricola*, who had suffer'd Martyrdom under the Persecution of *Dioclesian* and *Maximilian*, and made a solemn Translation of them. From *Bologna* he went to *Florence*; whither he carried the Reliques of these Saints, which he plac'd in a Church built by a holy Widow call'd *Juliana*, which he was entreated to Dedicate. 'Twas at the Dedication of this Church, that he made the Discourse intitled, *An Exhortation to Virginity*. *Juliana* having lost her Husband, was not only consecrated to God her self, but by her Example and Instructions she order'd the matter, that she gave all her Children to God also: Her Son *Laurentius* was made Reader, and her Three Daughters profess'd Virginity. St. Ambrose upon this occasion relates the Exhortation of this holy Widow to her Children. She told her Son, that his Father and she had given him that Name which he had, because they had obtain'd a Son by the Intercession of St. *Lawrence*; That they had design'd him from that time for the Clergy, and that in this he ought to comply with their Desires, and fulfil their Vows. Afterwards addressing her Speech to her Daughters, she describes the Troubles of Marriage, the excellency of Virginity, and exhorts them to consecrate themselves to God. She concludes with pressing her Son and her Daughters to accomplish the Vows which she and their Father had made in their behalf. St. Ambrose pursues this Exhortation, by adding Instructions to teach the Virgins after what manner they should live, and Examples to serve them for a Pattern. The example of St. *Sotera*, the Kins-woman of St. Ambrose, is not here forgotten. Afterwards he promises to *Juliana* the Reward of her Piety. Lastly, he prays the Lord to accept graciously of that Church which he was consecrating, and to receive favourably the Prayers, and Sacrifices of the Body of Jesus Christ, which should be offer'd there, and particularly the Oblation of all the Family of *Juliana*. This Treatise was written when St. Ambrose retir'd upon the Account of the coming of *Eugenius* the Tyrant, in the Year 393, towards *Easter*.

The Treatise of the fall of a Virgin consecrated to God, is here found under the name of St. Ambrose. It is also among St. Jerome's Works, but certainly it is not his; for it is notorious that the Author of this Treatise was a Bishop, but St. Jerome was only a Priest. *Gennadius* assures us also, that *Nicasius* Bishop of *Aquileia* wrote a Discourse address'd to a Virgin who had fall'n into Sin, very proper to persuade all those who should fall into the like Faults, to return from their Evil ways. This gave occasion to the Conjecture of many, that this Bishop was the Author of this Treatise. But the Title alone is not a sufficient proof, since St. Basil wrote a Book upon the same Subject has the same Title. The *Benedictines* observe, that all the Manuscripts which they have seen, attribute this Work to St. Ambrose, except one only wherein it is attributed to St. Chrysostom. They maintain also, That there is nothing in this Book which may not very well be St. Ambrose's: But they confess that it has not the Style of this Saint; and indeed there is neither that sharpness of Wit, nor the lively and spiritual Thoughts which are in his Works: This is more languid and less sublime. Whosoever be the Author of it, he is Ancient, for one may find there Traces of the ancient Discipline, one sees that Publick Penance was administr'd but once: Nay, even this Author obliges this same Virgin to do Penance all her life, and he seems also to take from her the hopes of receiving Absolution in this Life. It appears, that there were yet Idolaters in his time, and that the Adult were baptiz'd on *Easter-day*. He admits a middle State between the Damn'd and the Happy; he describes the Ceremonies of the Profession of Virgins, almost as St. Ambrose does. He says, that she to whom he writes, who was a young Woman of Quality call'd *Susanna*, having resolv'd against the Will of her Kindred to embrace Virginity, profess'd it on *Easter-day* at Night in the great Church, where she was accompanied by those that were newly baptiz'd, holding lighted Torches in their hands; That there she pronounc'd her Vows publicly before the People, and then receiv'd the Veil and enter'd into a Monastery; that presently after Reports were spread about which wounded her Reputation, and they were found to be false, and the Authors of them could not be discover'd; but that Three Years after she committed the Crime whereof she had been falsely suspected before, suffering a young Man to lie with her many times, by whom she was gotten with Child. She was accus'd also of having destroy'd her Child, which Murder she endeavour'd by all means possible to conceal, and would never confess; but being convicted of it before the Bishop, she was put under publick Penance. The Author of this Treatise represents to her the monstrous heinousness of her Crime, and the Scandal she had given; he exhorts her to do Penance all the rest of her Life; he Orders her to repeat every day the 51st Psalm, and to pass her Life in Sorrow and Grief, that at least she might avoid the punishment of Hell-fire. He excites her also to the Acts of Penance and Compunction, which he deduces from many places of Scripture. There is also a Chapter against him who had abus'd this Virgin, whom he exhorts to do Penance: The Author of this Treatise is accus'd of being a *Novatian*, because he tells this Virgin, that she ought not to expect Absolution of her Sin in this Life; and that those who promis'd her pardon of her Sin in this Life deceiv'd her. 'Tis true, that this Rigour was practis'd in some Churches in the First Ages of the Church. But he who speaks thus in the Fourth Century, appears to be much inclin'd to the *Novatians*. St. Ambrose was the Man of all the Fathers who did most vigorously oppose this Maxim in his Books of Penance, and therefore 'tis no wife probable that he should affirm the same in this Treatise, without giving any Explication of his Words. But here it may be said, that this Author exhorts

this young Woman to do publick Penance; Why should he exhort her to do Penance, if she was incapable of Abolution? This is what St. Ambrose and the other Fathers justly object against the Novatians. That they put Sinners under Penance, and exhort and force them to do it, but yet afterwards they deprive them of the fruit of Penance by refusing them Abolution. The Language of the Author of this Exhortation is perfectly like that of the Novatians. He exhorts this young Woman to do Penance, but he gives her no hopes of obtaining Remission in this Life: On the contrary, he tells her expressly, that this shall not be, and that those who promise it to her, do but deceive her; but that she ought always to do Penance, to shun Eternal Torments. He even dares not promise her Glory, but only the Privation of Torments. These are Doctrines contrary to those which St. Ambrose establish'd in his Book of Penance, or rather that is the only Doctrine which he opposes there. It is no ways probable therefore, that this Treatise should be his, and we must still continue in as great uncertainties as ever concerning its Author.

The Book of *Mysteries* or *Sacraments* is an Instruction to the New-baptiz'd, wherein St. Ambrose explains to them the Significations and Virtue of the Sacraments which they had receiv'd. Here is an Abridgement of what is most remarkable in this Instruction.

"After we have spoken every day of Morality, and propos'd to you the Examples of the Patriarchs and Prophets, while the Proverbs were reading, that you might be accustom'd to follow the Examples of the Saints, and to lead a Life becoming those Persons who are purified by Baptism, 'Tis now time to discourse to you of the Mysteries and to explain the Sacraments; for if we had explain'd them to you before you were initiated, we should have thought that we had profan'd rather than discover'd them: Besides that the light of the Mysteries themselves, which you did not expect, has now astonish'd you more than if we had instructed you about them before. Open therefore now your Ears to receive the sweet word of Eternal Life, which we signified to you when we celebrated the Ceremony, by which we wish'd that they might be open'd, by saying *Ephatha*, that so all those who were to come to Baptism might know what was demanded of them and what they answer'd. At last you are introduc'd into the place where the Sacrament of Baptism is Administer'd; you are oblig'd to renounce the Devil and his Works, the World and its Pomps and Pleasures. You found in this place the Waters, and a Priest who consecrated them; the Body was plung'd into this Water to wash away Sins; the Holy Spirit descend'd upon this Water; you ought not to fix your mind upon the External part of it, but to consider in it a Divine Virtue. Do not imagine therefore, that it is this Water which purifies you, 'tis the Holy Spirit. There are Three things, in Baptism, the Water, the Blood and the Spirit, and without these Three Things, the Sacrament is not complete; neither the Remission of Sins, nor Grace is receiv'd, unless it be in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Baptism of Jews and Infidels does not purify at all; 'tis the Holy Spirit which descend'd formerly under the Figure of a Dove, which sanctifies these Waters. We must not consider the merit of the Priest, for it is our Lord Jesus Christ who baptizes. You made Profession of believing in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. After this you drew near unto the Priest, he anointed you and your Feet were washed. This Sacrament blots out your hereditary Sins, and the Baptism blots out the Sins contracted by your own Will. After this you receiv'd white Garments, to signify that you were strip'd of Sin and clothed with Innocence. You received the Seal of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Wisdom, of Power, &c. The Father hath mark'd you out, the Son hath confirm'd you, and the Holy Spirit hath given you assurance of your Salvation. Afterwards you run to the Heavenly Feast, and see the Altar prepar'd, where you receive a nourishment infinitely exceeding that of *Manna*, a bread more excellent than that of Angels. 'Tis the Flesh of Jesus Christ, the Body of Life, 'tis the incorruptible *Manna*, 'tis the Truth whereof the *Manna* was only the Figure. Perhaps you will tell me, But I see another thing? How do you assure me, that it is the Body of Jesus Christ which I receive? That we must prove. We must show that it is not the Body which Nature hath form'd, but that which the Benediction hath consecrated. Which St. Ambrose confirms by an infinite number of the like Miracles; and lastly, by the Mystery of the Incarnation which he compares to that of the Eucharist. A Virgin, says he, brought forth. This is against the Order of Nature. The Body which we consecrate came forth of a Virgin. Why do you seek for the Order of Nature in the Body of Jesus Christ, since Jesus Christ was born of a Virgin contrary to the Order of Nature? Jesus Christ had real Flesh which was tasten'd to the Cross, and laid in the Sepulchre. So the Eucharist is the true Sacrament of this Flesh. Jesus Christ himself assures us of it: *This is, says he, my Body*; before the Benediction of these Heavenly Words it is of another Nature, after the Consecration it is the Body. So likewise of the Blood: Before Consecration it is call'd by another Name, after Consecration it is call'd the Blood of Jesus Christ, and ye Answer, *Amen*, that's to say, 'Tis true. Let the Mind acknowledge inwardly that which the Mouth brings forth; let the Heart be of that Judgment which the Words express. The Church exhorts her children to Receive these Sacraments which contain the Body of Jesus Christ. This is not Bodily but Spiritual Food, for the Body of the Lord is Spiritual. Lastly, this Heavenly Meat gives us strength, this Divine Drink rejoices us. Having therefore receiv'd these Sacraments, let us be persuaded that we are regenerated, and let us not say, How can this be? 'Tis not by Nature but by the Holy Spirit.

From hence we may learn the chief Ceremonies which were observed in the Church of Milan. As to the Administration of the Sacraments, these which follow are remark'd. The Ears of the Catechumens were touch'd, saying *Ephatha*, and after that they were bidden enter into the place where they were to be baptiz'd. There they were oblig'd to renounce the Devil, the World and its Pomps; the Bishop blessed the Water of Baptism, the Creed was repeated to the Catechumens, they were anointed

ted with Holy Chrism, their Feet were wash'd, they were plung'd into the Water, and at the same time the Three Divine Persons were invocated; afterwards they were clothed with White Garments, the Sacrament of Confirmation was given them, and the Holy Spirit was called upon for them: From thence they were conducted to the Altar, where they were present at the Consecration of the Eucharist, and received the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, answering, *Amen*.

Since these Ceremonies and the Doctrine of this Treatise do not agree with the Opinions of Protestants, some among them have done what they could to raise Doubts about this Book whether it were St. Ambrose's. But the Reasons which they allege are so weak, that the ablest Men among them have sincerely acknowledg'd that it is really his. There are very strong Proofs that it is this Father's; the beginning alone discovers that it is his, for there he speaks plainly of the Sermons he had made to the Catechumens upon the Lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets. This does not agree to any other Author but St. Ambrose; 'tis the Style of this Father, tho' he treats of things more particularly than in his other Books. 'Tis his Doctrine, and no body doubts but it is his Work: It has always been cited under his Name, and is attributed to him in all the Manuscripts: This Discourse was spoken by St. Ambrose, after his Sermons upon the Lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, towards the Year 387.

The Opinions of Critics are very much divided concerning the Author of the Book of the Sacraments. The Benedictines produce in their Preface what has been said upon this Subject, and after having given a very Wise and Equitable Judgment about the different Opinions, they give their own Thoughts of it, and build their Judgment upon good Reason. First of all, they observe, That 'tis indifferent to the Members of the Church of Rome, to whom this Work be attributed, since St. Ambrose teaches the same Doctrine in his Treatise of Mysteries; and so, tho' it were suppos'd with *Auberine*, that the Author of the Book about the Sacraments is of the Seventh Age, or with *Daillet*, that he is of the Eighth, the Cause of the Church would be so much the stronger, because it would have two different Testimonies of the Judgment of the Church; and in different Ages, viz. St. Ambrose in the Fourth Age, and this Author in the Seventh or Eighth. Tho' this were not so, and the Church might draw some Advantage from supposing that St. Ambrose was the Author of the Book about the Sacraments; yet if it should appear that the contrary Opinion is more probable, we must undoubtedly follow it. We must judge of these kind of Matters without Prejudice and Affection, and we must not consider what would be most advantageous to our selves, but what comes nearest to the Truth. This is what the Benedictines do; they profess to Examine this Question with all possible sincerity, as if it had never been canvass'd before, and without adding themselves to the Prejudices of any Party. They immediately disapprove the Reproaches which the Protestant Critics have thrown upon this Author, they cannot endure that they should make him pass for an Ignorant and Ridiculous Person, for an Impostor and a Liar; they vindicate him from some Mistakes and Absurdities, which *Cool*, *River*, and *Daillet* had fasten'd upon him. They shew, That this Expressions, *For this cause* at Rome the Name of the Faithful is given to the baptiz'd, is not so ridiculous as these Critics imagine, because tho' it were true, that the baptiz'd were call'd by the same Name in other Churches, yet it were no unprofitable Observation, that in the Church of Rome they were call'd so also. They observe, That some Manuscripts have *Rece*, instead of *Rome*, but they do not think that we are oblig'd to follow this Correction. They show also, That the manner wherein this Author relates the last Words of the *Pater Noster*, *Ne putaris nos induci in tentationem*, instead of *Ne nos inducas in tentationem*; that this manner, I say, of ending the Lord's Prayer was not peculiar to him, and that St. Cyprian read and repeated thus the last Words of the Lord's Prayer. Lastly, They defend him against the Accusations of Barbarism, of false Subtlety, of vain Allegories, which are charg'd upon him by the Critics whom we have mentioned.

After this the Benedictines produce the Reasons which are alleg'd by Catholic Authors, to shew that the Books of the Sacraments were St. Ambrose's, and at the same time prove that they are not very convincing.

The First is drawn from the Authority of many ancient Manuscripts, where this Treatise is found under the Name of St. Ambrose. To these is added the Authority of all the Editions which have been made of it, and the Testimony of a great number of Authors of the Ninth Age, and those that followed it, viz. of *Hincmarus* Bishop of Rheims, of *Deodanius* of Liege, of *Paschasius Radbertus*, of *Ratramnus* a Monk of Corbie, of *Florus* a Deacon of the Church of Lyons, of *Lanfranc*, of *Bevenarius*, of *Algerus*, of *Guitmondus*, of *Durandus* *Troarnensis*, of *Ivo Carnutenis*, of *Gratian*, of the Master of the Sentences, and of other later Authors, who have all cited the Book of the Sacraments under the Name of St. Ambrose: This Argument appears plausible enough, yet the Benedictine Fathers maintain, that it is not fully convincing: For how often has it happened, say they, that Books have been, and every Day are taken from those Authors under whose Names they had always pass'd? It is not very well known that the greatest part of those who cited the Works of the Fathers in the latter Ages, did not carefully examine, whether the Books which they cited were theirs, but trusted to the common Title of them? As to the Manuscripts, the Benedictines assure us, that the most ancient have not the Name of the Author, and that it is probable the Name of St. Ambrose was added in those which are more Modern, either because it was known, that St. Ambrose had treated of this Subject, or because these Books were found together with that about the Mysteries which treats of the same matter, and the first bearing the Name of St. Ambrose, whose it was indeed, they thought that the last were this Father's also.

The Second Proof which is alleg'd to shew, That the Books of the Sacraments are St. Ambrose's, is taken from the Agreement of the Style of this Work, with that of the Book of *Mysteries*. The

Benedictines say, That 'tis true this Author does so imitate *St. Ambrose*, that he Copies out the same which he had said; but they observe, that in Copying it out he corrupts it, and accommodates it to his own Style, which is much below that of *St. Ambrose*. Wherefore this Argument is more proper to raise a doubt, whether these Books of the Sacraments be *St. Ambrose's* or no, than to confirm them in the Possession of the Title which they bear.

The Third Argument produces also the same Effect. 'Tis said that *St. Austin* affirms, That *St. Ambrose* wrote a Book about the Sacraments; but 'tis evident that the Book which *St. Austin* cites under this Title, had quite another Subject than this Book. It was a Book of Philosophy against the Platonists, as appears by what this Father says of it in the Second Book against *Julian*, Ch. 5. and in the Second of his Retractions, Ch. 4.

The *Benedictines* produce also some places drawn out of this Book, which are thought to agree to *St. Ambrose*, as the Complaint which he made that he had not a strong Voice, and the Explication of the Lord's Prayer, which *St. Ambrose* probably would not have omitted in his other Treatises, but that it was in this; but at the same time they shew how weak these Arguments are.

After having thus discuss'd what is said on both sides about the Author of these Books, they endeavour to discover him by the Work it self, and for that end they enquire into these three Things, what Rank he held in the Church, at what time he lived, and of what Country he was.

As to the First Point they say, That it plainly appears he was a Bishop, who instructed the Catechumens.

Upon the Second, they say that the Testimony of the Authors which have quoted him, shew that he was older than the Eighth Century, and that there is a Manuscript in the Abbey of *St. Gal* written in great Letters, which *Mabilion* believed might be about 1000 Years old, whose Antiquity shows that this Author liv'd before the Seventh Century: Besides that it appears by the Work it self, that it is more ancient: For there he speaks of a great Number of Adult Catechumens which proves that he liv'd at a time, when the practice of Baptizing all Infants was not yet so general. He observes also, That there were yet in his time some Remainers of Idolatry. And in short, he refutes no other Heretics but the *Arians*, and he makes use of a Version of the Bible different from that of *St. Jerome*, which yet is not that which *St. Ambrose* used.

As to the last Head which concerns the Country of this Author, 'tis evident that he was not a Roman, since he says, That he Honours the Church of *Rome*, and follows many of its Practices, tho' he does not think himself oblig'd to follow it in all. This gives occasion to conjecture, that he was not far distant from it. The Customs and Practices which he describes, agree very well with the ancient Rites of the Church of *Milan*, and the Churches of *Gaul*.

These Remarks seem to prove that this Book may be *St. Ambrose's*; for all these Characters agree perfectly well to him; but there are other Reasons which hinder the *Benedictines* from attributing it to him. The First and Principal is the diversity of the Style; for tho' it may happen, that an Author should write in a more plain and less sublime manner than he was wont to do, yet the Strength of his Wit is always perceiv'd. 'Tis never found, that an Author who has naturally an Elegant and Noble Style, does write in a very mean one. *St. Ambrose* never falls into this Fault: he does not make use of cold and childish Interrogations such as this Treatise is full of: Besides that, 'tis no wonder, probable that *St. Ambrose* should imitate himself so exactly, and transcribe a part of his Book about Mysteries, and a part of his Treatise of the Institution of a Virgin. They add also, That *St. Ambrose* never reproves his People for Communicating seldom, as this Author does, and that there is no probability that he should oppose so publicly the Practice of the Roman Church about the washing of Feet. These last Conjectures are a little weak; on the contrary, the former are very strong, and are, as one may think, sufficient to have determin'd the *Benedictines* to remove this Book from the Place of which it was possess'd, among the Genuine Works of *St. Ambrose*, especially since in reading the Book of the Sacraments, it plainly appears, that the Author was nothing else but a cold Imitator of *St. Ambrose*. In effect the Subject of this Book is the same with that of the Book about Mysteries. The Author does nothing but enlarge upon what *St. Ambrose* had said before. He follows him step by step; he adds very few things of his own; he speaks only of the same Sacraments, and the same Ceremonies; he gives the same Explications of them; he amplifies the same Arguments and the same Observations; yet he enlarges sometimes a little more upon certain Ceremonies. He openly opposes the Custom of the Church of *Rome* in omitting the Washing of Feet. He explains the Change which is made in the Sacrament more largely. He gives an Explication of the *Pater noster*, and discourses of Prayer. But he has also taken what he says of it out of *St. Ambrose's* Book of the Institution of a Virgin. These Six Books are so many Sermons preached to the Novices.

The Two Books of Penance are undoubtedly *St. Ambrose's*; they have his Style. He speaks of them in his Commentary upon Psalm 57, and *St. Austin* cites them several times. There cannot be more convincing Proofs to show that any Work is Genuine. These Books were written against the *Novatians*, who would not allow the Church to have Power to Pardon Crimes. This is the Error which *St. Ambrose* disputes against in the First Book.

He begins with a commendation of Moderation and Christian Meekness, whereof Jesus Christ himself has given us an Example, who condemns the harshness and rigour of the *Novatians*, who "fright Sinners from Penance, and hinder them from applying a Remedy to their Disasters. For who is it, says he, who will have the Courage to do Penance without any hope of Pardon? What Con-

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fidence will any one have in such a Physician, who is so far from having Compassion for his Sick Patient, that he shows nothing but Contempt and Rigour towards him. Afterwards he explains "wherein the Error of the *Novatians* consists. They maintain, says he, That we must not admit those to Communion, who have sinned by violating the Law of God. If they spoke only of Sacrilege, if they refus'd Pardon to this Crime only; this would indeed be a Rigour condemn'd by the Words of Scripture. But they offend also against common Sense, by making all Crimes equal, and by depriving those of Communion that are guilty of lesser Crimes, as well as those that have committed the greatest. They say, That they do Honour to Jesus Christ by referring to him only the Power of Pardoning Sins; and in this very thing they dishonour him, because they violate his Commandments. The Church obeys Jesus Christ in binding and loosing Sinners. The *Novatians* content themselves with binding only, and will never loose Sinners, tho' Jesus Christ gave at the same time to the Church the Power of binding and loosing; and it follows that the one cannot be permitted without the other; wherefore both the one and the other are done in the Church, and neither the one nor the other can be done among Heretics: For this Jurisdiction belongs only to Priests, and none but the Church can assume it, since none but she has true Priests, and Heretics have none at all.

Tho' what we have just now recited might make us believe that the *Novatians* granted not Remission to any Sin; yet *St. Ambrose* confesses in the following Discourse that they pardon'd lighter Sins, and refus'd Absolution only to those that were guilty of great Sins. He asserts against them that *Novatian* was never of this Opinion, and that his Judgment was, That Penance should not be allow'd to any Sinner. Perhaps *St. Ambrose* would have found it very difficult to prove this Assertion, which seems not to agree with the Account we read in *St. Cyprian* of the Birth of the Error of the *Novatians*.

However it be, *St. Ambrose* having objected to them, that they condemn the Author of their Sect, disputes against their Distinction, by saying, That Jesus Christ did not make it; That his Mercy extends unto all Sinners; That those who have committed the greatest Sins should perform the greatest Penance; and Lastly, That the greater the Sins have been, the greater need there is of Relief. In the remaining part of this Book he proves by many Passages and Examples taken out of the New Testament, That Absolution ought not to be refus'd for any Sin whatsoever; and he answers the Objections of the *Novatians*. He observes also towards the End of this Book, that the *Novatians* do in vain exhort Sinners to Penance, since they deprive them of the Fruit of Penance. "For, says he, if "any one be guilty of Secret Sins, and does Penance for them very heartily, in Obedience to the Command of Jesus Christ, How shall he receive the Reward, unless he be restored to the Communion of the Church? I would have the Guilty hope for the Pardon of his Sins, yet he should beg it with Tears, yet he should beg it with Sighs, yet he should beg it with the Lamentations of all the People. I would have him pray for Absolution; and when he is twice or thrice delay'd as to his Re-admission into the Communion of the Church, let him believe, That this delay proceeds from the want of Importunity in his Prayers; let him redouble his Weeping, let him render himself more worthy of Pity, and then let him return, let him throw himself at the Feet of the Faithful, let him embrace them, kiss them, bath them with his Tears, and let him not forsake them, that so our Lord may say unto him, *Many sins are forgiven him, because he loved much*. I have known some Persons who in their Penance have spoil'd their Face with much weeping, who have hollow'd their Cheeks with continual Tears, who have prostrated themselves on the Ground to be trod under Foot, who by their continual Fasting have rendred their Countenance to pale and disfigur'd, that they carried in a living Body the very Image of Death. This is a lively Representation of publick Penance which was yet in its Vigour in the time of *St. Ambrose*. This Passage also informs us, That there were then some Persons who were guilty only of secret Mortal Sins, who submitted to the trouble of Publick Penance. Monsieur *Daille* thinks, that instead of *signis occultis habens crimina*, it must be read, *signis multis habens crimina*: But his Conjecture not being Authoriz'd by any Manuscript ought not to be received.

In the Second Book after having answer'd Two principal Objections of the *Novatians*, whereof one is drawn from a Passage of the Epistle of the Apostle *St. Paul* to the Hebrews, where 'tis said, That 'tis impossible for those who have once lost the Grace of Baptism to be renew'd again, and the other is grounded upon what Jesus Christ says of the Sin against the Holy Ghost: After, I say, he has answer'd these Two Objections, and confirm'd the Doctrine and Practice of the Church, he exhorts the Faithful to Penance, and signifies to them with what Dispositions they should enter upon it; he proposes the Resurrection of *Lazarus* as an Illustration of the Spiritual Resurrection of a Sinner, who reflecting upon his own Condition, begs of God the Pardon of his Sins. Lastly, He discourses of the Conditions necessary to make Penance useful, and of the Faults that are to be met with in ordinary Penances. There are also towards the end of this Book, some things very Remarkable concerning the Discipline of the ancient Church in the Administration of Penance.

"There are many ways, says he, of paying to God what is owing him; and tho' a Man be "Poor he is always Rich enough to pay him; Prayer, Tears, Fasting, are the Tributes due to him. "A Man may lessen his Sin by distributing his Patrimony to the Poor, but Faith must make this "Expense valuable; for to what purpose serves the giving away of his Patrimony if he has no Charity. There are some who give their Riches out of Vanity, and satisfy themselves with the Reward which they can have in this World without troubling themselves about that of another. "Some having given their Riches to the Church, by I know not what fudden fit of Devotion, without sufficient Consideration of what they do, revoke their Donation. Others blame themselves "for having given their Goods to the Poor. But as to those who do Penance, that which they are

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chiefly to fear, is, lest they repent of having done Penance: For many Persons being terrified with the fear of Punishment, and push'd forward by the Remorse of their own Conscience, desire Penance, and after they are admitted to it, leave it off for the shame of the publick Humiliation. What can be said of such Persons, but that they did well to desire to do Penance for their Sins, but at the bottom they repent of the Good they have done? There are others who desire not to enter upon Penance, but that they may be immediately restor'd to Communion: These do not desire to much to be loos'd as to bind the Priest; for they don't unburden their own Conscience, but they burden the Conscience of the Priest, who is commanded not to give Holy Things unto Dogs, and not to throw Pearls before Swine, that's to say, not easily to admit Impure Souls to the Holy Communion. You see them walk with their ordinary Apparel, who should be weeping and fighting for having desir'd the Garment of Baptism and of Grace. You see the Women also still wearing Pearls and Diamonds at their Ears, who should be mourning for having lost the Heavenly Diamond, that's to say, the Grace of Baptism. There are some also who think that Penance consists merely in refraining from the Sacraments. Lastly, There are others, who seeing the hope that is given them of doing Penance, do from thence take occasion to think that they have the greater Liberty to Sin, not considering that Penance is appointed to be a remedy of Sin, and not an In-duecement to commit it. But who can endure that you should be asham'd to pray unto the Lord, who are not asham'd to pray so often unto men? That you should be asham'd to appear before God in the Condition of a Supplicant, who are not asham'd to confess your Sins unto Men? Are you afraid to have any Witnesses of your Prayers? Alas! if Satisfaction is to be made to some Men, is it not necessary that you should fee many Persons, and pray them to intercede for you? Are you not often oblig'd to prostrate your self at his Feet whom you have offended? Must you not kiss the places through which he has pass'd? Must you not present your Children who had no hand in their Father's Fault, to obtain Pardon by their means? Why are you troubled to do the like in the Church, to appease the wrath of God, to desire the Suffrages of the People? In the Church, I say, where there is but one thing only of which we ought to be asham'd, and that is not to confess our Faults, because we are all Sinners; where he that is most humble is most esteem'd, where the more one is asham'd, the more Holy he is thought to be. Let the Holy Church your Mother mourn for you, let her wash away your Faults with her Tears. . . . And yet we have reason to answer those who think that Penance may be done more than once, because this is to abuse the Mercy of Jesus Christ, for if they should once do true Penance, they would not believe that they had Power to reiterate it. As there is but one Baptism, so there is but one publick Penance; for we ought also to do Penance for the Sins we commit every Day: But this last Penance is for small Sins, and the former for great ones. I have found more Persons who have preserv'd the Innocence of their Baptism, than who have done Penance as they should after they have lost it. For 'tis believ'd, that Penance may be consistent with the Ambition of aspiring to Offices, with Pomp and high Feeding, with the Pleasures and Use of Marriage. But they must renounce the World, and allow less time for Sleep than Nature requires; they must break their Sleep with groaning and sighing, and employ some part of that time in Prayers; they must live in such a manner, that they may be dead to the Use of this Life; let such Men deny themselves, and change themselves wholly, &c.

This place teaches us many remarkable Circumstances concerning the Penance which was in use in the time of St. Ambrose; First, That the Sinners themselves desir'd to be put under Penance. Secondly, That by putting them under Penance they were separated from Communion. Thirdly, That they did Penance publicly. Fourthly, That they us'd many Fasts, Austerities, and Humiliations during the time of their Penance. Fifthly, That this Penance was impos'd but once. Lastly, That this Penance was only for enormous Crimes, and that ordinary Sins were pardon'd by the daily Penance. For the better understanding of this place, 'tis necessary to observe, How the Fathers understood this Distinction of great and little Sins. Tertullian who was the first who spoke distinctly of it in his Book of *Chastity*, places among the Number of little Sins, Anger, Evil-speaking, a vain Oath, a Failure in our Promise, a Lye extorted by shame or necessity, &c. He calls these Capital or Mortal Sins, Murder, Idolatry, Fraud, Apostacy, Blasphemy, Fornication, and other Crimes of this Nature. There are also the Crimes which St. Cyprian calls great Sins in his Treatise of *Patience*. Origen in Homily 15th. upon *Leviticus*, says, That there are Mortal Sins which are not in the rank of great Sins. I know very well that Monsieur Arnaud has affirm'd, That in this verse we must read *culpa mortalis*, for *culpa mortalis*, as it is to be found in one Edition. But ever since, the Master of the Sentences time who cites this place, it has been read, *culpa mortalis*; and if one minds well the Sense, he will perceive that it is to be read so. This place of Origen has much affinity with those of St. Ambrose, where we are now speaking; for he says, That Penance is allow'd but once, and that but seldom to those who have committed great Sins, whereas the Sins of every Day are pardon'd every Day. He explains himself also almost after the same manner in his Sixth Treatise upon St. Matthew, where he handles this Question, Whether a Man may not be treated as a Heathen and a Publican, that's to say, separated from the Church, when he does not amend his ways, after he has been restor'd for slight Sins. The Examples which he gives of slight Sins, are Evil-speaking, lying, idle Words, additiveness to Wine, &c. And those which he gives of great Sins, are Murder, Adultery, &c. He concludes, That there is no doubt but what is said in the Gospel, that we

ought to look upon those as Heathens and Publicans who do not Reform after they have been Reprov'd, it is to be understood of great Sinners. He adds, That it may also be understood of other Sinners with respect to the Judgment of Men, but that it does not belong to us, to judge whether they are such before God. St. Austin distinguishes in many places Two sorts of Sins; the great Sins for which Men are put under Publick Penance, such as are Murder, Adultery, Fornication, &c. And the other Sins which are daily committed, and are pardon'd by a daily Penance. He says of the first, that they kill the Soul all at once, and that Christians who have Faith and Hope do not commit them. But there is one place that is in Ch. 26. of the Book of *Faith and Works*, where he treats more clearly of this Matter, and distinguishes Three Sorts of Sins. "There are some, says he, so great, that they deserve Excommunication, and for which Sinners will need Reconciliation: There are others for which this Penance is not necessary, but they may be healed by the Remedy of Chastitiements: And lastly, there are some that are very light, and are blotted out by the Lord's Prayer, from which no Man is free in this Life." This distinction seems to be more just and reasonable; for there are certainly many Sins which are not of the number of great Crimes, neither are they so small, but they may be Mortal. The difficulty is to know, to which of these Two Classes we should refer those Sins, which hold the middle place between the first and the second; for since this distinction was not very common, and since all the Fathers and St. Austin himself in many places did not distinguish but Two Sorts of Sins, and Two Sorts of Penance, it may be doubtful under what Class this Third Sort was comprehended. For my part I believe that for the most part they were comprehended under the second: First, because the Fathers in relating the Examples of slight Sins, place in that number those that are considerable enough, such as Slander and additiveness to Wine. The Author of Sermon 41, among those of St. Austin, which is attributed also to St. Ambrose, places in the rank of light Sins, Drunkenness, Theft, Evil-speaches, &c. Julianus Pomerius in the 2d. B. of a contemplative Life Ch. 7, says, That slight Sins are those for which one is not condemn'd before Men. *Cassianus of Arles*, *Eulabius of Chartres*, and St. Eloi, when they make a particular Enumeration of Mortal Sins, place among them Anger and Drunkenness, but with restrictions, *viz.* Anger, if it last long, and Drunkenness, if it be continual. Secondly, the Fathers consider'd the first Class, as enormous Sins, great Sins, great Crimes, which no Christian commits, which do wholly degrade a Man, and which are extremely rare. Now there are many Sins between these great Sins, and the smallest Sins, of which we cannot speak after this manner. Thirdly, All the Sinners of the first Class, when they are known, either by Confession or by Conviction, are put under Publick Penance. But none were put under Publick Penance except for very heinous Sins, such as are mentioned in the Canons of Councils, and the Canonical Letters of Bishops. What are these Sins? These are Murder, Adultery, Fornication, and the consequences of these great Crimes. There is no Canon to be seen against Anger, Covetousness and Slander; at least it does not appear that Publick Penance was impos'd upon any for these kind of Sins. These Sins therefore tho' they be sometimes Mortal, were comprehended under the second Class and not under the first, which contained only those for which Publick Penance was done. This may be confirm'd by the Canonical Letter of St. Gregory Nyssen to *Laetius*, where he makes an exact enumeration of those Sins which subjected Men to Publick Penance, which are all enormous Sins and considerable Crimes. Fourthly, it may be added, that Publick Penance being granted but once only, they must be very extraordinary and enormous Crimes for which Men were subjected to it. Lastly, Origen, St. Austin and St. Bernard say, that the great number and the custom of some Sins of the second Class may finally destroy, and stifle Charity in the Soul; therefore they did not believe, that this Class did not contain Mortal Sins.

I would not have it thought that I make these Remarks to authorize Licentiousness, or to insinuate, That there are some Mortal Sins which may pass for Venial: God forbid that I should have such a detestable Design! On the contrary, my intention is to create a horror of all Sins; First of great Crimes. Secondly, of Sins which may be Mortal tho' they appear not so enormous. And Thirdly, even of slighter Sins also. But I thought my self oblig'd to observe here, for explaining the Passage of St. Ambrose, That none but the Sins of the first Class did subject Men to Publick Penance, and that 'tis of these only that the Fathers speak, and which they comprehend under the Name of Enormous Sins and Crimes; tho' there be others which may be also Mortal, and which a Christian ought carefully to shun; but then they are such for which he was never subjected to the Humiliation of Publick Penance, but only to Corrections and Reprimands given in secret, as St. Austin informs us. But now let us return to our Subject, the Time is not certainly known when St. Ambrose compos'd these Books of Penance. He says in the Explication of *Psal.* 37, made about the Year 393, that it was a long time since they were written: *De penitentia duos jamdudum scripti libellos, I wrote two little Books of Penance a long while ago*: But this denotes no certain time. It appears by the

[The true Reason why Slander, Evil-speaking, Anger, Covetousness, and such sort of Sins were not subjected to publick Penance in the Primitive Church, seems only to have been, because they are not so easy to be prov'd, and Delinquents cannot so well be convic-

Books themselves, that he was then well advanced in Years, and had taken much pains for the Church. The *Benedictines* think, that they may have been written in the Year 384.

After the Treatises of Morality and Discipline, follow his Writings of Controversy. The Five Books of *Faith*, or the *Trinity*, are the chief of his Writings of that sort. St. *Ambrose* wrote the Two first at the Request of the Emperor *Gratian*, who at his departure into the East in the Year 377, to assist the Emperor *Valens* against the *Goths*, desired of St. *Ambrose* a Treatise concerning the Faith against *Arianism* which then reign'd in the East. St. *Ambrose* proves the Divinity of the Son in these Two Books of the Faith of the Church, and answers the Objections of the *Arians* concisely and smartly. The *Arians* having accus'd him of treating this Matter too succinctly, and of having abridged their Objections and his own Answers too much, he added in the Year 379, the Three last Books, in which he enlarges and confirms the Principles that he had laid down in the former. These Books are written with much Wit, Vigor and Subtlety; he illustrates the Matter which he handles with lively and pleasant Descriptions. He proposes the most subtil Objections in an intelligible manner, and answers them with all the Industry and clearness that is possible. It may be said, that there is none among the great number of Treatises written by the Ancients upon this Subject, where the Theological Difficulties about the Mystery of the Trinity are better discuss'd, and clear'd up than in this. Yet he is not always Exact, and he sometimes employs Arguments which are not very convincing.

The Books of the *Holy Spirit* are written in a less concise, less lively, and less smart Style: St. *Jerom* says, *That they contain nothing Logical, nothing masculine, nothing moving, nothing convincing, but that everything in them is feeble and languid, tho' it be polish'd, dress'd up and painted with strange Colours*. He accuses him also of having robb'd the *Greeks*, and particularly the Book of *Didymus*, whose Translation St. *Jerom* publish'd then, and of having made a bad Latin Book out of many good Greek ones; for *Ruffinus* informs us, That St. *Jerom* speaks of St. *Ambrose* in this place. It must be acknowledged; that tho' the passionate Desire which this Saint had to extol the Treatise of *Didymus*, made him speak a little too vehemently against St. *Ambrose's* Books, yet there is something of truth in what he says. For this Book is not written smartly, and the greatest part of the things which it contains are taken out of the Works of *Didymus*, of St. *Basil*, and St. *Athanasius*. St. *Anselm* was so far from finding in it that Beauty and those Ornaments which St. *Jerom* met with in it, that he gives it for an example of a Book written in a low Style, because, says he, the Subject does not require Ornaments of Discourse to move the Heart, but Proofs of the Truth which he proposes. St. *Ambrose* has there collected together all that could be said for establishing the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. He wrote it after the death of *Athalaricus* King of the *Goths*, and before the death of *Peter of Alexandria*, and before the Celebration of the Council of *Constantinople*, that's to say, in the Year 381. There is one place in it, where he seems to assert, That Baptism given in the Name of one Person only of the Trinity, is valid. There are many Explications given of it which may be seen in the Note of the *Benedictines* upon this Passage.

The Treatise of the Incarnation is a Discourse which St. *Ambrose* spoke to refute the Objections which Two *Arians*, Officers who belong'd to the Emperor *Gratian*, had propos'd to him with much pride. He engag'd to answer them the next day in his Sermon. *Paulinus* informs us, that these Two Officers having mounted up into their Chariot to come to this Sermon, were thrown down headlong. St. *Ambrose*, who knew nothing of this Accident, waited long enough for them, and tho' they came not at all, yet he did not come to perform his promise. But before he enter'd upon the Matter, to give them yet longer time to come, he begun his Discourse with the Explication of the Sacrifices of *Cain* and *Abel*. Afterwards he applies to Hereticks the Curse which God pronounc'd against the Sacrifice of *Cain*, and makes a Catalogue of the principal Heresies, ending with the *Apollinarians*. After this he proves against the *Arians* the Divinity of the Son, and his Humanity against the *Apollinarians*, and demonstrates against both the one and the other, That there were in *Jesus Christ* Two perfect and compleat Natures; the Divine Nature according to which he is equal to his Father; and the Humane, that is to say, a real Body and an understanding Soul with the Properties of these Two Natures. When St. *Ambrose* afterwards wrote down this Sermon, he added the Answer to a Difficulty which the *Arians* propos'd to him after his Sermon, viz. How it is possible, that the Father who was not begotten should be of the same Nature with the Son who was begotten. This is the Subject of this Treatise, which he compos'd sometime before the Death of *Gratian* in 383, and after the Book of *Faith* which he wrote in 379, that's to say, about the Year 382.

There is at the end of this Treatise, a Passage of St. *Ambrose* about the Incarnation, which is produced by *Theodoret* in his Second Dialogue, as taken out of a Book, Entitled, *An Explication of the Faith*.

The Letters of St. *Ambrose* are plac'd in a new Order, and divided into Two Classes. The First contains those whole Time and Order could be found out. The Second contains those whose Date is not certainly known.

The Letter of the Emperor *Gratian* to St. *Ambrose* is of a more ancient Date than the rest. He wrote to this Holy Bishop after his Return from the East, whither he had gone to assist his Uncle *Valens*. He signifies to him how much he desired to have him near him, and prays him to send him again that Book, which he had given him before, (meaning the Two Books of the Faith), and to add to them the Proofs of the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. St. *Ambrose* in the Answer which he made to this Letter, excuses himself for not coming to wait upon him when he return'd from the East, and praises the Faith and Piety of this Emperor. He promises Satisfaction to his Demands. This Letter was written in 379, soon after the Return of *Gratian*.

The

The Second is written to *Constantinus*, who was lately promoted to a Bishoprick. He exhorts him to govern his Church well in the midst of Storms and Tempests. He discourages to him very largely the Instructions which he should give to his People. He recommends to him the Church of *Amala* which was without a Bishop, and prays him to visit it often till a Bishop were Ordain'd for it; because as for himself, he was so busy during the time of *Leni*, that he could not go far from his own Church. Lastly, he admonishes him to take heed lest the *Arians* that came from *Ilyricum* of the Mifery which had befallen them, because of their Infidelity; which discovers that the *Arians* were driven out of *Ilyricum* by the *Goths* who enter'd into that Country after the Death of the Emperor *Valens*: And therefore this Letter was written in the Lent of 379.

The Two following Letters are address'd to *Felix* Bishop of *Commin*. In the First St. *Ambrose* thanks him for the Mushrooms which he had sent him, and complains that he had not yet come to see him. In the Second he praises him, and invites him to be present at the Dedication of the Church of St. *Bassianus* Bishop of *Lodi*. If we may believe *Oghellus* the Author of *Italia Sacra*, this Church was Consecrated in the Year 380, but that is very uncertain. This *Bassianus* subscrib'd at the Council of *Aquileia*.

The 5th. Letter to *Siagrius* Bishop of *Verona* concerns a Point of Discipline. This Bishop had condemn'd a Virgin who was accus'd of having violated her Virginity, to be examined by a Midwife. St. *Ambrose* nulls this Judgment in a Synod of Bishops: *Siagrius* being offended with this Proceeding, wrote to him, that 'twas to be fear'd the Inhabitants of *Verona* would complain of the Judgment which he had given. St. *Ambrose* shows in this Letter, that his Judgment was as Canonical as that of *Siagrius* was irregular. He accuses this Bishop of being too hasty in giving this Judgment, which was so disgraceful to a Virgin who had been consecrated by his Predecessor *Zeno*, and who had always pass'd for a virtuous Maid. This was so much the more unjust, because there was neither Accuser, nor Informer, nor Witness against her. She had been defam'd by none but a Club of *Libertines* unworthy of Credit, whom she had driven away from her House. And therefore this Judgment being against all Laws Ecclesiastical and Civil, was void in form; neither was it better as to the Matter, because what it ordain'd was against good Manners, against Modesty and Civility. St. *Ambrose* represents to him, that there are other ways to be assur'd of the good behaviour of a Virgin, and that we must never proceed to these Extremities; That oftentimes this way is not successful, and leaves the Matter as uncertain as before; That it was very dangerous to make the Reputation of a Virgin consecrated to God, depend upon the Credit of a Woman who might easily be corrupted or deceiv'd; That if these means might be us'd, it was only to be us'd to Maid-servants, who are more afraid of a Discovery than of Sinning; but it ought never to be us'd for trying the Chastity of Virgins consecrated to God; That in this particular Case 'twas to no manner of purpose to use these Means, because if it were true that this young Woman who was accus'd had been with Child, and put it to death after her being brought to Bed as was given out, it had been impossible but this would have been known by many Persons, and consequently there must have been many Witnesses liv'd retir'd in her House and made no Visits to the Ladies of the World; That *Maximus* who was her true Accuser tho' he would not appear in it, had been engag'd in a Law-suit and some Differences with her; That all this Accusation was founded only on a false Report which had been spread about; That *Indicia* having no more Accusers or Witnesses at first contradicted themselves and afterwards disappear'd; Witnesses, who aver'd That she always behav'd herself very prudently, and in consequence of this, That he and his Collegues had declar'd that her Reputation was untainted, and Excommunicated *Maximus*, *Renatus* and *Leontius* her Accusers, with this difference, That *Maximus* might be receiv'd again without doing Penance, by confessing his Fault only, whereas the other Two were oblig'd to do Penance.

The 6th. Letter is to the same Bishop upon the same Subject. He represents to him also how odious the Judgment was which he had given, and the Respect which is due to Virginity. This Letter is plac'd in the Year 380, but there is no convincing proof brought of it.

The 7th. and 8th. Letters are written to *Justus*, who is thought to be the Bishop of *Lyons*, who was present at the Council of *Aquileia*. St. *Ambrose* explains in the first, after a very Mystical manner, the Questions which this Bishop had propos'd to him upon some places of the Holy Scripture. In the Second he asserts That the sacred Writers wrote with Art, and gives many examples of it which are very intricate.

There are plac'd here among the Letters of St. *Ambrose* the Acts of the Council of *Aquileia*, which are maintain'd to be Genuine and Authentical, against the Opinion of *Chiffletius*, who thought fit to affirm That they were compos'd by *Vigilius Tappensis*: But this is an Opinion which is not supported by any reasonable Conjecture, and is confuted by the bare reading of these Acts, which discover that

^a This is an Opinion which is not supported by any reasonable Conjecture, &c. p. 824.] These Acts are written in a simple and Natural way. The Questions which are put to the Accus'd, and the Answers which they give, are not of the nature of those that are made at pleasure; but such as are made in the ordinary Forms. There is nothing in them which smells of Forgery. They contain particular Facts, which could not be known by any Man that had liv'd but 30 Years after. There is no Error in them contrary to History. In the other Letters of the Council of *Aquileia*, there is mention made of Two Bishops of *Dacia* and *Mesia* condemn'd by Acts, are all Bishops of that time. What is said there, That this Council was

they are Originals. These Acts are not entire, for what concerns the Condemnation of *Secundianus*, and the Conclusion of the Council, is lost. The Six following Letters are written in the name of the Bishops of *Italy* who were present at the Council of *Aquileia*, and concern the History of that time. What we have to say of the Acts of this Council and these Letters, may be found in our Discourses of the Councils of *Aquileia* and *Constantinople*.

The 15th. address'd to the Bishops of *Macedonia* and to the Clergy of *Thessalonica*, was written upon the death of *Ambrosius* Bishop of that City. *St. Ambrose*, comforts them upon his death, because he was removed into a better life, and enjoys the happiness of Saints. He compares him to *Elias* and *Elisha*; he testifies how much he lov'd him, and how much he regrets the loss of him; he enlarges upon his Virtues, and congratulates the Churches of *Macedonia* upon the receiving *Ambrosius* for his Successor. To him the following Letter is written, which is also full of the Praises of his Predecessor *Ambrosius*. He prays God that *Ambrosius* may be Successor to his Virtues as well as to his See. These Letters are written in the Year 383.

In Letter 17th. *St. Ambrose* writes to the Emperor *Valentinian* against the Petition which *Symmachus* had made in the Name of the Senate for restoring the Altar of Victory. He remonstrates to him, that as all the Subjects of the *Roman* Empire ought to submit to him, so he also was oblig'd to submit to the only true God, and as they defend his Empire, so he was oblig'd to defend the Religion of Jesus Christ. That a Christian Prince could neither to Diffemble nor Tolerate, and much less ought he to Authorize the Worship of Idols and false Gods. He wonders therefore, that under a Christian Emperor, there should be found any Persons so rash, as to hope, that he would grant an Edict for restoring the Altars of the Gods, and that he would contribute towards the Expence of it by giving Money out of his Exchequer: That tho' the Temples had not been destroyed, and the Worship of the Gods forbidden by the Laws of his Ancestors, yet he ought to do it now; but after the Laws have been in force for a long time, there was yet less reason to subvert them: That in this business he must never hearken to the Advice of a Pagan, how prudent soever he may be otherwise; and that if any Christian had been cowardly enough to consent to this Proposition, he deserv'd not to bear the Name of a Christian any more: That if a Pagan Emperor would re-establish an Altar, and oblige Christians to consent to it, this would be lookt upon as a Persecution. How then can a Christian Emperor do it, without committing Sacrilege? That there was no probability, that all the Senate had consented to this Proposition, since all the Christian Senators two Years before had enter'd their Protestation against it, and that they were not present in the Senate when it was done, because they thought that they could not have their liberty there to make head against it. He warns *Valentinian* that he should not suffer himself to be surpris'd, and exhorts him to do nothing new in an Affair of this Importance without the Advice of the Emperor *Theodosius*, whom he was wont to consult in Affairs of Importance. Now what Affair, says he, can be of greater Importance than this of Religion? What is more precious than the Faith? He prays him to desire of them a Copy of the Act of the Senate, and that they would leave him to answer it. In a word, he tells him with an affu-

call'd together from the East and the West, agrees with another Letter of a Council of *Italy*, where 'tis said, That there was a Synod held in the West, *quo videbatur ex universis orbis partibus esse precepta*. There were in this Council some Bishops of *Gaul* and *Africa*. All the Bishops are named there with their Bishopsricks: In fine, all things conspire, to confirm the truth of these Acts. The Opinion of *Chiffletius* is founded only upon frivolous Conjectures. *Vigilius Tappeler*, says he, observes that *Palladius* wrote a Discourse after the death of *St. Ambrose* to refute what this Saint had said about the Trinity, and that *Vigilius* himself had answer'd this Work of *Palladius* in a little Book by it self. What follows from thence? *Vigilius* wrote a Treatise against that of *Palladius*; therefore it was the Acts of the Council held against the Heretics. Who can believe it? Is there any thing more different, than these Acts are from a Piece about Doctrine against any Author's Book? These Acts treat of the judicial Condemnation of a Person, but say nothing of the Retutation of a Book. The other Conjectures are yet more weak. He objects, That these Acts are not found in the ancient Editions of the Councils, as if the first Collectors had collected all: How many Councils did they forget, and Synodical Writings which are in the Works of the Fathers. 2. That *Valentinian* of *Aquileia* is nam'd there before *St. Ambrose*. This Objection is no more against the common Opinion than against that of *Chiffletius*; for either *Vigilius* had the Acts of the Council of *Aquileia*, or he had them not; if he had them, why should he change the Order of the Bishops; if he had them not, wherefore was not the Bishop of *Milan* plac'd before the Bishop of *Aquileia*: He must therefore, as well as we, find out a reason why the

Bishop of *Aquileia* goes before the Bishop of *Milan*: It may be, because the Synod was held in his own City, and the Order of the Emperor for calling the Synod together was directed to him. The 3d. and 4th. Reasons of *Chiffletius*, is, because this Dispute favours not of Episcopal gravity, and all the Discourses there are made by the same hand. If one takes the pains to read the Acts, he will see that 'tis not so, and that there are Answers and Questions which are Originals, and could not be gueßed at by any Author. He alleges for a 5th. Reason, that *Anemius* Bishop of *Sirmium*, does there impertinently assume the Title of the Head of *Illyricum*. But 'tis certain that he enjoyed it in the time of *Constantine*, and it does not appear that he was disposseß'd of it so soon after, since he enjoyed it still in the time of *Julianus*. 'Tis not certain that *Theodosius* had yet received the Lieutenantcy of *Damascus*, and tho' it were so, *Sirmium* was always the Head of the Western *Illyricum*; and it may be that the Bishop of *Sirmium* contended against him for the possession of this Lieutenantcy, especially at the beginning. *Chiffletius* pretends that *Ambrosius* Bishop of *Thessalonica* was present at the Council of *Aquileia*, but he has no other Proofs of it but the Authority of a Synodical Book full of Errors. The 6th. Reason of *Chiffletius* is, that the Answers of *Palladius* are ridiculous: But it may be they do not appear so ridiculous to all the World, and tho' they did, Is this the first time that Heretics have defended themselves ill? I shall not fly longer to mention the other Conjectures, which are as weak as the rest, so that there never was a fancy word grounded than this of *Chiffletius* about these Acts.

rance becoming an Holy Bishop, That if he should act otherwise, the Bishops would not suffer nor diffemble the Injury which he would do to Religion, and that if he came to the Church, he should not find a Bishop there, or else he should find one who would oppose his Entrance into it. "And what will you answer then, says he, addressing his Words to the Emperor *Valentinian*? What will you answer to the Bishop when he shall say, The Church cannot receive Oblations from him who has given Ornaments to the Temples of the Gods: His Gifts shall not be presented on the Altar of Jesus Christ who hath made an Altar for Idols. The Edict sign'd with your own Hand convicts you of the Fact. How can the Honour which you give to Jesus Christ be acceptable to him, since at the same time you worship Idols? No, you cannot serve Two Masters. The Virgins consecrated to God, have no Privileges, and yet you have granted Privileges to Vestals? Why have you recourse to the Ministers of Jesus Christ after you have preter'd before them the Petitions of Pagans?" *St. Ambrose* adds to these Remonstrances of the Bishops, the Charge which his Brother *Gratian* could draw up against him, if he should return into the World, and the Accusations which his Father *Theodosius* might justly make against him.

Because *St. Ambrose* had deliver'd *Valentinian* a Copy of the Petition which had been presented to him in the Name of the Senate, and which he answers in the following Letter, that is also here inserted. *Symmachus* therein desires of the Emperours, as Governor of *Rome*, and Deputy of the Senate, that they would cause the Altar of Victory to be repaired, that so the Oath might be admitted according to ancient Custom upon the Altar, and that they would restore to the Vestal College and the Priests of the Gods, the Goods and Privileges of which they had been unjustly deprived; since the Gods being provoked with the Injuries done to their Priests, had avenged themselves by a cruel Famine, wherewith the Empire was afflicted. He asserts, That they ought not to imitate the Emperours who have taken away those ancient Ceremonies. He introduces the City of *Rome* desiring this Restauration, and he affirms that this may be done without any Expence to the Treasury. This Petition was written with all the Eloquence and Politeness possible.

St. Ambrose answers it in the following Letter, and reduces the reasons of this Request to these Three: The First is the Claim which the City of *Rome* makes to her ancient Ceremonies: The Second is the Injustice which is done to the Vestal Virgins, and the Priests of the False Gods, by despoiling them of their Revenues: The Third is the Vengeance which the Gods have sent down upon the Empire by Famine. To the First he opposes a contrary *Propoëtion*, wherein the City of *Rome* condemns her ancient Superstitions, and demonstrates the Advantages which she has drawn from the Christian Religion. In answer to his Second Argument, he compares the Virgins Consecrated to God with the Vestal Virgins, and the Christian Bishops with the Priests of the False Gods. The Vestals continued Virgins, because of the Honour and Advantages which their Condition procur'd to them; but the Christian Virgins have no other Recompence of their Virginitie, but their own Vertue. They complain that the Priests of False Gods, are deprived of Revenues from the publick; but the Christian Priests are even deprived of the Right of Succession. "The New Laws, says he, have made this Regulation, and yet we do not look upon it as an Injury, because we are not much concerned for this loss. The Priests of the False Gods are capable of Donatives, but no Legacies can be made in Favour of our Church-men. I do not complain of this severity, says *St. Ambrose*, "for I would rather that Ecclesiasticks should have less Riches and more Grace. The Church hath no Patrimony but her Faith; if she has any Revenues they are for feeding the Poor". In short, *St. Ambrose* discovers the Falshood of *Symmachus*'s Supposition, That the Gods of the Pagans being provoked, sent the Famine which afflicted the Empire the preceding Year. First, Because this Famine did not begin till long after the Pagan Priests were depriv'd of their Rewards and their Honours. Secondly, Because this Famine did not continue long, and plenty succeeded it, tho' nothing was done in Favour of the Priests of the Pagan Gods. He concludes this Answer with showing, That the Emperours ought not to expect Protection from the Gods of the Pagans. These Pieces were written in the Year 384 when *Symmachus* was Governour of *Rome*.

The 19th. Letter to *Vigilius* lately chosen Bishop of *Trent*, contains some Important Instructions, which he counsels him to give unto his People. The Principal is, To dissuade the Faithful from contracting Marriages with Infidels; of this he treats largely in this Letter. But he admonishes him also by the bye, to teach his People the Obligation that lies upon them to pay Labourers their hire; to instruct them that Usury is forbidden, and to exhort them to use Hospitality. One of the Reasons which he brings to show, That a Christian ought not to marry an Infidel, is this, *That Marriage ought to be sanctified by the Priestly Veil, and by the Blessing. How then can a Marriage be made between two Persons of a different Belief?* The History of *Samson* and *Dalila*, affords him a fair Field to enlarge upon, by which Example he shows that Christians ought to shun marrying with Persons of a different Religion. *Vigilius* died under the Consulship of *Silvius* in 400 or 405. 'Tis commonly believed that he was 20 Years a Bishop; yet there are Acts of the Life of this Saint, where he is said to be only 12 Years instead of 20. If he died in 400, and was Bishop only 12 Years, this Letter was in the Year 383. If he died in 405, and was 20 Years a Bishop, the Letter may be writt'n at the same time; it cannot be in the Year 381, because the Name of his Predecessor is found in the Subscriptions of the Council of *Aquileia*.

The 20th. Letter to *Marcellina*, Sister to *St. Ambrose*, contains a Relation of the Endeavours, that the Empress *Justina* us'd in the Year 385, to take from the Catholics of *Milan*, two of their Churches, and of the manner wherein *St. Ambrose* defended them. "The Day after I received your Letter," says he, by which you signify to me, That you were very much tormented with troublesome Dreams, here begun those Commotions which have created me a great deal of trouble. They were

"of the People! This was the Day wherein Jesus Christ was delivered up for us, the Day wherein
"Abolition is given to Penitents. This is, writes he to his Sister, what is paid a God grant
"here may be an end of it. But the Threatnings of the Emperour make me fear still some greater
"Commotions: He says, That I am a Tyrant and more than a Tyrant: And when his Officers pray
"him to come to Church, he answered them, If Ambrose would command you, you would deliver
"me up. Behold, what am I to expect after this! All those that heard him say this, testified suffi-
"ciently the trouble that it gave them; but there are some about him who have blown up the
"Coals. Calligonus Master of the Wardrobe came to me, and threatened me in these Words, Why
"do you despise the Emperour, Vengeance shall quickly come upon you? I answered him, That if
"God should suffer these Threatnings to take Effect, he would do as Eunuchs have been wont to
"do, and I should suffer as becomes a Bishop: Heavens grant, That all the Mischiefs which
"threaten the Church may fall upon me; That her Enemies may point all their Darts against
"me; That they may assuage their Rage with shedding of my Blood." Thus ends this Excellent
"Letter of St. Ambrose.

At the time when *St. Ambrose* sent this Petition to be presented to the Emperour, he preach'd a Sermon to his People, to allay the Fear they were seiz'd with, after they understood that *St. Ambrose* was cited to appear before the Emperour's Council. This is plac'd after the preceding Letter. There he declares to his People, That he had no design to abandon his Church; That they might arrest his Body by force, but they could not separate his Mind from it; That he would never willingly forsake them, but if he should be driven away by force, he would not resist. "I can, says he, fight and mourn, I can lament, Tears are my only Arms against Violence and against Soldiers; Bishops have no other Defence. I cannot, I ought not to resist any other ways; but as to flying away and forlaking my Church, that I will never do. You know that the Respect which I have for the Emperour does not make me yield cowardly; that I offer my self willingly to Punishment, and that I do not fear the Michiefs they threaten me with. If I knew that in my absence the Church would not be deliver'd up to the *Arians*, and if it were the Duty of a Bishop to go to the Palaces, I would go willingly; but this is not his Duty, for Matters of Faith cannot be handled but in the Church. If any one has a mind to oppose our Creed, let him come here, and I will defend the Faith which I profess. The Soldiers that encompass the Church and their rattling of their Arms, do not at all make me afraid, neither do they shake my Conscience; all that I have any fear for my self, but I tremble for you. When the Vessels of the Church were demanded of me, I said, That if they would demand any thing that was mine, I should willingly give it; That I could give nothing that belonged to the Church, and that in refusing them I gratified the Emperour, since he could not receive them without doing an Injury to Jesus Christ." After this he exhorts his People to continue Spectators of the Combat which he was to maintain. He says, That he had no reason to fear, because he was assured, that it was for the Cause of God, who could protect him against all his Enemies, and defeat all their Designs: That he had already imitted them with blindness, since they did not perceive the Gate of the Church which was left open, tho' they had compass'd the Church about, and fought for a way to enter into it; That he went forth daily to make Visits, or to go to the Sepulchre of the Martyrs, without being stopp'd by any Body, tho' 'twas always resolv'd to drive him away, and that *Auxentius* had a design to Invade his Church. Here he inveighs freely against that *Arian*, and against the Law which he had gotten by surprize in favour of his Party. He observes, That he was ready to refute him, tho' there was no need of it, since *Auxentius*'s Cause was quite desperate, and he had been condemn'd even by those whom he had chosen for his Judges, and in the absence of his Adversaries: That after he was thus conquer'd, he would have taken the Emperour for a Judge, tho' he was yet but a Catechumen: That he had perswaded the Emperour the preceding Year to take away a Church from the Catholics, but the Resistance of the People hindring him from compassing that Design, he had charg'd *St. Ambrose* with rebelling against the Orders of his Prince, tho' he always answer'd with much Moderation. "If the Emperour, says he, demand of us Tribute, we will not refuse to pay it him, the Lands of the Church

All the Day was spent in sadness, and St. *Ambrose* could not return to his own Houſe, becauſe the Church was compaſſ'd with Souldiers; ſo he paſſed the Night in fingiſg Pſalms in the Church. The next Day the Book of *Jonas* was read. As St. *Ambroſe* was expounding it, word was brought him, that the Emperour had command'd the Souldiers to withdraw, and order'd the Fines which were exacted from the Merchants to be reſtor'd. "What Joys, ſays he, what Acclamations

"do pay it. If he would have the Lands themselves, he can take them, none of us does oppose it. I will not give them to him, but neither will I hinder him from taking them. We keep our selves within the bounds of a just Obedience. We render to *Cæsar* that which is *Cæsar's*, and to God the things which are God's. Tribute is *Cæsar's*. No body refuses him that. The Church is God's; 'tis unlawful to give it to the Prince; he has no Authority over it. Could any thing be more respectful, or more to the Honour of the Emperour? 'Tis an Honour to him to be of the Church; he is in the Church, but not above the Church.

The 22d. Letter contains the History of the Discovery of the Reliques of St. *Gervasius* and St. *Prothasius*, and the Sermons which St. *Ambrose* made to his People upon this Subject. It is also to his dear Sister *Marcellina*, to whom he communicated an Account of what had passed in his Church. He writes to her, that having dedicated a Church at *Milan*, he was desir'd to Consecrate it with the same Solemnity, wherewith he had done the Roman Church (this was another Church which was near the Roman Gate) which he promised to do, if he could find any Reliques. That he had cauld the Ground at a place which was before the Rails of the Sepulchres of St. *Felix* and St. *Nabor* to be broke up; That in this place he found the Bones of two Men of extraordinary bigness with much Blood; That there were sufficient signs to discover that they were Martyrs; That having brought thither some possib'd Persons, it was known by their Agitation, that they were before the Sepulchre of Martyrs; That the People flock'd together in great Multitudes for the space of two Days to see these Reliques, and that afterwards those Bones were dispos'd according to their Natural Order to be carried into the *Ambrosian* Church; That they were laid up in *Faustus's* Church, where Vigils were celebrated all that Night, and the next Morning they were translated to the *Ambrosian* Church; That while they were translating, a blind Man was cured. This was the discovery of the Bodies of these Martyrs. St. *Ambrose* adds two Sermons made to his People upon this occasion, which contain also some Circumstances of it. In them he observes, That these two Saints are St. *Gervasius* and St. *Prothasius*. He does not tell us, whence he knew it: But St. *Ambrose* informs us that he had got an Account of their Death, and the place where their Bodies were laid, by a Revelation which he had that Night. He speaks of the many Miracles which those Reliques wrought, of the Possessed that were deliver'd, of the Sick that were healed, of the Handkerchiefs that were touch'd, to carry them to the Sick. He tells his People, That these Bones must be put under the Altar. That such Victims could not be better plac'd than under the Altar where the true Sacrifice lay; That Jesus Christ is upon the Altar, because he suffer'd for all, and the Martyrs are under the Altar, because they were redeem'd by his Blood. He adds, That he had design'd this place for his own burial place, because it was fit that a Bishop should be interr'd in that place where he was wont to make the oblation, but that he yielded this place to the Martyrs, and would presently go and place their Reliques in it. The People earnestly desir'd, that he would put off the performance of this Ceremony till *Sunday*, but he would delay it no longer than till the next Morning. And then he made another Discourse to his People, wherein he confutes the Infidelity of the *Arians*, and the Incredulity of some of the Faithful, by the Miracles which these Reliques had wrought, and chiefly by the Cure of the blind Man which was publick and certain. St. *Ambrose* Ch. 7. of the IXth. B. of his Confessions, and the Author of the Life of St. *Ambrose*, say, That an end was put to the Persecution by the discovery of those Reliques, which discovers to us that this Letter was written in the Year 386.

The 23d. Letter is written to the Bishops of *Emilia*, about a scruple they had concerning *Easter* Day for the Year 387. St. *Ambrose* observes in the First Place, That the Holy Scripture and Tradition teach us, That we must carefully find out *Easter*-Day; That the Council of *Nice* believ'd this so necessary; That they had made a Cycle of 19 Years; That by this means the Sacrifice in Honour of Christ's Resurrection might be offer'd in all places in the same Night; That the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Rome* had already made Regulations of this Business; but since there were many who would also have his Opinion, he thought himself oblig'd to write his Thoughts; and tho' the difference at present was only about the Celebration of the next *Easter*, yet he would shew what Day should be observ'd for time to come, whensoever the like Question should return. He says, That there are two Things to be observ'd concerning the Celebration of *Easter*, the 14th. Day of the Moon and the First Month; That this time was fix'd for the Passover under the Old Testament, and that Jesus Christ observ'd this Law, by celebrating the Passover on *Thursday* the 14th. Day of the Moon of *March*, and by being crucified on *Friday* the 15th. and rising the *Sunday* following. That therefore Christians ought to Celebrate the Feast of the Resurrection on the *Sunday* after the 14th. Day of *March*-Moon, a Day on which it is not any more lawful to Fast; and when the 14th. Day of the Moon happens to be *Sunday*, as it will fall out to be quickly, we must put off the Solemnity of *Easter*, till the following *Sunday*, because we must not Fast upon *Easter*-Day, nor break our Fast upon the 14th. Day, which is the Day wherein Jesus Christ was deliver'd up to be crucified. He proves by Examples that this is the Custom. He speaks afterwards of the First Month, and shews that 'tis not necessary to Celebrate the Day of the Resurrection in the First Month, Provided the Day of the Passover happens in it. He makes this Remark, because he was treating of the Passover for the Year 387, which was to be celebrated on the 23d. of *April*, a Day which seem'd not to belong to the same Lunar Month. 'Tis certain that St. *Ambrose* speaks of the *Easter* of that Year as being quickly to come to pass, *quod futurum est proxime*, and that he speaks of the *Easter* of the Year 380, as being already pass'd some Years ago, *superioribus temporibus*; which proves, that this Letter was written in 386, or 387, tho there be a place in this Letter, which seems to prove, that it was written in the Year 381, because he speaks of the *Easter* for the Year 378, as being two Years before.

before. But this must be a Fault in the Transcriber; for what probability is there that he should take so much Pains to fix an *Easter* which was not to happen till Six Years after, and that he should speak of it as the next Festival?

In Letter 24th. St. *Ambrose* gives an Account to the Emperour *Valentinian*, to whom it is address'd, of his Embassy to *Maximus*, which the Emperour had entrusted with him the Second time in the Year 386. He tells him, That when he came to *Trier*, he desir'd to discourse with *Maximus* in private, but he would not say any thing but in his Council, tho' he was told, that it was not the Custom for Bishops to do so; That when he was admitted there, *Maximus* came to salute him, but he would not receive his Kiss till after much Discourse; That *Maximus* accus'd him of putting a Trick upon him in his First Embassy, and hindring his Passage into *Italy*; that he excus'd himself, and prov'd from the several Steps that he had made, that he had no Design to deceive him; That he came to treat about a Peace in the Name of his Prince, and that not being able to conclude it, he return'd; That he had not pass'd his Word to him that *Valentinian* should come and meet him; That he had never diffus'd this Emperour from doing it; That this Resolution of his was taken before he return'd, and that he had sent Deputies to acquaint *Maximus* that he would not come; That he had assist'd with all the Moderation that is possible; That he had sent back his own Brother to him, tho' *Maximus* had put *Valentinian's* to death, and by an unheard-of Inhumanity refus'd still to restore his Body; That *Valentinian* had prefer'd Peace to War, tho' he might hope for Succors from the *Huns* and *Alans* against the *Barbarians* whom *Maximus* had brought into the Empire; That *Maximus* ought not to blame those, who being with *Valentinian*, made their Escape and fled to *Theodosius* for Refuge, since he put all to death that he could lay hands upon, and among the rest one *Valion* who was a brave Captain; That after this Discourse he receiv'd no other Answer from *Maximus*, but that he would consider what he had to do. St. *Ambrose* adds, that *Maximus* understanding that he would not communicate either with the Bishops who had receiv'd him into Communion, or who had desir'd the death of some Hereticks, he receiv'd Orders to be gone immediately, and at his going away he had the dissatisfaction to see the Holy Bishop *Higinius* sent into Banishment, and us'd with all possible Rigour, so that his Age and bad Usage reduc'd him to that condition, which left him no hopes but of death.

The Two following Letters are about a Question which *Studius* had put to St. *Ambrose*; Whether a Magistrate ought to condemn Criminals to death, and whether he that condemns such Persons should be excommunicated. The practice in St. *Ambrose's* time was not very certain: Some Bishops excluded them from Communion, others on the contrary received them; nay, there was also an example of some Bishops, who a little while before desir'd the death of the *Priscillianists*: Some Magistrates themselves abstain'd from these things. St. *Ambrose* confesses, that we ought not to excommunicate a Magistrate, who according to the Duty of his Office Condemns a Man to death, and Orders him to be Executed; but he wishes that Judges would abstain from doing it, and would have no Criminal condemn'd to death, but only to a Prison or some other Punishment, that so they may have opportunity to reform themselves and do Penance if they be baptiz'd, or to receive Baptism if they be Catechumens. To prove that a Christian Magistrate ought to use this Clemency, he alleges the Judgment which Jesus Christ gave of the Woman taken in Adultery, and makes many Reflections upon this Action in this Letter and the next. These Letters were written after Judgment was given against the *Priscillianists*, about the Year 386.

The Seven following Letters to *Irenæus* contain Allegorical Explications of some Difficulties about Passages of the Holy Scripture. There are Four of them which were formerly among the Treatises upon the Holy Scripture. 'Tis thought they were written about the Year 386; but there is no convincing proof of it. The order in which they are to be plac'd is better ascertain'd, because it is authoriz'd by the First Words at the beginning of each Letter.

The Three Letters to *Orontianus* were written immediately after one another. In the Third he speaks of his own persecution, and therefore they were written after the Year 386. These are also about some Difficulties of Scripture.

The Letters 37th. and 38th. to *Simplicius* are about Morality. In them St. *Ambrose* shews, that none but a wife Man can be truly Free and truly Rich. These Letters are plac'd in the Year 387, tho' without certain proof.

The 39th. is a Letter of Consolation to *Sabinus* upon the death of his Sister. He says, that as he return'd from *Bolonia*, he saw the Cities ruin'd. This may have reference to the irruption of *Maximus*, or that of *Eugenius*.

The 40th. Letter to *Theodosius* is more considerable. The Governour of the East had written to *Theodosius* who was then at *Milan* after the death of *Maximus* in 388 or 389. That a Synagogue of the Jews and a Temple of the *Valentinians* were burnt, and that the Bishop was the cause of this Conflagration. *Theodosius* gave order that those who had done this Action should be punish'd, and that the Bishop should rebuild this Synagogue at his own Charge. St. *Ambrose* who was then at *Aquila*, understanding that *Theodosius* had given this Judgment, wrote to him with all possible freedom, that his Order was not consistent with his Piety, and the Zeal he had for the Christian Religion; That the Bishop could not obey him without prevaricating. He defends also the Council of this Bishop, and the Action of those who had burnt the Synagogue. He shews, that the Jews had often burnt the Temples of Christians, without being punish'd for it, or condemn'd to rebuild them; That it was unworthy of a Christian Emperour who had received so many benefits from Jesus Christ, to take part with a Synagogue of Jews against the Church. In a word, he heaps together many thoughts and expressions of this Nature, which have more of Declamation than true Reasoning, to hinder any

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Reparation of the Injury which was done to the Jews by burning their Synagogue: He threatens also the Emperor to deprive him of Communion if he did not recall these Orders. He did not only write to the Emperor about it, but he also made a Sermon upon this Subject in his presence, which is related in the following Letter written to his Sister. He prevail'd so far, that the Emperor promis'd none of the Christians should be fought after for this Cause, after which he went, says he, to the Altar, which he should not have approach'd if the Emperor had not pass'd his word about that matter.

The 42d. Letter is a synodical Epistle of a Council at Milan, being an Answer to that which Siricius and his Council had written to the Church of that City against *Joianinus* and his followers. This Letter is sign'd by Seven Bishops, and a Priest, who subscribed it in the presence of his Bishop and by his Command. In it they certify the Pope, that they were of the same Judgment with him concerning the excellency of Virginity. They prove that *Mary* the Mother of God never lost her Virginity in Child-bearing. They show the necessity and usefulness of fasting. Lastly, they condemn *Joianinus* and his followers whom *Siricius* and the Roman Church had condemned.

The Letters 43d. and 44th. are Explications of Two Difficulties which *Orosius* had started about the Creation of the World, which were not explained in St. Ambrose's Treatise upon this Subject written about the Year 389.

The Five following Letters address'd to *Sabinus* were written much about the same time: They contain nothing very remarkable.

The 50th. address'd to *Chromacius* is about the Prophecy of *Balaam*. St. Ambrose was old when he wrote it.

In the 51st. he exhorts *Theodosius* to do Penance for the Mafacre done by his Order at *Theffalonica*, and represents to him the Enormity of this Action. This Letter was written in the Year 390.

The 52d. to *Titianus* contains nothing remarkable; he congratulates him that *Rufinus* was made Prætorian Præfect, not only upon the account of the Honour that was done him by it, but also because this Office hindred him from being Judge in a Law-suit which *Titianus* had with his Grand-daughter whom *Rufinus* favour'd. *Rufinus* was made Prætorian Præfect in 392. and so the date of this Letter is certainly known.

In the 53d. St. Ambrose testifies to *Theodosius* how much he was afflicted for the Death of *Valentinian*, which happened on the First of March 392, and this Letter was in the Summer following.

The Two following Letters are written to *Eusebius* who was of an Illustrious Family of *Belonia*. In the First St. Ambrose acquaints him with what he had done for an Officer whom he had recommended to him, and gives him an account of the News about his Grand-son *Faulstinus*. In the Second he writes to him that he had detain'd at Milan, *Ambrosia* the Sister of *Faulstinus*. This is the Virgin to whom he had given the Veil, of which he speaks in the Book of the Institution of Virgins, publish'd in 392. This Letter was written immediately after.

The 56th. Letter is an Answer of St. Ambrose to *Theophilus*, who had consulted him about the difference between *Evagrius* and *Flavianus* for the Bishoprick of *Antioch*. St. Ambrose tells him at the beginning of this Letter, that *Evagrius* had no cause to push on the Decision of this Affair, and that *Flavianus* ought to fear the event of it. He prays him to pardon these Words, which a just Grief drew from his Pen, because all the World quarrell'd about them, tho' they did not sympathize with the Grief of others. He adds, that the Council of *Capua* having refer'd this Affair to *Theophilus* and the Bishops of *Egypt*, it was like to be determin'd by a Judgment which could not be suspected of Injustice, since the Judges did not communicate with either Party, but that *Flavianus* had recourse to the Emperor's Rescripts, to avoid being judg'd by the *Egyptians*. This made St. Ambrose think that *Flavian* was in the wrong, altho' he did not find the Cause of *Evagrius* very good, and he condemns very sharply the procedure of *Flavian*. But *Theophilus* having written to him that some means of accommodating this Affair might be found out, he was not averse to it, and counsels him to cite *Flavianus* yet once more, and if he persisted to refuse to appear, then to accommodate this Affair as he should think fit: Nevertheless he ought not to violate the Canons of the Councils of *Nice* and *Capua*, and must still preserve peace with all the World, lest they should seem to destroy that which had been built up. He advertises him also, that it was convenient to write to the Bishop of *Rome*, being persuaded that he will give no decision which can displease him, because the way to maintain Peace, is to do nothing which may stir up Division among the Bishops of his own Communion. Lastly, he declares to him, that he will joyfully receive what he should determine if the Roman Church approve it.

The 57th. Letter about the Affair of *Bonofus* is not St. Ambrose's but the Pope *Siricius*'s. For First, in it he speaks of St. Ambrose as a Third Person. *Bonofus*, says the Author of this Letter, understanding your Judgment, sent to consult our Brother Ambrose, to know if he might return to his Church; and this cannot be understood of any but our Holy Bishop of Milan. There was no other Ambrosian Bishop at that time, and tho' there were, yet 'tis plain that he speaks of whose Judgment he was treating. Secondly, The Style of this Letter is no ways like that of St. Ambrose, and is very like that of *Siricius*. Thirdly, It appears plainly that it is a Bishop of *Rome* who speaks. Fourthly, *Hollstenius* has publish'd it in his Collection under the name of *Siricius*, upon the credit of the Manuscript in the Vatican. Neither is it to *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* that this Letter is address'd, but to *Anysius* of *Theffalonica*, and the Bishops of *Macedonia*. For 'tis evident that it was written to those to whom the Council of

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Capua had refer'd the Affair of *Bonofus*, and 'tis no less certain that it was refer'd to the *Macedonians*, to the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, and the other Neighbour-Bishops of *Bonofus*, who was Bishop of *Nessia* a City of *Dardania*. To convince any Man of these Two things he needs only read the beginning of the Letter. I have read the Letters which you wrote to me concerning the Bishop *Bonofus*, wherein you desire our Opinion, either to clear up the Truth, or through Modesty only, but the Council of *Capua* having order'd that the Neighbours of *Bonofus* and his Accusers, should be Judges of this Affair, and chiefly the *Macedonians*, together with the Bishop of *Theffalonica*.

It belongs to you who are entrusted with this Cause, to judge according to the Order of the Council of *Capua*, because you are substituted in the room of this Synod, who has chosen you to enquire into this Affair. And the same *Bonofus* having sent to consult our Brother Ambrose whether he should enter into his Church, received for answer, That he should undertake nothing against your Judgment, but follow what you should Ordain, since the Synod has committed to you this Trust. Two things are evident from these Words: First, That the Bishops of *Illyricum*, and chiefly those of *Macedonia*, were entrusted, together with the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, by the Synod of *Capua*, to enquire and judge of the Cause of *Bonofus*. Secondly, That this Letter is address'd to those who were thus entrusted. But some may say, if it be so, why does it speak of the Bishop of *Theffalonica* and those of *Macedonia* in the Third Person? Why does not the Author write thus, The Synod of *Capua* having refer'd this Cause to you and to your Brethren, the Bishops of *Theffalonica*, and the other Neighbouring Bishops of *Bonofus*, and chiefly the *Macedonians* and the Bishop of *Theffalonica*, should enquire into and judge this Cause, &c. This easy Now it often happens, that when such Writings are alleg'd to the Judges wherein they are spoken in the Writings. But what is said afterwards is address'd to them, and what is related is applied to them. And this the Author of this Letter does in the next Line; *vestrum est igitur qui hoc recipitis Judicium*, &c. 'Tis needless to insist any longer upon a thing so clear; and therefore the true *Anysius*, and the other Bishops of *Illyricum*. This Letter is no ways unworthy of this Pope as no ways contrary to the Prerogatives of the Roman Church; on the contrary this is according to Rule and agreeable to the Canons: This is the Practice and Judgment of the ancient Popes, who had a most profound Veneration for the Decisions of Synods, and who inviolably kept the Laws of the Church.

The Letter 58 is written to *Eugenius*, sometime after this Tyrant came into Italy, that's to say, in the Year 393.

The Pagans who had attempted thrice in vain to obtain of *Valentinian* the Restitution of the Goods which belonged to their Temple, address'd this New Emperor with the same Petition. He refused twice to grant it; but at last the great Lords of the Pagans having Petition'd that these things might be restor'd, he did it, saying, That he did not give them to the Temple, but to themselves for the Services they had done him. St. Ambrose who mightily oppos'd all the Petitions of Pagans under *Valentinian*, speaks with no less Boldness to the Tyrant *Eugenius*, than he had done to *Valentinian*. He remonstrates to him, That how great soever the Power of the Emperor be, 'tis infinitely below that of God, who sees the bottom of our Hearts, and from whom nothing is hid; That he ought not to grant for the Impertinency of these great Lords, any thing prejudicial to Religion; That the Bishops would not blame him for the Gifts which he had given to the Pagans; That they did not Envy them these Goods, but they could not approve of his Authorizing, by this Grant, the Use that these Pagans would make of it to restore their Religious Worship; That it was never lawful to contribute directly or indirectly to the Worship of False Gods; That in former Ages the Christians of *Antioch* dwelling at *Jerusalem*, being obliged to pay a Tax at *Antioch*, at the time of the publick Sports, would never give it, but upon Condition that it should not be employed for the Sacrifice of *Heracles*, but in other Expences necessary for the good of the Commonwealth; That if Christian Subjects being forced to obey, thought themselves obliged to do so, a Christian Emperor who was Master of his own Will, had much more reason to use the like precaution.

In the Letter 59 to *Sabinus* Bishop of *Placentia*, St. Ambrose makes an Encomiastick upon St. *Paulinus* and his Wife, who having sold their Goods to distribute the price of them to the Poor, had taken a Resolution to retire to *Nola*. This gives him occasion to shew the Advantages of Solitude and Voluntary Poverty. This Letter was written some time before St. *Paulinus* retir'd to *Nola* at the beginning of the Year 393.

The 60th. Letter is to *Severus*; where he speaks of a Priest call'd *James*, who was come from *Perfida* to retire into *Campania*, that he might serve God more quietly; as also of the troubles and Wars which with his own Country was harass'd. This Letter has relation to the War of *Eugenius* in the Year 393; or to that of *Maximus* in the Year 383.

The Letter 61st. to *Paternus* is about a Point of Discipline. This Man who had been Lord Treasurer, as we learn from the Letters of *Symmachus*, and the 14th. Law de *Metallis*, had consulted St. Ambrose, if he could marry one of his Sons to his Daughter's Daughter, or his Grand-Daughter. The Pope of the time discovered that it was forbidden; That the Law of God forbidding the Marriages of Cousin-Germans, does much more strongly imply a Prohibition of this, tho' it was not by name forbidden in the Divine Law; That the Civil Laws forbid it, and that *Theodosius* forbade Marriages between Cousin-Germans; That if this Law were dispens'd with, yet it ought not to Authorize this

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fort of Marriages, because a Dispensation is only for him that obtains it. The reason which he alleges, That his Son was not related to his Grand-Daughter by the Father's side, but only by the Mother's side, proves nothing, since Marriage was equally forbidden between Brothers, whether they were born of the same Father and Mother, or of the same Mother, and different Fathers. Lastly, he says, That it would be more Advantageous to his Family, that his Son and his Daughter should marry to others, because by this means he should have in his Family, Children both by his Son and his Grand-Daughter. The Law of *Theodosius*, which he cites is of the Year 384, and therefore this Letter was written after that Year: 'Tis there said, that *Patronus* possessed a great Office, which makes it to be placed in the Year 393, because the Law which we have cited, discovers to us, that in this Year he was Lord High Treasurer, *Comes Sacrarum largitionum*: But he might have been so before.

The Letter 62 was written by *St. Ambrose* to the Emperor *Theodosius*, immediately after the Death of the Tyrant *Eugenius*, who was defeated and killed in the Month of September of the Year 394. *St. Ambrose* tells us, that *Augustine* understood that *Eugenius* was coming thither, that he might avoid meeting him, saying, But *Augustine* was gone out of *Adrian*. *St. Ambrose* returned in the Month of July. Some time after, the Emperor *Theodosius* having defeated *Eugenius*, wrote to *St. Ambrose* to return thanks to God for his Victory. This Saint made Answer in this Letter, That he would do it with Joy, and that he would offer up in his Name an acceptable Sacrifice to God; he praises the Piety of this Emperor, who did not seek after the Poms of a vain Triumph, but desired the Bishops to offer up Sacrifices of Thanksgiving. He signifies to him, That he had satisfied his desire. That he had carried his Letter to the Altar, and laid it upon the Holy Table; That he held it in his Hand while he was offering Sacrifice; "To the end, says he, that your Faith might be made known by my Mouth, and that your Majesties Letter might serve as Matter for an Epikoinon Oblation." Afterwards he praises God for having plac'd a Prince upon the Throne who surpass'd the greatest Princes in Glory, and the holiest Bishops in Humility. "What can be wish'd for, what can be desired more, says *St. Ambrose* to him? You possess, Sir, all Virtues, you are a Prince of singular Piety and Clemency. All that can be wish'd for, is, that God would encrease in you this Piety, and that the Church which rejoices that Innocent Men live in Peace and Tranquillity, may receive also the Consolation of seeing the guilty absolv'd. Show Favour at least to those who have not hitherto taken Arms against their Prince.

The 63d. Letter address'd to the same Emperor, followed quickly after the preceding, wherein *St. Ambrose* begs favour for those of *Eugenius*'s Party who retired into the Church after the Death of this Tyrant.

The 64th. is address'd to the Church of *Verceilles*, which had lost her Bishop. This was not *Enobius* who died in the Year 379, but *Eugenius* who was present in the Year 384 at the Council of *Aquileia*. It we believe the Acts of *St. Gaudensius* of *Novara*, produced by *Mambrinus* and *Belandus* upon the 12th. of January, *St. Ambrose* a little before his Death made a Journey to *Verceilles*, upon the Account of some Diffusion which was in that Church, which was probably about the Election of a Bishop; and this makes some believe that this Letter was not written till the Year 394. But this conjecture is founded upon a very uncertain Ground; for it supposes these two things which are not well proved. First, That what is related in the Acts of *St. Gaudensius* of *Novara* is true; Secondly, That the Division which oblig'd *St. Ambrose* to go to *Verceilles* was about the Election of a Bishop. It seems also that *St. Ambrose* need not have written this Letter if he had been upon the place himself. Some have said, That this Letter was not *St. Ambrose*'s, because that *Vence* is named in it: But if this Objection be of any force, we must also for the same reason reject the Second Answer to *Symoniacus*, which is without all Controversy *St. Ambrose*'s. This Letter has his Style and his Air of Writing; he has infer'd into it some entire Fragments of his own Commentary upon the Gospel of *St. Luke*, and upon *Psalm* 119. He exhorts the People and the Clergy, to put an end to the Divisions which distracted the Choice of a Bishop. He admonishes them afterwards to beware of hearkening to two Men call'd *Sermonian* and *Archetianus*, who were gone out of a Monastery of *Adrian* to go and lead a licentious Life at *Verceilles*, where they preached. That no Man belong'd to Abstinence, nor any peculiar Grace to Virginitie; and that it was a folly for any one to Fast and Mortify himself. *St. Ambrose* makes a long Digression to refute these Errors, and to prove the Usefulness of Abstinence and Fasting, and the Excellency of Virginitie. Afterwards he returns to his Subject, and treats of the Qualities of the Person who ought to be chosen for a Bishop. One of the Principal is, that he has had but one Wife. *St. Ambrose* extends this Prohibition to those also who had Contracted a first Marriage before their Baptism. Thus he understands the Passage of the Apostle *St. Paul*, and the Canon of the Council of *Nice*. There is also another Condition observed by *St. Paul* concerning the Qualifications of a Bishop, That he should not be a Novice, or one lately Instructed in the Faith. Because they transgress'd this Rule in the Ordination of *St. Ambrose*, he is forced to justify himself, by saying, That he was Ordained against his Will. At last, he says, If great Care ought to be taken in the Choice of a Person who is to be plac'd upon any Episcopal Throne whatsoever, it was a Matter of the greatest Importance to place a Person of singular Merit upon the Episcopal Throne at *Verceilles*, because the Bishop of this Church was entrusted with the Care of a Monastery and a Church, and should joyn the Practice of a Religious Life with the Virtues of a Bishop; as *St. Enobius* did, who was the First that united these two things in the West, by settling Monasteries in a City, and governing his Church without renouncing a Monastick Life. Here he enlarges upon the Praises of this Holy Bishop, and of *Dionys* of *Adrian*, the Companion of his Banishment, and of the troubles he endured for the Defence of

the Faith of the Church; and proposes the Life of their Disciples as a Pattern. He concludes with a long Digression, wherein he recommends the Practice of Christian Vertues, and chiefly of Poverty, of Abstraction from the World, of Retirement, of Patience; of Charity, of Abstinence, &c. I believe that this last Part has been since added, and that it is a Fragment of some Discourse of *St. Ambrose*, for it has no relation to, nor connexion with what goes before.

These are all the Letters of *St. Ambrose*, of which the Order and Time can be guess'd at: The others which compose the Second Class, are without Date, tho' they have prefix'd the Figures to these as well as to those that went before. The Nine first contain Expositions upon some places of *Exodus*, of *Leviticus*, of *Deuteronomy*, and the Prophet *Micah*. These were formerly among the Commentaries upon the Holy Scripture. The Four following are upon some places of the Epistles of *St. Paul*.

The 18th. address'd to *Marcellus*, is about an Arbitration which he had made of a Law-Suit that this Bishop had with his Sister. *St. Ambrose* was nam'd Judge of it, but he chose rather to make an end of it, to the content of the two Parties, by giving his Sister the Revenue of the Land in Question during her Life only.

In the 19th. he exhorts his Clergy not to neglect the Functions of their Ministry, because of the Pains, the Fatigues, and Persecutions they were to endure in the discharge of their Duty.

The 80th. 81st. 86th. 87th. 88th. 89th. 90th. 91st. and 92d. are short Letters about private Affairs. The 82d. is address'd to a sick Man call'd *Bellinus*, who was converted in the height of his Disease, and was now beginning to recover. *St. Ambrose* tells him, That God had sent this Sickness to save him; That he had smitten him with this Infirmary to Cure him by it; That God knowing his inward Thoughts, saw that he had good Designs but delayed the Execution of them, and therefore God had sent him this Sickness to serve for an Admonition to him; That he had already begun to know the Lord, but he was moreover to receive the Sacraments, by which the World is redeemed, Sins are pardon'd, and Grace is distributed. The following Letter is address'd to the same sick Person, wherein he compares his Cure to that of the Man born blind. In Letter 84th. and 85th. he discourses of the true Treasures and the true Riches, and shews, that none but the Rich are truly happy.

The Funeral Orations upon *Valentinian* and *Theodosius* are plac'd here after the Letters of *St. Ambrose*. They are two admirable Pieces. The first was spoken in 392. in the presence of the Sisters of *Valentinian*. There he praises the Vertues of this Prince, and makes no doubt but he was saved, tho' he died before he receiv'd Baptism, because Faith and a desire of receiving the Sacrament supplied the want of it. He promises to pray for him. In the Second he particularly commends the Clemency, the Charity and Humility of *Theodosius*, and concludes with comforting his Son *Honorius*, before whom he spoke this Funeral Oration in 395.

It cannot be doubted but *St. Ambrose* compos'd Hymns. *St. Austin* in his Book of Confessions, B. XII. and in his Book of Music Ch. 9. commends the Hymn at Vespers, *Veni creator omnium*, as *St. Ambrose*'s. He could not be deceiv'd in this Matter; but since he has not set down the number of those Hymns which *St. Ambrose* compos'd, it may be doubted whether all those that go under his name be his. Those for the daily Office appear to be more certainly his than the rest; to which may be added the Hymns upon the *Hexameron*. As for the rest they appear to be in another Style, and of another Author. 'Tis certain that the *Vexilla Regis* is none of his.

St. Ambrose wrote also other Books which we have not at present: We have already observed, That we have not now his Genuine Book of the Sacraments and of Philosophy, which is many times cited by *St. Austin*. The same Saint cites also the Commentary of *St. Ambrose* upon *Isaiah*, in B. IV. to *Boniface*, Ch. 62. and B. II. against *Julian*. *St. Ambrose* also mentions it in his Commentary upon *St. Luke*. We have not now his Instruction to *Frigilda*, which *Paulinus* mentions in his Life, nor the Instructions to *Pansophius*.

But if some Books of *St. Ambrose* have been lost, it must be confess'd that several have been attributed to him which are none of his.

First, There have been put out under his Name a multitude of Sermons, and not one of them is: There are 36 of them printed among those of *St. Maximus*, 14 in the Appendix to *St. Austin*'s course of *St. Basil* upon the words of the Rich-man, That I will pull down my Barns. The Exposition upon Ch. 31st. of the *Proverbs* is the 37th. Sermon of *St. Austin*. The *Benedictines* did not think fit to print these, and so have only given the Catalogue of them. As for the rest which are 58 in indeed there is not one of them which has his Style and Air.

Secondly, There have been attributed to *St. Ambrose* some Treatises upon the Scripture, which having no Author that is known have passed under several Fathers Names. Such is the Discourse of the Dignity of the *Humane Nature*, which has also been attributed to *St. Austin*, under the Title of a *Discourse about the Creation of the First Man*, which *Alcimus* cites under the name of *Albinus*, and which has also been infer'd entire into the Book of the *Spirit and the Soul*. Such is also the Discourse of the forbidden Fruit, which is amongst the Sermons of *St. Austin*. The Discourses upon *Elijah* and *Elisha* are the Sermons of *St. Maximus*.

The Treatise of the 42 Stations or Encampings of the People of Israel in the Desert, belongs to a pretty ancient Author, but it has not the Style of *St. Ambrose*. It uses the Latin Translation of *Origen*'s Works.

I say nothing here of a Commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul, which is believed to be *St. Ambrose's*, because the Attribution of it is another place.

The Commentary upon the *Revelation* is a very late Author's. He speaks of the Lombards and cites St. Gregory. The name of the right Author of this Commentary has been found at the end of an Oxford Manuscript, where it is attributed to *Berengandus*, whom *Dionysius Carthusianus* cites with *Bede* and *Haimo* in his Commentary upon Ch. 10. of the Revelation.

To these Treatises may be added the *Harmony of the Evangelists* St. Matthew and St. Luke concerning the Generation of *Jesus Christ*; for it is not *St. Ambrose's*, because this Author follows the Hypothesis of *Africanus* which *St. Ambrose* does not.

Thirdly, There are many Treatises upon different Subjects attributed to *St. Ambrose*, whose true Authors have been discovered.

The Treatise upon the *Cities*, which is better entitled in the Manuscripts, a Treatise of the *Trinity* and the *Resurrection*, is a Collection of Passages out of many Fathers. They have taken the liberty in the *Roman* Edition to make abundance of Additions and Alterations in it: The *Benedictines* will publish it just as it is in the Manuscripts.

The Book of the Divinity of the Son is probably *Gregory's of Nazianzen*, as we proved, when we gave an account of the Works of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*.

The Treatise entitled of the *Mysteries* of Easter, is a Sermon which is improperly divided into Chapters. It has rather the Style of *St. Maximus* than of *St. Ambrose*.

The Book of the *Sacerdotal Dignity* is *Gerbert's*, under whose Name it has been published by *Mabilion* in his *Analekta*, where 'tis Entitled *A Pastoral Book*.

The Discourse to a *Virgin consecrated to God* has a quite different Style from that of *St. Ambrose*.

The Book of the *Vocation of the Gentiles* and the *Epistle* to *Demetrius*, are certainly none of *St. Ambrose's*, since they were written since the Birth of the *Pelagian* Heresy. We shall afterwards examine to whom they ought to be attributed.

The 29th. Letter to *Florianus* is of a Style much below *St. Ambrose's*, and therefore it is rejected in the Appendix. 'Tis yet more evident, that the 34th. which is a relation of the Martyrdom of *St. Agnes*, is the Work of an Impostor, who having written a History as he himself pleases'd, added at the end, that it is *St. Ambrose's*, who having found these Memoirs in some divine Books, wrote them for the Edification of the Church, and address'd them to some Virgins. The Style of this Relation shows the Author to be a Lyar, and discovers the Imposture.

The 35th. Letter about the Invention of the Reliques of *St. Gervasius* and *St. Protasius* relates this Event after quite another manner than *St. Ambrose* does in his Genuine Works, and is written in a Style perfectly different from this Father's. The fame may be said of the 55th. Letter concerning the Invention of the Reliques of *St. Vitalis* and *St. Agricola*, which ends with this Form, *regnante Christo domino nostro*, &c. which belongs to the Ages much later than *St. Ambrose*.

The Two Prayers for preparation to the *Eucharist*, have nothing at all of *St. Ambrose's* Style. There are found in some Editions, many other Meditations and Prayers of the same nature, but none of them have any thing of his Genius.

The Book of the *Combat between Vertues and Vices*, which is also attributed to *St. Auspin* and *St. Leo*, belongs to *Ambrosius Autpertus*, as is observed in the Preface to this Work, which is in the Appendix to the Sixth Book of the New Edition of *St. Auspin*, p. 219.

The *Exposition of Faith* is an Abridgment of *St. Ambrose's* Book address'd to *Gratian*.

The Book of the *Holy Spirit* is a fragment of some more considerable Treatises written by a Latin Author ancient enough, but different from *St. Ambrose*.

The Book of *Penance* belongs to one *Victor*, as the last Words prove invincibly, *nulla capiaris oblatione Victoris*. The very name of *Victor* is at the beginning of two ancient Manuscripts. We shall enquire afterwards, whether it ought to be ascribed to *Victor Carthagenensis*, or to *Victor Tunnonensis*.

'Tis not necessary to advertise the Readers that the Book of the *Life and Manners of the Brachmanns*, is a ridiculous Discourse, and unworthy of *St. Ambrose*, or any Man of Sense.

The Style of *St. Ambrose* is not always equally lofty, for he proportions it, as *St. Auspin* observes, to the things of which he treats. Sometimes it is very careless, sometime 'tis very labour'd, but 'tis always grave, serious and noble; it is short, sententious, and full of Strokes of Wit. The Books that he took pains about, are very smart, exact and ingenious, and adorned with Figures and Flowers of Rhetoric. His other Books, tho they are less polish'd, yet have their sweetness and smoothness. His words are choice enough, and his Expressions noble. He diversifies his Matter with a wonderful variety of Thoughts and Words. He is ingenious at finding out the most natural and agreeable Turns of Wit. He does not raise great Passions, but he diverts and instructs his Reader, and insinuates himself into his Mind and Heart by soft and pleasant Strains. Neither does his Discourse want strength, and he urges a thing vigorously, when there is occasion. As he joined together in the conduct of his Life a wonderful Generosity and inflexibility with all possible prudence and moderation, so he knew how to temper in his Discourses the boldness and authority of a Bishop, with an Air of sweetness and charity. We have already declared, what Judgment is to be made of his Commentaries upon the Scriptures, and of his dogmatical Books. His Books of Morality are certainly the most excellent of all his Works, and those he took most pains about. There are some of his Letters which may pass for Master-pieces in their kind, particularly those which are written to the Emperours. He who wrote them, plainly discovers that he was a Man brought up at Court, who has such

a free

a free Air and easy Way as is not acquired but by seeing the World. The Conduct and Policy which he observed in the greatest part of his Actions and Discourses, discover likewise that he had been accustomed in his younger Years to manage great Affairs, and that he had a Genius very fit for them. He was but moderately learned, chiefly in Ecclesiastical Matters. But being born in an Age of great light, and having great sharpness of Wit, and a wonderful facility of speaking, and labouring continually in reading the Fathers that went before him, he became able to discharge with honour all the Offices of his Ministry, and to fill up the place which he possess'd to his Credit.

The First Edition of the Works of *St. Ambrose*, is that which *Maffellus Venia* an *Augustine* Monk, dedicated to the General of his Order, *Ambrosius Coranus*. The Time and Place where it was printed is not yet found. The Second was made at *Milan* by the care of a Priest call'd *Crispianus* in 1490. These Two Editions contain but a few Treatises.

brose's Epistles in 1480 in fol. Of the Generation of John, at *Augsburg* 1476. Of the Flowers of Wisdom, Homilies: Venice 1488. They seem by their Titles to be Spurious.]

Two Years after, *Amerbachius* Printer at *Basle*, made another Edition of the Works of *St. Ambrose* much larger, but less correct. This Edition was re-printed in 1606, by *Johannes Petri* Printer also at *Basle*, who added only a great Index.

Erasmus undertook a New Edition of the Works of *St. Ambrose* which he divided into Four Tomes. The First contains the Moral Works; The Second, the Polemical; The Third, the Orations, Epistles and Sermons; and the Last, the Commentaries upon the Old and New Testament. These Four Tomes make Two Volumes. This Edition was many times re-printed at *Basle*, and once at *Paris* by *Chevallon* in 1529.

The Edition of *Erasmus* being full of Faults, *Johannes Costerius* a Regular Canon of *Lovain* took the Pains to Correct the Text of *St. Ambrose* by many Manuscripts, and caused it to be printed anew at *Basle* in 1555, by *Episcopius*.

At last, *Gilottius* having gathered together a much greater Number of Manuscripts, caused the Works of *St. Ambrose* to be printed at *Paris* by *Melinus*, in the Year 1568. This Edition, tho' more correct than all the rest, was little minded, and in a manner wholly eclipsed by the Reputation of the *Roman* Edition which followed soon after. Cardinal *Momanius*, who was afterwards *Sixtus V.* desiring to purchase a Reputation among Learned Men, undertook it while he was but a Cordelier and General of his Order, and caused Four Volumes of it to be published when he was Cardinal, in 1579, 1580, 1581, and 1582, which he Dedicated to *Gregory XIII.*

This Edition was after that the Pattern and Original which was follow'd in the Edition at *Paris*, begun in 1586, and in all the other following Editions which are very numerous. 'Twas believ'd that a Book publish'd with so much ostentation, valued so much by the Publisher, printed in so fine a Character, and with so much care, must needs be very correct and perfect; and yet this Edition has many essential Defects which disfigure it.

The first and most considerable is, that the *Roman* Correctors took the liberty to change, cut off, and add what they thought fit, tho they had no ground to do so from the authority of any Manuscript. They carried it so far as that they did not content themselves with changing those Terms which appear'd to them harsh, and substitute others according to their fancy, but they also blotted out or added whole Lines and Periods, which made a perfectly new Sense, and altogether different from the Authors, as may be seen by comparing the ancient Editions and the last, with this *Roman* Edition. Secondly, They have inserted into the Commentaries the whole Text of the sacred Books, which hinders the reading the Commentary of *St. Ambrose* without interruption. Thirdly, The Order which they have observ'd in ranging the Books is not natural: They have placed some Letters amongst the Treatises upon the Holy Scripture, they have separated Books that ought to follow one upon another, as the Complaints of *Job* and *David*, whereof one is placed in the First Tome, and the other in the Second; they have joined together some Treatises which should be separated; they have rank'd the Letters in a very inconvenient Order. In a word, by too much refining, they have corrupted all, as *Faber* says in a Letter to *Fronto Ducent*, where he observes the Faults of the *Roman* Edition of *St. Ambrose*. "I have found, says he to him, that *nimis* have separated and placed the one in the First Tome, and the other in the Second; to do which they were forc'd, quædam interplacere misisse probabile exemplo. They have done the same in *priori Apologia David*; and in the Second that which is yet worse; for because it is said in the 8th. Ch. that the History of *David* with *Bathsheba* is not a History (which shows that this Book is none of *St. Ambrose's*, but some *Origenist*, who Allegorizes almost all the Bible, as also it seems by the reading of it to be collected and made up out of Two or Three Sermons) they have taken away Five or Six Lines which are found in all the ancient Editions." Fourthly, They have made a particular Class of some supposititious Books, and yet they have left a great number of them amongst *St. Ambrose's* Genuine Works. There are some of them whose Forgery is so manifest, that they cannot be pardoned, such as the Books de *Arbre interdicta*, de *digestis hominibus*, de *Fontaine Gentium*, the Epistle ad *Demetriadem in Symbolon Apostolorum*, and many others. They must be very ignorant who believed that these Books were written by *St. Ambrose*, and very impudent who left them among his Genuine Works, when they had a Design to make a distinct Class of those that were supposititious.

St. Ambrose

In short, the Authors of this Edition have made no Notes, or mark'd in the Margin any different Readings; they have only added at the end the Theological and Scholastical differtations of one *Ferdinand Wolfellus*, which are a Collection of common Places, and Passages of the Fathers upon different Questions, which are of no use at all for understanding the Text of *St. Ambrose*.

Now to commend the Edition of the *Benedictines*, I need only say that they have avoided all the Faults of the *Roman Edition*: For First, they prescrib'd it to themselves as an inviolable Law, that they would put nothing into the Text, which should not be approved by the authority of one or more Manuscripts, and they have chang'd nothing without acquainting us with the Manuscript upon whose authority they did it. Secondly, They have taken out the Text of the Bible, and left the Commentary of *St. Ambrose* continued after the same manner as he compos'd it, excepting only the distinction of Chapters which is a great ease to the Reader. Thirdly, The Order which they observed in ranging the Books is plain and natural. Besides this, they have noted the Chronology of each Discourse, and rang'd the Letters according to the order of their Dates. Fourthly, They have not placed any Book that is manifestly supposititious among those that are Genuine. They have only left among them the Second Apology of *David* and the Books of the Sacraments, because many learned Men believe them still to be *St. Ambrose's*, tho' it is very probable that they are not. Lastly, they have prefix'd to every Chapter most useful Arguments, wherein they discover the time of each Work, and give the Contents of it. They have also plac'd at the bottom of the Pages such Notes, as contain not only the different Readings of the Manuscripts, but also very useful Explications of difficult places in the Text, whose Sense they have discovered by the most diligent Enquiries with all possible exactness, without diverting to Questions which are of no use for understanding the Text of their Author. All which give us occasion to say, That this Edition of the Works of *St. Ambrose* is as perfect as it can be, and comes no ways short of the late Edition of *St. Ausin*.

ST. EPIPHANIUS.

St. Epiphanius

ST. EPIPHANIUS was born about the Year 332. in a Village of *Palestine*, near the City of *Eleutheropolis*, and pass'd his Youth in the Monastick Discipline with *St. Hilarion*, *Helychius*, and other Monks of *Palestine*. He tells us (*Herefy* 26.) that he was like to have been surprized by the Heretics called *Gnosticks*, but God of his mercy preserv'd him. He was chosen afterwards about the Year 366 Bishop of *Salamis*, the Metropolis of the Isle of *Cyprus*. In this place he acquired very great Reputation for his Ability and Piety; and happy had it been for him if he had not been engaged towards the latter end of his Life in the Dispute of *St. Jerom* and *Theophilus* against the *Origenists*, which disturb'd his Repose, and created him a great deal of trouble. This Dispute begun in the Year 391, between *St. Epiphanius* and *John of Jerusalem*. He accus'd this *John* of maintaining the Errors of *Origen*; and going into *Palestine*, he Ordain'd *Paulinianus*, the Brother of *St. Jerom*, Deacon and Priest, in a Monastery which was not under his Jurisdiction. *John of Jerusalem* complain'd immediately of this Action of *Epiphanius*, which was contrary to the Canons and the Discipline of the Church. *St. Epiphanius* maintains what he had done in a Letter which he wrote to *John of Jerusalem*, produced by *St. Jerom*. This Contest farther exasperated their Minds, which were already very much embitter'd upon the Subject of *Origen*; both the one and the other endeavour to engage *Theophilus of Alexandria* on their side. This Bishop, who seem'd at first to favour the Party of *John of Jerusalem*, at last declar'd against *Origen*, condemn'd his Books in a Council held in 399, and persecuted all the Monks that were suspected to favour his Memory. These Monks being persecuted, withdrew to *Constantinople*, where they were well enough received by *St. John Chrysostom*: Which so enraged *Theophilus*, that from that time he conceived a Mortal hatred against *St. Chrysostom*, as plainly appear'd by his following Actions. Nevertheless *Theophilus* desiring to strengthen his Party, acquainted *St. Epiphanius* with what he had done against *Origen*, and sollicit'd him to do the same thing. This Saint who had a great aversion to this Author, assembled a Council in the Year 401, in the Isle of *Cyprus*, wherein he caus'd the Reading of *Origen's* Books to be condemn'd, and wrote to *St. Chrysostom* to exhort him to do the same thing: But he not approving of this Proposition, *St. Epiphanius* came himself to *Constantinople*, by the persuasion of *Theophilus*, to cause the Decree of the Council of *Cyprus* to be put in execution there. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* tell us, That before he enter'd into the City, he Ordain'd a Deacon in a Church depending upon the Jurisdiction of *Constantinople*. Cardinal *Baronius* thinks that these two Historians are mistaken, and that the Ordination of *Paulinianus* made by *Epiphanius* in *Palestine*, in a place depending upon *John of Jerusalem*, gave them occasion to think, that *St. Epiphanius* had Ordain'd a Deacon in the Diocese of *St. John Chrysostom*. Howsoever this be, *St. Epiphanius* being come to *Constantinople*, would not hold communion with *St. Chrysostom*, and also did all that lay in his power to procure from the Bishops that were then at *Constantinople*, an approbation of the Sentence of the *Cyprian Council* against *Origen*; but he found but very few willing to Sign the Condemnation of one that died in the Communion of the Church, upon so slight Grounds, and others refus'd to approve his Sentence. *St. Epiphanius* not being able to compass his Design by these means, resolv'd to be present the next day in the Church of the Apostles, and there with a loud Voice, before all the People, to condemn the Books of *Origen*, and all those who defended them. But when he was in the Church, *St. Chrysostom* advertis'd him by his Deacon *Serapion*, that he went about a thing that was against the Ecclesiastical Laws, and which would expose him to great danger, for it was to be fear'd, that the People would make some Sedition, of which he himself being the Author could

could not complain, after he had been forewarn'd of it. This consideration put a stop to *St. Epiphanius's* undertaking, who was so transported against *Origen*, that when the Empress *Eudoxia*, had recommended to his Prayers the younger *Theodosius* who was seized with a dangerous Sickness, he caus'd this to be told her for an answer, That the Prince her Son should not die, provided he would shun the conversation of *Dioscorus* and the other Defenders of *Origen*. The Empress being surprized with this Answer, which she did not expect, order'd him to be told, That if God would take away her Son, she would submit to his Will, That it was in his power to take him away as he had given him to her, but it was not in the power of *St. Epiphanius* to raise him again from the dead, since he suffer'd his Archdeacon to die a little while ago. The heat of *St. Epiphanius* was a little abated, after he had spoken to *Ammonius* and his Companions, whom *Theophilus* had driven away for *Origenism*, for those Monks gave him to understand that they maintain'd no heretical Doctrine, and that he had condemn'd them with too much precipitation. Whereupon he departed immediately to return to *Cyprus*, and 'tis said that being ready to embark, he told the Bishops that conducted him to the Ship. I have seen the City, the Palace, and the Theatre. He died by the way, or soon after his Return in 402, or 403.

The Books of *St. Epiphanius* are First of all, his great Work of Heresies, entitled, *Navaeior* or *Kibaeior*, that's to say, an Apothecary's Shop, or Repository of Remedies, which is divided into three Parts.

The First contains the Heresies before Jesus Christ, which amount to 46; The Second contains 23 of them, and the Third 11 of them, so that this Book contains in all, the History of 80 Sects or Heresies, the Catalogue of which may be seen.

The Letter written to two Monks serves for a Preface to the whole Work, and for an Answer to a preceding Letter of those two Monks, wherein they had desired *St. Epiphanius* to set down in writing what he knew concerning Heresies. He seems to have begun this Book in the Year 374, and end'd it about the Year 376. In it he not only gives an Account of the History, and the Errors of the Sects and Heresies he writes about, but he also refutes them as well as he could, and employs one part of his Discourse in establishing the Doctrine of the Church.

The Second Work of *St. Epiphanius* is his *Anchoratus*, so called, because it is a sort of an Anchor to which the Faithful may adhere. In it he explains the Doctrine of the Church concerning the Mystery of the Trinity; he proves the Resurrection, and refutes the Errors of the *Pagans*, the *Manichees*, *Sabellians* and *Arians*. This Book was compos'd for the Christians of *Pamphalia* before the foregoing Book, as appears by the Preface, where it is noted, that he wrote it in the 10th. Year of the Emperor *Valens*, which is the Year 313.

After this Book followed his *Anacephalaesisi*, or Recapitulation, which is an Abridgment of his great Book of Heresies.

In the Treatise of *Weights and Measures*, having explained the signification of the different Notes that are to be found in the Greek Bible, he gives an Account of the Weights, the Measures, and the Money of the Jews, and other Nations. In this Book he gives a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, according to the Canon of the Jews, which comprehends the Books of *Ruth* and *Esther*, and he writes the History of the Greek Versions of the Text of the Bible. He is of Opinion, that the LXX Interpreters, translated all the Books of the Bible, and that they made this Version in separate Cells, being all inspir'd of God to compose it after the same manner. There is much Learning in this Treatise.

The *Physiologus* is a Treatise of a very particular Design, wherein he relates the true or false Properties of many Animals, and draws from them some Moral Reflections, good and bad, as well as he could.

The Treatise of the *Twelve precious Stones*, which were upon the Pontifical Garments of the High-Priest of the Jews, is an Historical Explication of the Names, the Figures and Properties of those precious Stones. This Book has been cited by *St. Jerom*, in his Epistle 228 to *Fabiolus*, and *Anastasius* has made an Abridgment of it, which goes also under the Name of *St. Epiphanius*.

The Book of the *Life and Death of the Prophets*, is a Collection of an infinite Number of Fables and Trifles, which cannot be attributed to *St. Epiphanius*, without making him pass for an Enthusiast.

If we believe *Petavius*, the Nine Sermons and the Treatise of the *Mysteries of Numbers*, which bear the Name of *St. Epiphanius*, are not this Bishop's of *Salamis*, but some other Bishops who had the same Name, as may be discern'd by the Style, and other Marks. Tho' I cannot perceive that these Books are more unworthy of *St. Epiphanius* than the *Physiologus*, neither do I find so great a difference in the Style.

The Letter to *John of Jerusalem*, translated by *St. Jerom*, is made up of two Parts.

The First is about the Difference which he had with this Bishop about the Ordination of *Pantinius*, and concerning *Origenism*.

The Second concerns a particular Matter of Fact which *St. Epiphanius* relates in these Words: "When I enter'd into the Church of a Village of *Palestine*, called *Anabatha*, I found there a Curtain hanging over the Door, whereon was painted an Image like that of Jesus Christ, or some Saint (for I do not remember whose Picture it was, says he): But seeing in the Church of Christ the Image of a Man, contrary to the Authority of Holy Scripture, I tore it, and gave Order to the Church-Wardens, to bury some dead body in this Curtain; and when they answer'd me in a murmuring way, that if I would tear this Curtain, I should give them another; I promised to do it, and now I perform my Promise."

The First Part of this Letter is acknowledged by all the World as a Genuine Piece, but *Baronius*, *Belarmus*, and some others are of Opinion, that this Second is spurious. They allege many conjectures to prove it, but I find only three that have any probability.

The First is, that this Letter seems to be finished before the Relation of this History.

The Second is, because *St. Epiphanius* condemns in it the Use of Images as a thing contrary to the Authority of the Holy Scripture and the Practice of his own time.

The Third, because *St. Jerom* making an Extract out of this Letter in his Epistle to *Pammachius*, says nothing concerning this History. These Reasons, however, appear not to me strong enough to make me absolutely reject this Letter. For first, altho' what concerns the principal Subject of the Letter was ended before the Second Part, yet it cannot be proved that the Letter was perfectly finish'd: And *St. Epiphanius* being to write of this particular Matter of *Idols*, could not do it, before he had made an end of the principal Affair, for which he wrote; besides, no Man can say, that this Letter was finished before these Words which are at the end of all, *I wish that God may have you in his Holy keeping*; Secondly, it is very possible that the Use of Images, which had been very rare in the first Three Ages of the Church, was not yet established in *Palestine* and *Cyprus*, and that *St. Epiphanius*, who was a plain zealous Man, thought it was dangerous to introduce it, and that he also spoke in too rigid a manner against this Custom. Lastly tho' *St. Jerom* has translated this whole Letter, yet he cites no part of it in his Apology to *Pammachius*, but those places which were to his purpose, neither does he recite the whole First Part, and we must not wonder, that he says nothing of the Second, since it did no ways concern the Controversy which he had with *John of Jerusalem*. Moreover, this Second Part has the same Style with the First, and it agrees well enough with what *St. Epiphanius* says in *Heref* 27th. It is cited by the Author of the *Caroline Books*, *B. IV. Ch. 25.* and 'tis said in the 7th. Council, *Art. 6. Tome 5.* that the *Iconoclasts* alleg'd, *St. Epiphanius* was of Opinion that Images should be taken away, which cannot be meant of any other place but of the Second Part of this Letter. Thus 'tis to be true, as appears by the Testimony of *St. Gregory Nyssen*, in his Panegyric upon *Theodorus*, and in his Treatise of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Spirit, that from that time there were Pictures in some Churches, which represented the Histories of Scripture, and of the Actions of Saints and Martyrs, yet it cannot be said, that this Custom was general; and it must be confess'd that *St. Epiphanius* disapproved it, this without reason, and that he was mistaken in saying, that it did not agree with the Holy Scripture; For I believe that it would be contrary to the Candor and Sincerity that Religion requires of us to attempt to give another Sense to his Words.

Last of all, we have a Letter of *St. Epiphanius* written to *Didorus of Tarsus*, related by *Facundus* in *Ch. 3. of his IVth. B.* which is a kind of a Preface to the Book of the Precious Stones in the Garment of the Jewish High-Priest, written by *St. Epiphanius* at the request of this Bishop.

I shall not stay to give an Abridgment of *St. Epiphanius's* Treatise of Heresies, which would be an useless and troublesome Business; I shall content my self with producing in short the chief Dogmes which he establishes contrary to the Errors of the Heretics.

First, he proves the Unity of God against the *Pagans*, against the *Valentinians*, the *Arianites*, and the *Manichees*. He establishes his Immensity, his Almighty Power, his Infinite Greatness, his Spirituality, and his other Attributes, by refuting the Heretics who believ'd the contrary. He proves the Mystery of the Trinity, the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in many places, and chiefly in *Heref* 62, 69, 71, 74. and in his *Anchiratus*.

In *Heref* 23 and 65, he shews that God created the World and the Angels.

He endeavours to explain in *Heref* 70. in what Sense Man is created after the Image of God.

In *Heref* 24 and 36, he shews that Sin is not a Substance, and that God is not the Author of it.

He explains the Mystery of the Incarnation in *Heref* 77, 30, 69, and shews, that Jesus Christ was one Person only, compos'd of the Divine and Humane Nature.

He shews in *Heref* 77, that the two Natures were not confounded after their Union, and that they kept their own Properties.

He proves the Resurrection in *Heref* 42, and 64. and in the *Anchiratus*, where he maintains, That the same Flesh which we now have shall be raised again.

He holds in *Heref* 24 and 46, that Jesus Christ descended into Hell, to save those that had lived well and believed in God.

He teaches that the Soul is Immortal and Spiritual, and that it partakes of Happiness after Death. See what he says about this in *Heref* 75.

In *Heref* 8, he shews that the Sacraments of the New Law are more Excellent and more Efficacious than those of the Old.

In his *Anchiratus* he speaks of Faith as a Disposition necessary to the receiving of Baptism. Tho' he speaks obscurely enough of the Eucharist in his *Anchiratus*, yet he says enough of it to make us understand, that it is truly the Body of Jesus Christ, and that the words of his Institution are to be understood according to the Letter, and without any Figure or Metaphor.

He acknowledges Free-Will in *Heref* 16, and yet he admits the Grace of Jesus Christ.

In *Heref* 30, he speaks of the wonderful Effects of the Sign of the Cross.

He proves the necessity of Ecclesiastical Traditions in many places, and chiefly in *Heref* 69, 51, and 57. He shews the Necessity and Usefulness of Fasting, in the *Heref* 33, 75, and 80. There he observes, That the Christians fasted during Lent, and every Wednesday and Friday in the Year, except after Easter until Whitsunday. He supposes that these Fasts are of Apostolical Tradition, and that

that we are obliged to observe them, and that we must abstain from Meat in the time of a Fast: He says, that in the last Week of Lent, nothing but plain Meats were eaten, that's to say, Bread and Water, and that many pass'd the two or three last Days without eating any thing.

In *Heref* 76 he establishes the distinction between Bishops and Priests.

He ranks in the Order of the Clergy Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and Sub-Deacons. The other Ministers according to him do not partake of Holy Orders.

These inferior Ministers are the Readers, Deaconesses, Exorcists, Interpreters, Diggers and Porters.

He observes in *Heref* 75. and at the end of *Heref* 80. that the Assemblies of People in the Church were chiefly made on Wednesday, Friday and Sunday, and also in some places on Saturday: That Baptism and the Celebration of the Eucharist were attended with such Ceremonies as were prescribed either by the Gospel, or by the Tradition of the Apostles. That Martins were sung, and that Christians knelt at their Prayers Day and Night. That Heretics, Idolaters, and all those that were guilty of enormous Crimes, were excommunicated, and their Oblations not received.

He proves Prayers for the Dead in *Heref* 76, and refutes *Aetius* who said the contrary.

He says in *Heref* 78. that the Saints enjoy eternal Happiness, and that we ought to honour them.

As to the honour due to the Virgin, he keeps a middle way between the *Antidicomarianites*, who dishonoured her, by saying, That she had other Children besides Jesus Christ, and the *Collyridians* who ador'd her. He says, That we must honour her, but we must not adore her, nor give her superstitious Worship. Read the *Heref* 78 and 79: where he testifies that there is nothing certainly known concerning her Death, nor about the place where her Body is: yet it seems that his Piety induces him to believe that she never died, but he does not deliver this Opinion as a certain Truth.

He praises Virginity in *Heref* 4, 8, 5, 61, and 80. but he does not condemn Marriage, nor yet second Marriages. There he declares plainly, that the Church does not admit any to Holy Orders, but such as will observe Celibacy, and that she excludes Bigamists.

And yet he confesses in *Heref* 59, that there are still some places, where the Deacons and Subdeacons do not observe Celibacy; but he adds, That this is done upon surance, because of the weakness of Men, or the multitude of People. Lastly, he says, That 'tis a great sin to violate the Vow of Virginity.

He says in *Heref* 59, that a Husband, who having divorced his Wife for Adultery or some other Crime, marries another, is free from Sin according to the Authority of Scripture, and that he is no wise unworthy of Eternal Life, and that he ought to be permitted to continue in the Church.

He would not have Women undertake any Ecclesiastical Function, and he proves in *Heref* 79: That this ought not to be suffered. In short, if one would have an abridgment of the Doctrine, the Discipline, and the Morality of *St. Epiphanius's* time, he needs do no more but read what *St. Epiphanius* has said of them at the end of his Book about *Heretics*, where he has given the sum of them, to as to serve for an Antidote against all the Errors of Heretics.

Any one that gives the least attention to the Doctrine of *Epiphanius*, which we have now represented, may easily perceive, that there is scarce any Author, who has made more Observations concerning the Doctrine and Discipline of the ancient Church, contrary to the Errors and Disorders of the Innovators of our Times: Yet they have endeavour'd to find in his Writings part of their Errors, and have had the boldness to impute to us the Heresies which he refutes. This *Scultetus* has done with so much fraud, that 'tis impossible to read what he says about it, without conceiving an indignation against so unjust a procedure. He says First, That *St. Epiphanius* rejected the Invocation of Saints and the Virgin in *Heref* 79. but this is a mere Cheat. *St. Epiphanius* indeed there condemns those who ador'd the Virgin, and gave her that sovereign Worship which is due to God only: He maintains that the Church neither adores the Virgin nor the Saints, altho' she has an Honour and due Respect for them. And do not we say the same thing? And can any other Doctrine be imputed to us without a palpable Calumny? But, says *Scultetus*, *St. Epiphanius* says in *Heref* 75: That the Saints were prayed for, and therefore he cannot approve of their Invocation. This Author methinks should not have cited a place which so plainly opposes the Opinions which he maintains, which I shall set down entire. "As to what concerns the custom of reciting the Names of the Dead, what can there be more useful and more reasonable? This is, First of all, to persuade those that are present that the Souls of the Dead are still alive, and that they are not annihilated. Secondly, To make us apprehend that there is good hopes of those that are dead. Moreover Prayers are not only useful to the Living but also to the Dead, tho' they do not blot out all their Sins; yet they serve to expiate some of those which they committed in this Life. We mention Sinners and Righteous Men; Sinners, to implore the Mercy of God for them; Righteous Men, such as the Fathers, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Apostles, the Evangelists, the Martyrs, the Confessors, the Bishops, the Hermits, and all Christians, that Jesus Christ may be distinguished from all his Creatures, and that we may learn to give him the Worship that is due to him only; being persuaded that we ought not to be equal Mortal Men to the Lord, whatsoever Righteousness and Holiness they have. After this he distinguishes Two Sorts of Saints, those that are on Earth, and those that are in the Heavenly Jerusalem; and he adds, that the Church does well to observe a Custom which she has received by Tradition; That the Laws of our Fathers cannot be subverted, nor the Commands of our Mothers despised without impiety, according to the Words of *Salomon*, *Hearken, my Son, to the Commands of*

St. Epiphanius. "your Father, and do not reject the Animations of your Mother. Jesus Christ our Father has taught us his Doctrine by Writing and by Tradition : The Holy Church our Mother has Laws which cannot be deflected nor abrogated. Nothing is greater nor more admirable than those Laws, and all those who would oppose them, are left convicted of an Error." Can there be any thing more agreeable to the Doctrine of the Church, or more contrary to the principal Errors of the Innovators ! But, says Tertullian, *this* same Women was *to be married to the Virgin* ; and she is said to have had her first Husband. But the same Women did not, it may be, think so, yet they gave her that Worship which is due only to a Sovereign and infinite Being, by offering Sacrifices unto him, and placing all their Religion in doing so.

The Second Objection of *Scultetus* is about the use of Images, which St. *Epiphanius* condemns in his Letter to *Jolin of Jerusalem*, and which he seems also to reject as contrary to the Law of the Gospel. We have already answered this Objection, by saying, That indeed St. *Epiphanius* seems to have disallow'd the use of Images, because this Custom was not then established in his Country: But 'tis certain, and *Basil* himself does not deny it, that 'twas then establish'd in other Churches. Moreover, we must not wonder, that St. *Epiphanius* speaks of it as a Practice contrary to the Gospel: For 'tis well known, that those who speak against Customs that were not established in their own time, do sometimes make use of Expressions too vehement in rejecting them; as for Example, St. *Cyprian* condemning the practice of those who did not put Water into the Chalice, makes no scruple to say, that their Custom was contrary to the Law of Jesus Christ. Many other Examples may be brought of this nature, and the *Calvinists* themselves must acknowledge, that the same is to be said of the

[This Excuse is not defensible: The New Testament is as severe against Idolatry as the Old was, and more, if we consider upon how much nobler Foundations it is constituted. Neither is this only a Matter of Discipline; if it is, yet it is not an indifferent thing. The Church of *Rome* was very venefic of this, when the removed the Second Commandment out of the Catechisms, by which she orders her People to be instructed. If the Abuses occasioned by placing of Images in Churches had never been more dangerous than they were in *St. Epiphanius's* time, this Plea might have been valid for those Churches which still desired to retain them; or if the Church of *Rome*, in her Offices, Catechisms and Directions to her Priests to guide them in their Sermons and Exhortations to the People, had taken all possible care to obviate all Objections whatsoever which could have been raised, she could then have justly urged it. But Mr. *De Pin* knows very well that her constant connivance if not Command, has long ago precluded her from all Pretences of this nature: She knows also, that the Laity in all Countries of the Protection of the Church of *Rome* where they have not been over-aw'd by a promiscuous confederation with Protestants, have without check paid as gross Acts of Worship to senseless Images of some of the fabulous Saints, as ever the Antient of old paid to the Images of *Typhoeus* & *Aris*; and lately to the Images of *St. Nicholas*, &c. This Church is in this Point wholly unexcusable, because it has established a Custom, not mentioned at least, if not expressly forbidden in Scripture; unknown to the purest Ages of Christianity, opposed as contradictory to the Law of God at its first appearance, by Men eminent for Piety and Learning in the Time when they lived, and received as Saints by the Catholic Church after their Deaths, and abused by the ignorant People to the benefit of Idolatry and Superstition in all Countries where-ever it has been allowed.]

The Third thing which *Sculctum* pretends to find in the Books of *St. Epiphanius* contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, is the condemnation of the Sacrifice of the Mass. He endeavours to prove that *St. Epiphanius* never taught it, because, he says in *Heref. 55*; and 42. That Jesus Christ came to abolish the Sacrifices of the Old Law, by one Sacrifice only. The meanest Writer of Controversies would easily answer this Objection, by saying, First, That *St. Epiphanius* in this place speaks only of the Sacrifices of the Old Law, to which he opposes that of Jesus Christ upon the Cross, and that he does no ways exclude the unbloody Sacrifice of the Eucharist. Secondly, That the Sacrifice of the Eucharist, being, as is not denied by that Father, offered upon the Cross, and therefore always the same thing which is offered, after the different manner. Thirdly, That *St. Epiphanius* acknowledges, that the Priesthood of *Melchisedeck*, and consequently the Sacrifice, continued under the New Law.

The Fourth Objection is *Scutellus* is about Purgatory. He affirms that St. Epiphanius did not own it, because he says in *Heref. 59*, *That no Man can change his Condition after his death, and that then there is no more room for any one to repent and to merit Glory*. But does it follow from this Proposition which all Catholics acknowledged, that those who died in a State of Damnation could no longer hope for Salvation? Does it follow, *say I*, that those who died in the Guilt of some small Sins could not be purified from it *after their deaths*? All the Catholics deny this Consequence, and St. Epiphanius has plainly owned it to be false, when he says in *Heref. 75*, that Prayers for the Dead could expiate some Sins, tho' they could not blot out great Crimes.

The Fifth Dogm of the Church which *Scilleus* opposes by St. *Epiphanius*, is the Vow of Continence: But the Passages which he alledges, are so far from opposing it, that they plainly discover that it was used in the time of this Father, and that the Church punish'd those very severely who violated it.

The last is about Baptism administered by Women. St. *Epiphanius* in *Heref.* 76, says, that it was not lawful for them to baptize. Do not we say so also? But does it follow from thence that their doing of it in a case of necessity is not valid? This is what *Scotistus* should prove, but it is not the Question of St. *Epiphanius*.

These are the false Consequences which *Scilicetus* urges to oppose the Doctrine of the Church: But he does so grossly calumniate us, by charging upon us the detestable Opinions of some Hereticks, that he must have renounced all kind of Modesty to affirm such manifest Untruths with so much boldness:

First of all, He accuses us of making Women the Ministers of Baptism, as the *Marcionites* did. But where is it found that Women do Administer Baptism in our Churches? They never do it but in great necessity. And 'tis no Hereby to say, That in this Case all Sorts of *Perfidians* may Administer it, 'tis no part of the Error of the *Marcionites* or the *Collyridians*.

Secondly, He charges us with trifling to Revelations and Miracles, as the *Nazarenes* did. But is it an Error to believe that there have been, and that there may be Revelations? That Man must have no Religion who says the contrary. The Heretics are to blame for feigning false Miracles. but the Catholics are not to blame for believing in them.

Thirdly, He compares Transubstantiation to the Enchantments of *Marcu*, who having put white Wine into a Glas, made one part of the Liquor appear Red as Blood, another of a Purple colour, and a Third of a Blew. But what Affinity is there between our Holy and Sacred Mysteries, and the Diabolical Actions of these Ministers of *Demons*? What Relation has our Doctrine to these Impieties?

The other Accusations of *Scultetus* are no less Calumnious: For do we offer the Sacrifice of the Mass in honour of the Virgin, as the *Callyridians* did? Do we teach that Concubinate is lawful, as *Aetius* did? Do we adore Idols? The Images to which we pay a bare External Respect, are they the Images of *Simon* and *Helena*, and other Heretics? Are they not the Images of Jesus Christ and the Saints, to whose Persons only all our Worship is referred? Do we condemn Marriage and the use of Meats as *Tatian* and the *Encratites* did? Do we believe that the Souls of the Wicked may be delivered out of Hell? In short, Is there any Similitude between all the Errors of the Heretics related by St. *Epiphanius*, and the Doctrines of the Church? Do not we Believe what the Church Believed in his Time? Do not we Practice what she Practis'd? On the contrary, are not they the Innovators of our Time, who take part with the Heretics of that Time against the Church? Do not they deny with *Aetius* the distinction of Bishops and Presbyters? Do not they find fault with Prayers for the Dead, and the Honour which is given to Saints? Do not they condemn the Celibacy of Priests, the Vow of Virginity, the Monastic State, the Ceremonies, the Sign of the Cross, the Solemn Prayers? These are the Errors which St. *Epiphanius* condemns in the Heretics of his Time, and which he refutes by the Practice and Tradition of the Church. And therefore that may justly be charged upon the Sect of Innovators, which *Scultetus* has unjustly charged upon Us, *That their Doctrine is a Garment patched together, and made up of many Pieces and many Shreds* [Who is most in the right, *Scultetus*, of ancient Heretics.

disfigured People; I say undisfigured, became Mr. Du Pin goes upon the palliating Principles laid down by the Bishop of Meaux. There is no question but the Seeds of those Corruptions began to spring up in St. Ephraim's Time, which afterwards grew to full in the Church; yet tho' they honoured the Dead who died in the middle State for the latter, if St. Ephraim's Authority be admitted, those places which are faithfully urged by Scultetus. In the case of Images in Churches, Mr. Du Pin gives the same Reason, St. Ephraim says expressly that it was against the Word of God: *Contra audientiam Scripturæ*. In the *Meaning of the Real Presence* our Author and Petavius before him, lay great Strefs upon a Passage in the *Anchored Saint*, wherein speaking of the Sacrament as Christ's Body, he says, *ὁ γὰρ πρὸς τῶν ἑαυτὸν αὐτὸν ἀλλοιῶται, ὡς εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὸ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν*; *Et that does not Believe it to be the real Body of Christ, as he said himself*. *of the Eucharist and Salvation*. Now to know the full meaning of St. Ephraim in these Words, we must go back to the beginning of Sect. 55. There he raises a dispute of the meaning of *Adam's* being created after the Image of God, in which there is a great disparity between their Names: And he finds that things; yet since it is said in Scripture, *we are made to the same likeness*, and to be *like unto*, are very different

Now to prove this Assertion he urges the Infinitude of the Lord's Supper : Our Saviour said (says he) of the Bread, This is my Body ; and yet it is not like Fleish or Blood, for as to resemble Christ's Humane Nature, nor like the invifible Godhead, fo as to resemble his Divinity . But because he is not a Creature, nor dispute it, fince if we fhould dispute it, we fhould fall away from Grace and Salvation. This Illustration therefore cannot in reason be carried further than the Original Question which it was defigned to illuftrate : And fo we conclude that St. *Epiphanius* confelled, that when we fay, that Man is created after the *Image of God*, we do not mean that he is created after the *Nature of the Invifible, Incomprehenfible and Spiritual God* ; it is plain that his illuftration of the Eucharift is equally figurative as this Expreffion of Man's Nature, which is no explaining.

But it is needless to run through all the rest of the Articles here particularly named. St. Epiphanius's Authority is decisive of neither side; if it were, we must believe that Divorces are lawful for other Causes besides Adultery, and that such Divorces perfectly dissolve the Marriage Bond, for this was his Opinion, as appears from *Heref.* 59. Sect. 4.]

The *Stile* of *Sr. Epiphanius* is neither beautiful nor lofty, on the contrary it is plain, low and mean, it is rude and unpolished; without Coherence and Connexion. He had much Reading and Learning, but no Faculty of Discerning, nor Exactness of Judgment. He often uses such things for Reasons to refute the Hereticks which are False. He was very Credulous and not very Accurate.

Accurate. He is mistaken in many places about very considerable Matters in History, and gave Cre-
st. Epiphanius dit too lightly to false Memoirs, or to uncertain Reports. He had much Zeal and Piety, but little
Conduct and Policy.

The Works of St. Epiphanius were printed in Greek at *Basil* by *Oporinus* in the Year 1544. *Cor-
narius's* Translation of this Work, had been published and printed at *Basil* by *Robertus Ullingerus* in
1533. The same Printer caused it to be re-printed in 1540, and in 1545; It was also re-printed
at *Paris* in 1564, at *Basil* in 1560, and in 1578, and at *Paris* in 1612, with some Corrections of
Jacobus Billius: The *Physiologus* was published by *Gonsalvus Pouce de Leon* at *Rome* in 1587, and
printed afterwards at *Antwerp* in 1588: The Book of the *Lives of the Prophets*, was published in
Greek and Latin with the Notes of *Zehennerus*, and printed at *Schenking* in 1612. The Oration con-
cerning the Burial of *Jesus Christ*, was published in 1614.

At last, *Petavius* undertook a New Edition of St. Epiphanius, and having found the Version of
Cornarius very defective, he made a new one, which he printed at *Paris* in 1622, together with the
Greek Text review'd and corrected by two Manuscripts. This Edition is in Two Volumes in *Folio*;
The First contains the Book of Heresies; The Second contains the Anchorate, the Recapitulation,
and the Book of Weights and Measures, of *Petavius's* Translation, the *Physiologus*, the Book of
Precious Stones, and the Homilies, together with the ancient Versions of his Works, the Letter to
John of Jerusalem, the Life of St. Epiphanius written by *Metaphrastes*, and the Animadversions
of *Petavius*, which are rather Critical and Chronological Disertations, than Notes to explain the
Text of St. Epiphanius. This Edition was lately re-printed in *Germany*.

PHILO CARPATHIUS.

'TIS said in the Life of St. Epiphanius, that this Saint Ordain'd one named *Philo* Bishop of
Carpasus, and that he committed to him the Charge of making Ordinations at *Salamis* in
his absence. Upon this Ground it has been thought that this Man lived in the time of St. Epi-
phanus, and that he was Bishop of the Isle of *Carpasus*, which is upon the Coast of *Asia*,
near the Isle of *Crete*: There has also been attributed to this *Philo*, a Commentary upon the
Canticles. But all these Suppositions are found to be False: For, First, The Life of St. Epi-
phanus which is fill'd with an Infinite Number of Fables and Forgeries, was written by a Mo-
dern Greek, and has no Authority, and can no more prove that there was a *Philo*, than that
there was a *Papius*, or an *Endemon*, or a *Polybius*, or a great many others whom this Fabu-
lous Author has feign'd to embellish his History. Secondly, He does not say that this *Philo* was
Ordain'd Bishop of the Isle of *Carpasus*, which was not under the Jurisdiction of St. Epi-
phanus, but of a City call'd *Carpasus*, which was in the Isle of *Cyprus*, mentioned by *Pliny*:
Now it does not appear that this City ever had a Bishop. In short, the Commentary upon
the *Canticles*, is the Invention of some Modern Greek, which contains many things that may
be found word for word in the Commentary of *Gregory* the Great. And tho' it were true
that these places were added, as some Authors have suspected, we cannot lay much stress upon an
Author so little known as he is.

Q. JULIUS HILARION.

'TIS Author, of whom the Ancients make no mention, has written a Chronicle, or a
Book of the Duration of the World, from the beginning of the World down to the
Year 397; which makes it credible that he lived about this time. He speaks of a Treatise
which he wrote about *Easter*; he believed that the World would be at an end 470 Years
after *Jesus Christ*, and he held the Opinion of the Millenaries, which still confirms his
Antiquity. His Treatise was first published by *Pithani*, and inserted into the *Bibliotheca
Patrum*.

OF

OF THE COUNCILS Held in the Fourth AGE of the CHURCH.

Of the pretended COUNCIL of Sinuesia.

THIS Council of *Sinuesia* would be the First Council held in this Century, if the Acts
which bear the Name of this Council were Genuine: But it is notoriously known
among all Learned Men, that they are supposititious, and that the Story on which they
are grounded is a Fable which has no Foundation in Antiquity. It is suppos'd in those
Acts, That this Council was assembled at the beginning of the Fourth Century, upon
occasion of the Fall of the Pope *Marcellinus*, who had sacrificed to Idols; That it was held at
Sinuesia in a Grotto; That there were 300 Bishops present at it; That the Pope *Marcellinus* having
confess'd his Fault condemn'd himself, and that the Bishops durst not depose him, till he had pro-
nounced Sentence upon himself. None of these things have any probability: For, First, This Hi-
story is not founded upon the Testimony of any ancient Author: Secondly, St. *Austin* in his Book
against *Petilian*, Ch. 16. defends the Innocence of *Marcellinus* against this *Donatist*, who accus'd him
of having sacrificed to Idols; and therefore to maintain the Acts of the Council of *Sinuesia*, is to
take part with the *Donatists* against the Church. 'Tis more probable that they were forg'd by the
Donatists to support the Accusation which they had made against this Holy Bishop without Founda-
tion. Thirdly, What probability is there that 300 Bishops could be assembled in the time of
the most violent Persecution that ever the Church suffer'd, since it was all that *Constantine* could do,
to assemble a Council so numerous, at a time when the Church was flourishing, and much farther
spread. And certainly if the Catholic Bishops at the Conference of *Carthage* could reject the
Acts of the Council of *Ciritha*, by saying, that there was no probability that a Council could be
assembled in the time of Persecution, tho' this Council was but a Synod of some African Bishops, What
may not be said against a Synod that is suppos'd to consist of 300 Bishops? Fourthly, The Style of
these Acts is barbarous, and contain many things which do not in the least belong to *Marcellinus's*
Age. They make the Pagan High-Priest (whom they ridiculously call the Pontiff of the Capitol,)
produce what is said in Holy Scripture of the Adoration of the Wise-Men, to prove that Incense
should be offered to Idols. 'Tis said, That a 100 Christians run to the Temple of *Vesta* to see In-
cense offer'd by *Marcellinus*: Their Names are recited, which are either almost all African Names;
or such as are ridiculous. 'Tis said that 72 were chosen out of them to be Witnesses of this Pope's
Sacrilege. The synodical Part of these Acts is no less contrary to the Discipline of that time, than
what is said of the Fall of *Marcellinus* is contrary to the History. 'Tis said, That *Marcellinus* at first
denied his Fault; That the Synod declar'd to him he should be his own Judge; That the Bishops
durst not judge him, because it was not lawful for any body to judge the First See. I say nothing of
the Impertinencies, which some of the Bishops are made to say, that are unworthy of the Gravity
and Simplicity of the Christians of the First Ages. Lastly, he who forg'd these Acts, says, that *Diocle-
sian* was inform'd of the Condemnation of *Marcellinus*, when he was at War with the *Persians*;
which yet further discovers that these Acts are not ancient, since the *Persian* War was ended before
the Persecution of *Dioclesian*, from whence it follows, that he who fell into so gross a Fault in Chro-
nology, is a modern Author unworthy of any Credit.

Of the COUNCIL of Ciritha.

THE Violence of the Persecution being a little abated in *Africa* in the Year of *Jesus Christ* 305, Of *Ciritha*
some Bishops of *Numidia* assembled at the beginning of the Month of *May* in the City of
Ciritha, in the House of one *Donatus*, because the Churches were not yet restor'd. The occasion
of this Synod was the Ordination of a Bishop into the See of this City of *Numidia* in the room of
Paul. The Bishops which were present there were *Secundus* of *Tigisis*, *Donatus* of *Mascula*, *Ma-
rinus* of *Aque Tibilitane*, *Donatus* of *Calama*, *Purpurius* of *Limata*, *Vitor* of *Garbis*, *Felix* of *Ro-
sarium*, *Nabor* of *Centurio*, and *Secundus* the younger. A Bishop call'd *Menalius* would not be present
for fear of being accus'd and convicted of having sacrificed to Idols. These Bishops, who were afterwards

the Heads of the *Donatist* Faction, accus'd one another mutually in this Council, and all of them fearing lest they should be convicted of the Crimes of which they had accus'd one another; they pardon'd one another, referring themselves to the Judgement of God: After which they ordain'd *Silvanus* Bishop of *Cirtina*. You have the Acts of this Council in *St. Austin* in his Third Book against *Crescentius*, Chap. 27.

Of the COUNCIL of Alexandria, under Peter Bishop of that Church.

IN the Year 306. *Peter of Alexandria* held a Council, wherein he deposed *Meletius*, being convicted of having sacrificed to Idols. We have not the Acts of this Council, and we know nothing more in particular of it.

Of the COUNCIL of Eliberis or, Elvira.

THE place^a and time^b of the Council of *Eliberis* are very uncertain. Some have thought that this Council was assembled in a City of *Gallia Narbonensis*; others say that this City was in *Betia*; and the most Learned think that this City of *Eliberis* was the same with *Granada*. As to the time, some Authors have placed it at the end of the Third Century, others have remov'd it unto the end of the Fourth, but the most probable Opinion is, that it was assembled at the beginning of the Fourth Century, before the Councils of *Arles* and *Nice*, about the Year 305. The little Order that is observ'd in the Canons of this Council, the great variety of Rules that are to be found in it, and the multitude of Canons about different Matters, make some Learned Men think, probably enough, that the Canons attributed to this Council are an ancient Code, or an ancient Collection of the Councils of *Spain*. However this be, it cannot be doubted, but these Canons are very Ancient and very Authentick.

The Discipline which they establish is very rigorous.

In the 1st. Canon they are depriv'd of Communion, i. e. of Absolution, even at the point of Death, who have voluntarily sacrificed to Idols after they were baptized.

The 2d. establishes the same Penalty against those, who taking upon them after their Baptism, the Office of Priests to False Gods, were obliged to offer up sacrifices to Idols by themselves or others, and who have also increased their Guilt by Murders or Adulteries.

The 3d. moderates this Penalty to those who have only caus'd profane shows to be represented, and grants them Communion at the point of Death, provided they put themselves under Penance, and that they do not afterwards fall into Adultery.

The 4th. is, That if the Catechumens cause themselves to be chosen Priests to false Gods, and act in profane Shows, their Baptism shall be decay'd for three Years.

The 5th. imposes Seven Years Penance upon a Woman that shall beat her Servant-Maid in such a manner, that she dwindle three Days after, if the Woman had a design to kill her; and Five Years Penance if she had no such design: She is acquitted if the Maid dies more than Three Days after.

In the 6th. Canon it is ordain'd, That Absolution shall be refus'd even at Death, to him who shall kill another by Treachery.

The 7th. is, That those who relapse into Adultery after they have undergone Penance, shall not be received even at Death.

The 8th. subjects a Woman to the same Penalty, who has forsaken her Husband without cause, to marry another.

The 9th. declares, That 'tis not lawful for a Woman, tho' she has forsaken her Husband, because of Adultery, to marry another; and that if she does it, she ought not to be admitted to Communion, till she whom she has married be dead, or at least till the extremity of Sickness make it necessary to grant it her.

The 10th. allows Husbands to be baptiz'd who have forsaken their Wives, and Wives who have forsaken their Husbands, for Adultery, while they were Catechumens. But if a Christian Woman marries a Man who has forsaken his Wife without reason, the Canon ordains, That the Communion of the Church shall be refus'd her, even at the point of Death.

The 11th. Ordains, That Baptism shall be decay'd for the space of Five Years to a Catechumen who has married a Husband that had divorc'd his Wife without cause.

^a The place.] The Name of this Council is very various; Some call it *Liberinum*, others *Eliberinum*, others *Heberianum*, and some *Eliberinum*; but the more common Name is *Eliberianum*, or *Heberianum*. The ancient Geographers mention only Two Cities call'd by this Name, whereof one was in *Gallia Narbonensis*, and the other in *Betia*. 'Tis thought that the first is *Perpignan*, and the other in all probability is the City of *Granada*. The First was destroy'd in the time of *Pliny* and *Mela*, and 'tis no wife probable that the Bishops of *Spain* should come so far to hold a Council. Wherefore it is much more probable that this Council was held at the Spanish *Elvira* i. e. *Granada*.

^b The time.] Those who said that this Council was held after the Year 400, affirm'd what is manifestly false, since at that time the enjoining Penance for those who had sacrific'd to Idols, was not debated: The same Reason proves that there is no probability that it was assembled after the Council of *Nice*. It seems to have been call'd before that of *Arles*; but 't is not to be believ'd that it was call'd before the Persecution of *Dioclesian*. There is more probability, that it was assembled when the Persecution ended in the West, and when *Dioclesian* had abdicated the Empire in the Year 304.

The 12th. Canon denies Communion at death to Women who prostitute their Daughters. The 13th. subjects to the same Penalty the Virgins consecrated to God, who spend their Life in Licentiousness, but it grants Absolution at the Point of Death to those who do Penance for their Fault.

The 14th. treats Virgins with much moderation who have lost their Virginity, if they marry those who have abus'd them; for it ordains, That they should be restor'd to Ecclesiastical Communion at the end of One Year, without being oblig'd to do Penance; but then it imposes Five Years Penance, if they have had to do with other Men.

The 15th. and 16th. forbid the Faithful to bestow their Daughters in Marriage upon Pagans, Jews or Hereticks, how great soever the number of Virgins be among Christians; and it Ordains, That the Fathers who do it shall be separated from Communion for the space of Five Years.

The 17th. denies Absolution even at the Point of Death, to those who give their Daughters in Marriage to the Priests of False Gods.

The 18th. forbids Bishops, Priests and Deacons to leave their Churches to exercise Merchandize, and go to Fairs; but it allows them to Traffic in their own Province, and to send their Children, their Friends and their Servants to trade in Foreign Countries.

The 19th. ordains, That Communion shall be refus'd, even at the Point of Death, to Bishops, Priests and Deacons who have committed Adultery.

The 20th. declares, That a Clergyman who is discover'd to take Interest, should be deposed and removed; That the same Crime should be pardon'd in a Layman if he promises to amend it, but if he relapses he is to be cast out of the Church.

The 21st. Canon is, That if any Inhabitant in a City shall be absent from the Church for three Sundays together, he shall be separated from Communion for some time, to signify that he has been punished for his Fault.

The 22d. declares, That he who has abandoned the Church, to go over to a Sect of Hereticks, shall not be receiv'd back into the Church again till he has done Penance for Ten Years: As for those who were Children when they were entred into an Heretical Sect and return to the Church, the Canon Ordains, That they shall be Received without any delay.

The 23d. declares, That the ordinary Fasts shall be observ'd except in the Months of *July* and *August*, because of the weakness of some of the Faithful.

The 24th. forbids those to be admitted to Sacred Orders, who have been baptized of their own Country, because their Life is not known.

The 25th. declares, That Credit shall not be given to the Letters of a Confessor, but only to Letters of Communion.

The 26th. forbids Fasting on *Saturdays*.

The 27th. forbids Bishops and Clergymen to have in their Houses strange Women.

The 28th. forbids Bishops to receive Presents from those that are not in the Communion of the Church.

The 29th. forbids to recite at the Altar the Names of those that are possess'd, and does not permit them to make any Offering themselves in the Church.

The 30th. Ordains, That the Orders of Subdeacon shall not be given to those who have committed Adultery in their Youth, lest they should rise to a higher Degree, and that those who have been Ordained shall be degraded.

The 31st. declares, That those may be admitted to Communion who have committed Adultery after Baptism, provided they have fulfilled their Canonical Penance.

The 32d. declares, That when any Persons fall sick, they ought to be received into Ecclesiastical Communion by the Bishop; but yet if the sickness be violent, the Priest may grant them Communion, and even the Deacon if the Bishop command him.

The 33d. Canon prescribes Celibacy to Priests and Deacons. The 34th. Canon is very obscure: It declares, That Wax-Candles are not to be lighted in the Comiteries, because we must not disturb the Spirits of the Saints. Some understand by the Spirits of the Saints the Souls of the Dead: I think that it is more natural to understand by it, the Repose of the Spirits of the Faithful that are alive and may be troubled with a great multitude of Lights in the day-time.

The 35th. redresses a dangerous Abuse; it is set down in these Words: "We have thought fit to hinder Women from spending the Night in the Comiteries, because oftentimes under pretence of praying they commit in secret great Crimes."

The 36th. has very much exercis'd Divines. Thus it is express'd, "We would not have Pictures placed in Churches, lest the Object of our Worship and Adoration should be painted upon the Walls." Many Explications have been given of this Passage, but to me it seems better to understand it in the plainest Sense, and to confess that the Fathers of this Council did not approve the use of Images, no more than that of Wax-Candles lighted in full day-light: But these things are Matters of Discipline, which may be used or not, without doing any prejudice to the Faith of the Church.

The 37th. Canon permits Baptism to be given at the Point of Death to those who are acted by an Evil Spirit, and to Catechumens, and does not deprive them of Communion if they be faithful. Provided, adds the Canon, That they do not publicly light Lamps. This Addition is very obscure, and there is no great necessity of explaining it.

The 38th. declares, That a Christian who is neither Penitent nor Bigamist, may baptize in a case of Necessity, those who are on a Journey, being at a great distance from a Church, upon Condition that he present him to the Bishop if he survive, to be perfected by Imposition of Hands.

The 39th. ordains, That Imposition of Hands shall not be deny'd to Pagans who desire it after they are fallen into some Disease, provided they have led an honest Life. This Canon must be understood of that Imposition of Hands by which Pagans were plac'd in the Rank of Catechumens, which this Council calls making them Christians.

The 40th. forbids Land-Lords to allow their Farmers or Receivers what they have given for Idols; and if they do it, it imposes upon them a Penance of Five Years.

The 41st. declares, That the Faithful must be admonished not to suffer Idols in their Houses.

The 42d. ordains, That those who give in their Names to be entered into the Church, shall be baptiz'd two Years after, if they lead a regular Life; unless they are obliged to relieve them sooner upon the account of any dangerous Sickness, or that it is judg'd convenient to grant them this Grace sooner because of the fervor of their Prayers.

The 43d. forbids the Celebration of the Feast of *Whitsunday* before *Easter*.

The 44th. allows a Woman to be received who has formerly led a lewd Life, when she is converted, and would be made a Christian, after she has renounc'd her Sins.

The 45th. allows Baptism to be given a Catechumen, tho' he has been long absent from Church.

The 46th. imposes 10 Years Penance upon one of the Faithful, who has lived long in the practice of the same Sin, which it looks upon as an Apostasy.

The 47th. ordains, That if one of the Faithful who has a lawful Wife, has committed many Adulteries, fall Sick, and promise to commit this Sin no more, Communion shall not be deny'd him; but if after his Recovery he relapse into his Sin, it shall never more be granted to him.

In the 48th. it is ordain'd, That the baptiz'd shall not put any more Money into the Boxes or Basons, as was commonly done, lest it should be thought, that the Priest gave for Money what he had freely received. It adds, That not the Priests but the Ministers shall wash the Feet of the Baptiz'd.

The 49th. forbids those who possess an Estate in Land, to suffer the Fruits of it to be bless'd by the Jews.

The 50th. Ordains, That those who eat with Jews shall be separated from the Church.

The 51st. forbids to admit into the Clergy those who return from Heresy, and pronounces the Sentence of Deposition against such if they are Ordain'd.

The 52d. declares those worthy of an Anathema, who publish Deformatory Libels.

The 53d. declares, That a Person excommunicated cannot be received but by the Bishop who excommunicated him, and forbids all others to receive him into Communion without the consent of his own Bishop.

The 54th. Ordains, That those Pagans shall be separated from the Church for Three Years who have violated their Promise of Espousals, unless one of the Parties contracted be found guilty of some Crime which hindred them from Marriage.

The 55th. declares, That they shall be received into Communion at the end of Two Years who were Priests of False Gods, who have carried a Crown, but have not sacrific'd nor laid out any Money to the Honour of Idols.

The 56th. separates from the Church a Pagan Magistrate, during the time that he discharges his Office.

The 57th. excommunicates for Three Years those Christian Women who lend their Garments for a profane show.

The 58th. Ordains, That those who bring Letters of Communion shall be examined in all the Churches, and chiefly in that where the First Episcopal Throne is settled, that is, in the Metropolitcal Church.

The 59th. forbids Christians to ascend into the Capitol to Sacrifice there, or to see sacrificing there, and imposes Ten Years Penance upon those that fall into this Fault.

The 60th. deprives those of the Title of Martyrs, who are kill'd for overthrowing Idols publicly, because the Gospel commands us not to do any such thing, and we never read that it was practis'd by the Christians in the times of the Apostles.

The 61st. imposes a Penance of Five Years upon him that Marries his Wife's Sister, unless the extremity of Sicknels oblige us to give him the Peace of the Church sooner.

The 62d. declares, That an Actor of Plays or a Comedian who would be made a Christian, shall not be received till he has renounced his Profession.

The 63d. denies Communion even at the Point of Death, to such Women as being guilty of Adultery have murder'd their Infants.

The 64th. treats with the same Rigor those Women who have continued all their Life-time in the habitual practice of the Sin of Adultery; but as to those who acknowledg'd their Crime before they were sick, and forsook the Man with whom they had committed this Sin, it grants them Communion after Ten Years Penance.

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The 65th. declares, That if a Clergy-man knows that his Wife commits Adultery and sends her not away, he is unworthy of the Communion of the Church even at the Point of Death, lest it should be thought that those who ought to be a Pattern of a regular Life, show an example of Licentiousness.

The 66th. declares, That he who marries his Daughter-in-law shall not receive the Communion even at Death.

The 67th. forbids Women that are of the Faithful or Catechumens, to have Footmen or Pages that are beautiful and well-shap'd.

The 68th. delays the Baptism of a Catechumen to the Hour of Death, who having committed Adultery murder'd her Child.

The 69th. imposes but Five Years of Penance upon those who have sinned but once into the Sin of Adultery.

The 70th. declares, That if a Woman commit Adultery with the consent of her Husband, he is unworthy of the Communion at the Point of Death; nevertheless if he divorces her he may be received after Ten Years Penance.

The 71st. denies Communion even at the Point of Death [By infamous Crimes here is meant abusing their Bodies with Mankind.] to those who have committed most infamous Crimes.

The 72d. declares, That if a Widow commit Adultery, and afterwards marries the same Man with whom she had committed this Sin, she shall be discharg'd for Five Years Penance; but if she marry another, she cannot be reconcil'd, even at the Point of Death, and that if she to whom she marries be one of the Faithful, he shall be put under Penance for Ten Years.

The 73d. denies Communion, even at the Point of Death, to those who have been the cause of the Condemnation or Death of any Man by their false Accusations, and imposes Five Years Penance if the Matter be of less consequence.

The 74th. Ordains, That a false Witness shall be punish'd proportionable to the greatness of the Crime of which he testified falsely: That if the Crime did not deserve Death; and he proves, That he gave testimony with reluctance, and that he continued long before he was willing to say any thing, he shall be acquitted for Two Years of Penance: But if he does not prove that he was constrain'd to give this false Testimony, he shall not be receiv'd into the Communion of the Church till Five Years after.

The 75th. deprives those of Communion, even at the Point of Death, who have falsely accus'd a Bishop, a Priest, or a Deacon.

The 76th. Ordains, That if a Deacon being guilty of a Crime suffers himself to be Ordain'd; he shall be put under Penance for Three Years, if the Crime be discover'd by his own Confession, and Five Years if it be detected by the testimony of another.

The 77th. declares, That if a Deacon who governs a People, baptize any Catechumens without a Bishop or without a Priest, the Bishop ought to consume, as one may say, the Baptism by his Benediction; but if they die before this be done, they may be saved by the Faith which they had.

The 78th. imposes upon him who commits Adultery with a Pagan or Jewish Woman, a Penance of Three Years, if he himself confess his Sin, and one of Five Years, if he be convicted of it.

The 79th. forbids playing at Games of Chance, and declares that if any of the Faithful make profession of playing, he shall be depriv'd of Communion; but if he forakes this Custom he may be reconcil'd at the end of One Year.

The 80th. Ordains, That Freed-men whose Patrons are Secular Men, shall not be suffer'd to enter into the Clergy.

The last Canon forbids Women to write to Lay-men in their own Names. This Canon is difficult enough, *Albaspinans* understands it of Ecclesiastical Letters. I should more willingly understand it of Familiar Letters.

I know very well that there are many Difficulties about the true Sense of many of these Canons. I have endeavour'd to explain them in the Extract which I made out of them, wherein I follow'd that Sense which appear'd to me most natural, and most agreeable to the Genius of the Ancients. Those that would inform themselves more fully in this matter, may read the Notes of *Albaspinans*, and the great Commentary of *Mendoza*, which contains many things that are no-wise useful for understanding these Canons; which are not so difficult when they are read without prejudice to one that understands something of the Ancient Discipline.

Of the Pretended COUNCIL of Carthage against Cæcilian.

AFTER the death of *Mensurius* Bishop of Carthage, several Persons who had a mind to the Bishoprick of this City, assembled the neighbouring Bishops, to Ordain a Bishop of Carthage, with-
out citing thither the Bishops of *Numidia*. The design of those Persons did not succeed according to their desires, for not one of them was chosen Bishop, and there was plac'd in the room of *Mensurius*, *Cæcilian* Archdeacon of Carthage, who was Ordain'd by *Felix* Bishop of *Apurgis*. The Bishops of *Numidia* being offended because they were not call'd to the Ordination of *Cæcilian*, and being solicited by some of his Enemies, came to Carthage in the Year 311, to the number of 70. They durst not enter

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enter into the Church where *Cæcilian* was, but being receiv'd by those who call'd them, they cited him to come before them and defend himself. This Bishop without being daunted answer'd them boldly. *If there be any Proofs against me, let my Accuser appear and produce them.* But his Enemies having nothing Personal to object against him, accus'd *Felix* of *Apurinus* who had Ordain'd him, and said that this Bishop having been a Traditor could not give a valid Ordination, and consequently *Cæcilian* was not then a Bishop. *Cæcilian* either because he mistrusted the innocence of *Felix*, or because he would not enter upon this Controversy, made answer to his Enemies. *That if Felix had not conferr'd upon him Episcopal Orders, they might Ordain him a-new as if he had been still a Deacon.* *Purpurius* Bishop of *Limata*, a cunning and dextrous Man, advis'd those of his Party, to make a show of accepting this Proposition, and when *Cæcilian* should come to receive Ordination, then to put him under Penance instead of laying hands on him to Ordain him Bishop. This Advice had been put in execution, if *Cæcilian* had not been detain'd by his Friends, who would not suffer him to trust himself to the fury of his Enemies. Then the Bishops of *Nomidia* condemn'd him, tho' absent, and Ordain'd *Majorinus* in his room. They alleg'd Three Reasons for the Deposition of *Cæcilian*. The First was, because he would not appear before the Council. The Second, because he had been Ordain'd by Traditors. The Third, because being Archdeacon he had hinder'd, say they, the carrying of Victuals to the Confessors of Jesus Christ who were in prison. We have only one Article pronounc'd by the 70 Bishops produc'd by *St. Austin* in his Book against *Fulgentius* the *Donatists*. It is express'd in these Words, by the Bishop who pronounc'd it call'd *Marcianus*: *Our Lord has said in the Gospel, I am the true Vine, and my Father is the Husbandman; he will cut off and cast forth every Branch that is in me, and beareth not fruit. And therefore since it is said, That the Branch which beareth not Fruit should be cast forth, we may truly say, That neither Traditors nor Idolaters, nor those who are Schismatically Ordain'd by Traditors can continue in the Church of God, unless they be reconciled by Penance, after they have acknowledged and bewailed their Sin. Wherefore Cæcilian being Schismatically Ordain'd by Traditors ought to be Excommunicated.* After the Bishops had thus pronounc'd severally their Sentences against *Cæcilian*, and Ordain'd *Majorinus*, they sent a Circular Letter to all the Bishops of *Africa*, exhorting them to separate themselves from the Communion of *Cæcilian*: But notwithstanding this Letter, *Cæcilian* continued in Communion with a great part of the Bishops of *Africa*, and with all the other Bishops of the World, who declar'd themselves in his favour, against the *Nomidians* who made the Schism, and were call'd *Donatists*. Thus *Cæcilian* continued in his See, notwithstanding the Judgment of this Synod, and did not so much as assemble a Council to abolve himself from this Sentence, believing himself sufficiently secur'd against the Conspiracy of his Enemies, says *St. Austin*, by the Communion of the *Roman* Church, and of all the other Churches beyond the Sea, from whom he received, and to whom he wrote Letters of Communion. What we have said of this Council is taken out of *Optatus* and *St. Austin*.

Of the COUNCIL of Rome.

OF ROME,
313.

Constantine becoming Master of *Africk*, after he had conquered the Tyrant *Maxentius*, wrote to *Anulinus* Proconsul of *Africk*, to maintain the Party of *Cæcilian*, and to endeavour to re-establish Peace in the Church of *Africk*. This Wise Magistrate sent for *Cæcilian* and his Adversaries, read to them the Emperor's Letter, and exhorted them to be reconcil'd to one another: But some Days after, those of *Majorinus's* Party presented to him two Memorials; one was entitled, *A Manifesto* of *Cæcilian's* Crimes, presented by *Majorinus's* Party: And the other was a Petition, wherein they prayed that some Bishops of *Gaul* might be given them for Judges. Those who presented these two Papers to *Anulinus*, earnestly pray'd him to send them to the Emperor. He did so, and the Emperor having regard to their Petition, gave them for Judges, *Miltiades* Bishop of *Rome*, together with *Roticus* Bishop of *Autun*, *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles*, and *Materus* Bishop of *Cologne*. *Miltiades* join'd to these Four, Fifteen Bishops of *Italy*, and these Nineteen Bishops assembled in the City of *Rome* the Year 313, and undertook to judge the Cause of *Cæcilian*. The first Day that they assembled, *Majorinus's* Party presented to the Council a Memorial of the Crimes, and whereof they accus'd *Cæcilian*: But the Judges having desir'd them to produce their Accusers and Witnesses, they introduc'd some who were oblig'd to withdraw immediately, because they declar'd, that they had nothing to say against *Cæcilian*. He for his part accus'd *Donatus* of having made a Schism at *Carthage*, and urg'd him to present before the Council, the Witnesses and Accusers which he had brought. *Donatus* promised that he would present them, and in the mean time was convicted of having re-baptiz'd, and re-ordin'd. The Second Day a New Memorial was given in against *Cæcilian*, but sufficient Evidence could not be produc'd. The Judgment of the Seventy Bishops of *Nomidia* was alleg'd, for which the Judges had no great respect. The Third Day, the whole Cause was determined, *Donatus* was condemn'd as being convicted of having re-baptiz'd, and laid his Hands upon Bishops who were already Ordain'd: And *Cæcilian* was absolv'd by the Sentence of all the Bishops, and even by the suffrage of *Miltiades* who concluded the Decision. The Council having thus judg'd the Cause of *Cæcilian* and *Donatus*, endeavour'd to restore Peace among the other Bishops, by ordering that in those places where there had been a Bishop of each Party, he who had been Ordain'd first should continue Bishop, and Care should be taken to give another Bishoprick to the other. Letters of Communion were also offer'd to be sent to the Bishops of *Majorinus's* Party, provided they would be reconcil'd. At last, the Bishops wrote to *Constantine*, inform'd him of their Decision, and assur'd him, that they had given their Judgment according to Justice and Equity. The Acts of this Council were extant in *St. Austin's* time, and they were also produced in the Con-

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The
Councils.

rence of *Carthage*, but now they are lost. We have taken what we have said, out of *Optatus* in Book First, and out of *St. Austin* in his Abridgment of the Conference on the Third Day, in Ch. 11. of his Letter 162, now the 43d. and of Letter 50. now the 185.

Of the COUNCIL of Arles.

THE Bishops of *Majorinus's* Party having lost their Cause in the Council of *Rome*, address'd themselves to the Emperor, and complain'd of the Judgment which was given at *Rome*, alleging that their Judges did not hear all that they had to say. The Emperor desiring they might be solemnly judg'd, that if they should have nothing to reply, call'd a Council in the Year 314 in the City of *Arles*. This Council was compos'd of 33 Western Bishops*, with some Priests and some Deacons. *Marinus* Bishop of *Arles* presided there; the Legates of Pope *Sylvestre* were present, but that the Emperor was not there. The Council heard the Accusations which were form'd against *Cæcilian*; but when his Accusers could not prove him guilty of the Crimes whereof they accus'd him, they were reject'd or condemn'd by the Council. After this cause was judg'd, the Bishops thought it their Duty, since they were assembled, to make some Rules concerning the Discipline of the Church; and they made 22 Canons.

In the 11th. they ordain, That the Feast of *Easter* should be celebrated on the same Sunday in all the Churches of the World, and that the Bishop of *Rome* should give Notice of the Day to the Churches according to Custom.

In the 2d. they enjoyn Ministers to continue in the Churches where they were ordain'd.

In the 3d. they excommunicate those who make use of Arms in a time of Peace.

In the 4th. they Ordain, That those who run Races in the Cirque, shall be separated from the Communion while they follow that employment.

In the 5th. they make the same Regulation for those who act upon the Theatre.

In the 6th. they ordain, That Imposition of Hands shall be given to those who having fallen Sick, declare, That they desire to believe in Jesus Christ.

In the 7th. they permit the Faithful to enter upon Offices, without being deprived of the Communion of the Church; but upon Condition that the Bishop of the place where they shall take an Office, shall superintend their Conduct, and that if they do any thing contrary to the Discipline of the Church, they shall be separated from his Communion.

The 8th. determines the famous Question about the re-baptization of Hereticks, and ordains concerning the *Africans*, who had always re-baptized them, That if any one leave a Heresy and return to the Church, he shall be ask'd concerning the Creed, and if it be known that he was baptized in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Imposition of Hands only shall be given him that he may receive the Holy Spirit; but if he does not acknowledge the Trinity, he shall be re-baptized.

The 9th. declares, That in Order to their being received into Communion in a Foreign Church, they should not any longer carry Letters of Recommendation from the Confessors, but Letters of Communion from their Bishop.

In the 10th. they say, That those who find their Wives in the act of Adultery must be counselled not to marry others, while they are living, tho' the Laws permit them to do so.

In the 11th. they separate for some time from the Communion of the Church the Christian Virgins that marry Infidels.

In the 12th. they excommunicate the Clergy that are Usurers.

* Call'd.] 'Tis certain that the Emperor call'd this Synod. We have in *Epiph. B. X.* of his Hist. Ch. 5. the Letter which he wrote to *Cælestus* Bishop of *Syracuse*, wherein he commands him to be present at this Council of *Arles*; he wrote of it likewise to all the other Bishops. Some have said that the *Donatists* appeal'd to a Council after the Decision of *Rome*, but *St. Austin* who had studied this History exactly, says in an infinite number of places, that they complain'd only of the Judgment given at *Rome*, but did not Appeal till after the Decision of the Council of *Arles*.

Compos'd of 33 Western Bishops.] *Baronius* thought that this Council consist'd of 200 Bishops, which he grounded upon a Passage of *St. Austin* in his Book against the Epistle of *Parmentianus* Ch. 5. but he misunderstands that Passage, for there he does not speak of the Council of *Arles*, but of the Council of *Rome*, which consist'd only of 19 Bishops, and not of 200, as they are reckon'd in the Text of *St. Austin* according to the common Edition; but this place has been rectified in the last Edition by a Manuscript of the *Vaticen* Library, and instead of reading as it was, *Ut ducentos Judices apud quos videri sum, videtur litigatoribus credant esse postponentes*, it is now thus reformed, *in centum Judices, apud quos videri sum, videtur*

litigatoribus credant, &c. There are but 33 Names at the head of the Council's Letter; but of these 33 there are a Priest, and one Deacon, and six Exorcists. They endeavour to prove that there was a greater number of Bishops at this Council, because *Constantine* in his Letter to *Cælestus*, and the second Council of *Arles* testify, That there were Bishops in it from all Parts of the World. But these 19 Bishops are found to be from all Parts of the West, and so it is not necessary to admit a greater number of them, to verify what is said by *Constantine* and the Fathers of the second Council of *Arles*. *Ad* says, that 600 Bishops were present at this Council; but this is no-wise probable.

Marinus Bishop of Arles presided there, &c.] His Name is at the head of the Bishops, named at the beginning of the Epistle to *St. Sylvestre*, before those of the Pope's Legates.

That the Emperor was not there.] Some Authors have said that he was, but they are mistaken; for it appears by the Letter of *Constantine* written after the Synod, that he was not, and the *Donatists* would not have appeal'd to his Judgment, if he had been present at the Sentence given by the Synod and approved it.

In the 13th. they ordain, That those shall be turned out of the Clergy, who shall be proved by the Publick Acts to have delivered up the Holy Scriptures; but those who they had ordained shall continue in their Station. They forbid Men to hearken to these Accusations, unless they be proved by the Publick Acts.

In the 14th. they separate from the Communion until the Point of Death, those who falsely accuse their Brethren.

In the 15th. they say, That the Deacons should not offer, as they did in many places.

In the 16th. they ordain, That those who are separated from the Communion, shall be restored no where else, but in the place where they were excommunicated.

The 17th. ordains, That one Bishop shall not despise the Judgment of another. This is rather a consequence of the preceding Canon, than a Canon by itself.

The 18th. enjoins Deacons in Cities to reverence the Priests.

The 19th. grants to Foreign Bishops the Power of celebrating the Oblation.

In the 20th. the Bishops of this Council forbid one Bishop alone to ordain another Bishop; they would have Seven of them meet if it be possible, but if this cannot be done, they do absolutely forbid any one to Ordain, unless he has three Bishops with him.

In the 21st. they forbid Priests and Deacons, under pain of Deposition to relinquish the Churches in which they were fix'd by their Ordination.

In the 22d. they declare, That Communion is not to be given to those who having Apostatized, continue a long time out of the Church without doing Penance, waiting till they fall Sick to ask Communion; unless they recover their Health, and give Signs of a sincere Repentance.

At last the Bishops of this Council wrote to St. Sylvester Bishop of Rome, as the chief Bishop of the World, an Account of every thing that they had ordain'd, that he might publish these Canons throughout the Catholic Church. They assure him in this Letter, that they were very sorry, that he could not be present himself in Person at this Council, and they pray him to publish their Decisions over all the World.

Of the COUNCILS of Ancyra and Neo-Cæsarea.

Of Ancyra
and Neo-
Cæsarea,
314.

THE Councils of *Ancyra* and *Neo-Cæsarea*, were held much about the same time as the Council of *Aries*. We know nothing of the History, nor particular Circumstances of these two Councils; we have only their Canons, which the ancient Church look'd upon as Rules that ought to be observ'd every where, since they have been put into the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church.

There are 25 Canons of the Council of *Ancyra*. The First preserves the Honour of the Priesthood to those Bishops, who having sacrific'd to Idols repented of their Fault, and afterwards suffered for the Faith of Jesus Christ. But it forbids them to exercise any part of the Sacerdotal Function, and will not so much as allow them to make the Offering or Preach. The Second uses the same moderation to Deacons; but it permits Bishops to show them more Favour if they think it convenient.

In the 3d. Canon it is Ordain'd, That those who have been made to offer Incense or to eat of Meats sacrific'd to Idols, by force and Violence, are not at all guilty, that they ought to be admitted to Communion, and that they may even be promoted to Ecclesiastical Dignities, provided they have testified their sorrow for what happen'd to them: But for those who were present at the Feasts made to the Honour of Idols with mirth and jollity, it imposes upon them Five Years Penance, One Year in the rank of Hearers, Two Years in the rank of Supplicants, and Two Years in the number of those that are present only at the Prayers. Whereas those who were present in mourning Apparel, and who lamented during the time of the Feast, if they did eat of the Profane meat, it places them in the rank of Supplicants or prostrate Penitents for Three Years, and afterwards it would have them receiv'd without having any share in the Oblation; and if they did not eat at all, it leaves them only Two Years in the rank of the prostrate Penitents, and permits them to partake of the Sacraments at the end of the Third Year. Nevertheless it gives power to the Bishops to shorten or lengthen the time of Penance according to the behaviour of the Penitents.

The 6th. concerns those who have sacrific'd to Idols, fearing Torments or the loss of their Goods, and who desire to be admitted to do Penance. The Synod orders, That they should be among the number of Hearers till *Easter*-day, that afterwards they should be Three Years Supplicants or Prostrate, and then they should be present at the Prayers, which is call'd *Communicating without partaking of the Oblation*. It excepts however the case of the danger of Death, in which it Orders, That they should be receiv'd according to the Law made about it.

The 7th. imposes Two Years Penance upon those who were present at the Feasts made in Honour of the Idols, but carried thither their own Meat; intending not to eat of that which was there presented.

The 8th. imposes Seven Years Penance upon those who sacrific'd several times; and the 9th. imposes Ten Years Penance upon those who forc'd their Brethren to do it.

The 10th. Canon concerns the Celibacy of Deacons. The Council there Ordains, That if they declared at the time of their Ordination, that they would Marry, they shall not be depriv'd of their Function if they did Marry; but if they were Ordain'd without making this declaration, and afterwards Marry'd they should be oblig'd to quit their Employment.

The 21st. Ordains, That if Maids contract happen to be carried away by others, than those to

to whom they were promised, they shall be restored to them again whatever violence they have suffered.

The 12th. declares, That those may be Ordain'd who have sacrific'd to Idols before they were baptiz'd, because they are purified from this Sin by Baptism.

The 13th. Canon is about Suffragan Bishops or *Chorepiscopi*. 'Tis as follows in the Greek Text: *'Tis not lawful for Suffragan Bishops to Ordain Priests or Deacons, nor for the City Presbyters in another Parish without the permission of their Bishop.* 'Tis plain that this Canon is imperfect, and that something must be supplied to make it sense: For what mean these Words, *Nor to the City Presbyters*, &c. Had Priests ever power to Ordain other Priests in their own Churches? Had they Suffragans who were about the Priests have the same power? There must be something added: See what *Dionysius Exiguus* has added in his Version. *No more is it lawful for Priests to do any thing in the Diocess, without the permission of the Bishop in writing.* This Addition is found in the ancient Code of the Roman Church, published by *Quintianus*, and in the Version of *Isidore*; and *Justellus* has insert'd it in the Greek Text of the Code of the Universal Church.

The 14th. condemns the Superstition of some Clergymen who would not eat Meat. The Synod Ordains, That if they continued in this Superstition, and would not eat Herbs boild with Meat, they should be depriv'd of their Ecclesiastical Function.

The 15th. declares, That if Priests sell any thing belonging to the Church, while it has not a Bishop, it shall be in the power of the Bishop who is chosen, either to make void the bargain, or to take the price of the thing that is sold.

The 16th. and 17th. impose long Penances upon those who have committed Crimes contrary to Nature.

The 18th. forbids Bishops who cannot be receiv'd into their own Bishopricks to invade those of others, and allows them only to keep the rank of other Presbyters; of which Honour it Ordains that they shall be depriv'd if they stir up Sedition against the Bishop of the place.

The 19th. subjects those Virgins to the same punishment with Bigamists, who violate the Profession that they have made, and forbids them to dwell with Strangers as if they were their Sisters.

The 20th. imposes Seven Years Penance for Adultery.

In the 21st. the Synod observes, That the ancient Canons delay'd the Abolition of those Women till death, who having committed the Sin of Adultery murder'd their Infants; but to mitigate this Punishment, it imposes upon them only Ten Years Penance.

The 22d. delayeth the Abolition of those till the Point of death who have committed wilful Murder, and till then it places them in the rank of Prostrate Penitents.

The 23d. imposes Seven Years of Penance for Manslaughter.

The 24th. subjects those to a Penance of Five Years who meddle with Divination and practise superstitious Actions.

The last is about a particular Case. A Man had desir'd the Sister of her to whom he was contracted; and afterwards married this last; her Sister hand'd her self for madnes. The Synod Ordains, That all those who were Complices to these Crimes shall be put under Penance for the space of Ten Years.

These Canons are sign'd by 18 Bishops of the Diocesses of *Asia*, of *Pontus*, and of the East. *Vitalis* Bishop of *Antioch* is the First among these Bishops. 'Tis certain that he held the See of the Church of *Cæsarea* from the Year 311, until the Year 319. After him there is the Name of *Agriolus* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*. But *Eusebius* makes no mention of this Bishop, and he could be but a very little time Bishop of that Church. *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* who is the Third, is famous enough in History.

Some think that *Basil* of *Anassa* suffer'd Martyrdom under *Licinius*, and St. *Jerom* affirms it in his *Chronicon*: Yet *Philoforgius* and St. *Athanasius* reckon him among those Bishops who were present at the Council of *Nice*. The same St. *Athanasius* mentions *Lupus* of *Tarus*, and *Longinus* of *Neocaesarea*. There is mention made of *Leontius* of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia* in the Life of St. *Gregory* Council. The others are less known.

The Council of *Neocaesarea* made Fifteen Canons about the Discipline of the Church.

The 1st. is, That if a Priest marries after he has been Ordain'd, he ought to be degraded; and if he commit Fornication or Adultery he ought to be punished more rigorously, and put under Penance.

The 2d. is, That if a Woman marry Two Brothers, she ought to be excluded from the Communion of the Church till the end of her life; but at the Point of Death she shall be absolved, provided the promises to break the Marriage. For if the Husband or the Wife die without being parted, the surviving Person can very hardly be admitted to Penance.

The 3d. is, That the time of the Penance of those who Marry often is regulated by the Canons; but it may be shorten'd proportionably to the Conversion of the Penitent, and the fervour of his Penance.

The 4th. is, That he who having a desire to commit Sin with a Woman, and did not accomplish it, seems to have been sav'd by the Grace of God.

The 5th. is, That if a Carechumen who is in the rank of those who pray with the Faithful, fall into Sin, he must be plac'd in the rank of Hearers, and if he continue to sin, he is to be totally turn'd out of the Church.

The 6th. commands those Women to be baptiz'd who are ready to Lie in:

The 7th. forbids Priests to be present at the Marriage of *Bigamists*.

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The Council.

The 8th. declares that he cannot be admitted into Holy Orders, whose Wife has been convicted of Adultery, and that if a Clergy-man's Wife commit Adultery, he ought to divorce her, upon pain of being deprived of his Ministry if he do not.

The 9th. is, That if a Priest who has committed the Sin of the Flesh before he was Ordain'd confests his Crime, he ought no more to Offer, but he shall enjoy all his other Rights; for as to other Sins, 'tis thought, that they are pardoned by the Imposition of Hands: But if he does not confest this Fault and cannot be convicted of it, he shall be left to his own Conscience.

The 10th. is, That a Deacon who shall commit the same Crime before his Ordination, shall be plac'd in the rank of the other Ministers.

The 11th. forbids to give the Order of Priesthood to those Persons who are under Thirty Years of Age, tho' they have well deserved, because our Lord was baptized, and begun to preach at that Age.

The 12th. is, That those who have been baptiz'd in their sickness can never be ordain'd Priests, because they seem to have embrac'd the Faith only through necessity, unless this Favour be afterwards granted them upon the account of their Faith and Zeal, and that there be but few Persons who can be Ordain'd.

The 13th. forbids the Priests in the Country to make the Oblation in the presence of the Bishop, or of the Priests of Cities, and does not allow them so much as to distribute the Bread of the Eucharist or to give the Cup, but it permits them to do both the one and the other in the absence of the Bishop, and the City-Presbyters.

The 14th. declares, That Suffragans represent the 70 Disciples, and so they are look'd upon as the Brethren of the Bishops, and have the honour of making the Oblation.

The last Ordains, That there should be but Seven Deacons in each City how great soever it be. Some of the Bishops who were at the Council of *Ancyra*, subscribed to this. *Vitalis of Antioch* presided there as well as at the Council of *Ancyra*. Which shows that these Two Councils were held after the Year 311, and before the Year 319.

Of the First COUNCIL of Alexandria against Arius.

Of the First of Alexandria, against Arius, 322. Some time after, Arius began to publish his Impiety, *Alexander* Bishop of Alexandria, held a Council of near a 100 Bishops of Egypt, wherein he excommunicated *Arius* and his Followers. This Council was held in 322.

Of the pretended COUNCIL of Bithynia for Arius.

Of Bithynia, for Arius, 323. *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and the other Bishops who protected *Arius* against *Alexander*, held a Council the next Year in *Bithynia*, wherein they declare *Arius* Orthodox, and worthy of the Communion of the Church. *Socrates* mentions this Council B. III. Ch. 15. of his History.

Of the Second COUNCIL of Alexandria against Arius, held in the presence of Hosius.

Of the Second of Alexandria, against Arius, 324. *Hosius* being sent to Alexandria from the Emperour, to compose the Differences which troubled the Churches of Egypt, held a Council in that City which the Clergy of *Maroutis*, in a Protestation produced by *St. Athanasius*, call'd Occumenical Council. It is not known what was determined in this Council. 'Tis probable that the Wife Bishop of *Corubia* did what he could to reconcile Men's minds, and not being able to compass his Design, he would decide nothing. *Socrates* in B. III. Ch. 7. of his History, testifies, That in this Council the Terms of *Substance* and *Hypostasis* were treated of, in opposition to *Sabellius*: And we learn from the Protestation of the Clergy of *Mareotis*, which we just now cited, that *Colluthus* a pretended Bishop was degraded in this Council, and the Ordinations which he made were annull'd. *Philostorgius* says, That *Alexander* of Alexandria coming at this *Nicomedia*, and having spoken to *Hosius*, caus'd the *Confessionality* of the Word to be determined by a Synodal Sentence. But we have no other Author who mentions this Judgment, neither is there any probability that it was given.

Of the COUNCIL of Nice.

Of Nice, 325. *Constantine* seeing that he had laboured in vain to allay the Disputes which divided the Church, thought it would be the most ready and effectual means to restore Peace, to call a numerous Synod compos'd of the Eastern and Western Bishops. This Council was call'd Occumenical, i.e. a Council of the whole World, or the whole Earth, because it was call'd together from all Parts of the Roman Empire, to which the Title of the World, or the Earth was given, and which did almost include the Catholic Church. This Council was assembled by the Order of the Emperour at Nice, a City of *Bithynia*, about the Month of July in the Year 325^a, in the second Year of *Constantine's*

^a By Order of the Emperour, &c. *Eusebius* B. III. of the Life of *Constantine* Ch. 6. says, That the Council of Nice was assembled by Order of the Emperour; and the Bishops of this Council in their Letter to the Egyptians, say, That they were summon'd to meet by the Emperour's Letters. *Constantine* says the same thing, all the Ancients are agreed in it.

^b In the Year 325. *Socrates* assures us, That this Council was Assembled at this time, and it could not be assembled sooner nor later.

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The Council.

Reign. *St. Sylvester* was then Bishop of Rome, who sent thither *Victor* and *Vincentius* his Legates. 'Tis commonly held that this Council consist'd of 318 Bishops; but those who were present at it do not precisely determine this number^a, but say only that there were about 300 Bishops. 'Tis not certainly known, who presided in this Council, but 'tis very probable that it was *Hosius*, who held the chief Place there in his own Name, because he had already taken cognizance of this Affair, and was much esteem'd by the Emperour who was very present. The Assembly was held in a Hall in his Palace. 'Tis said that the Bishops presented Petitions to him, wherein they accus'd one another, and that he burnt them all without reading them: 'Tis also said, That many Philosophers came to Nice to oppose the Christian Religion, and that they were confounded by one simple Bishop: But these Two Stories are not very certain. But 'tis certain that they mingled very closely the Cause for which they were assembled, which was the Heresy of *Arius*. *St. Athanasius* Deacon of Alexandria, and some others, Disputed stoutly against him. When the Day was come that this great Affair should be determined, one of the Bishops made a Harangue to the Emperour, and afterwards they began to enter upon the Business. *Arius* having explained his Opinions, was condemn'd with an unanimous Consent. After this *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* presented a Confession of Faith, but the Council finding that it did not expressly enough reject the Error of the *Arians*, urg'd the Bishops who favoured this Heretic to make a clear Profession of the Divinity of the Son of God; and when the Council saw that all the Terms which were used to dignify the Divinity of the Son of God were eluded by these Bishops by far-fetched Explications, the Council was forced, for excluding all kind of Ambiguity to say, That the Son of God was *Consubstantial* to his Father. This Word was the Subject of a great Dispute among the Bishops, which was allay'd by the Prudence of the Emperour, who made them all agree in the Sense of this Word. And thus in the Confession of Faith, or in the Creed made by this Council, Profession is made, Of believing in one only God, the Creator of all things, visible and invisible, and in one only Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the only Son of the Substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very Gods, begotten not made, *Consubstantial* to his Father, by whom all things were made in Heaven and on Earth, who descended for us Men and for our Salvation, who was incarnate and made Man, who suffered and rose again and ascended into Heaven, and who shall come to judge the quick and the dead: And in the Holy Spirit. After this Creed followed an Anathema against those who should say, That there was a time when the Son of God was not, or that he was not before he was begotten, or that he was created of nothing, or that he was of another Substance and another Essence, or that he was created and subject to Change. All the Bishops, except *Secundus* of *Ptolemais*, and *Theonas* of *Marmarica*, Signed this Confession of Faith. *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* refus'd to Sign it at First, but he did it the next Day. After this *Arius*, *Secundus* and *Theonas* were condemn'd in the Council^b, and a Book of the First, entitled *Thalia*, was proscrit^b.

The Council having thus judg'd the *Arians* with rigor, treated the *Meletians* with more moderation. It permitted *Meletius* to continue in the City, and to retain the name of Bishop, and the honour annex'd to that Office; but it absolutely forbade him to ordain any body: It prefer'd also the Rank, Honour and Office of those whom he had ordained, provided nevertheless that they should be confirm'd by a more Sacred Imposition of Hands, which is a kind of Re-ordination; that they should be inferior to those who had been ordained by *Alexander*, and that they should have no hand

^a In the second Year of the Reign of Constantine. It began in the Month of August, and the Council was held in the Month of July.

^b Those who were present at it do not precisely determine this number. *Eusebius* B. III. of the Life of Constantine, says, that there were at the Council of Nice more than 250 Bishops. *Eustathius* says, that there were to the number of 270, or thereabouts. *St. Athanasius* in his Book of the Decrees of the Council of Nice, and in his Epistle to the Monks, says, that they were about 300; yet the same *St. Athanasius* in his Letter to the Africans, *St. Hilary* in his Book of Synods, *Eusebius*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Epiphanius*, &c. call the Council of Nice, a Council of 318 Bishops. *Socrates*, *Symeon* and *Marinus Mercator*, do not reckon precisely the same number, but they do not much differ from it.

^c 'Tis not certainly known who presided in this Council, but 'tis probable that it was *Hosius*. *St. Athanasius* in his second Apology, calls *Hosius* the Father and President of all the Councils. The Name of this Bishop is the First in all the Subscriptions. *Alexander* was much esteem'd as appears by the Letter of the Council. *Eusebius* of *Antioch* is call'd the chief Bishop of the Council by *Paculus* and by *Facundus*. But it is more probable that *Hosius* presided there in his own Name and not in the Pope's: For he no where assumes the Title of Legate of the Holy See, and none of the Ancients say, that he presided in this Council in the Pope's Name. *Gelasius Gregorius* who first affirm'd it, says it without any Proof or Authority.

^d The Assembly was held in his Palace. *Eusebius* says so expressly B. III. of the Life of Constantine Ch. 10. *Socrates* B. I. of his History Ch. 18. and *Theodoret* B. I. Ch. 7. following herein the Testimony of *Eusebius*. 'Tis true that this place is call'd by *Eusebius* himself in Ch. 7. a Sacred Place, but it is upon the account of the Assembly of the Bishops who were then in it.

^e All the Bishops except *Secundus* and *Theonas* Signed this Creed. This appears by the Letter of the Synod, and by the Testimony of *Theodoret* B. I. Ch. 7. and of *Philostorgius*. Some say, that *Eusebius* and *Theonas* would not Sign the Condemnation of *Arius*, and that they were condemn'd in the Council. This is not true, and if they did allege this distinction, it was after the Council of Nice and not in the Council.

^f *Arius*, *Secundus* and *Theonas* were condemn'd, &c. This appears by the Letter of the Council, tho' *St. Jerom* affirms the contrary concerning *Arius*. *St. Athanasius*, who is more to be credited than *St. Jerom* in this matter, says several times that *Arius* was condemn'd in the Council of Nice. *Socrates*, *Symeon* and *Theodoret* do also testify the same thing.

^g Which is a kind of Re-ordination. It is commonly thought that this Imposition of hands, which the Fathers of this Council call, *μυστήριον ἁγιασμοῦ*, was only a Ceremony; but *Valerius* has very well prov'd that it was a new Ordination; and this is the thing which the Word does properly signify.

in the Election of Bishops. Nevertheless it permits the People and the Clergy to choose them Bishops, if they were found worthy of it, provided that the Bishop of Alexandria approve this Election. Last of all, the Council made a Decree concerning the Celebration of Easter, and ordained that this Feast should be celebrated only on the Sunday. Constantine wrote a general Letter to the whole Church, to acquaint them with the Decisions of this Council, and the Bishops wrote a Letter particularly to the Christians of Egypt, wherein they inform them exactly of what had been ordained about the Cause of the Arians and Meletians, and about the Celebration of Easter.

St. Ambrose indeed seems to intimate that this Council made a Paschal Cycle; but these Words must be understood as meaning only, That the Determination of the Council gave occasion to make use of Cycles. St. Leo adds in Ep. 64. That the Council gave Order to the Bishop of Alexandria to give notice every Year to the Bishop of Rome of Easter-day, that he might publish it to all the Churches of the World: But if the Council had made this Order, they would have signified it in their Letter to the Egyptians, where they speak favourably of Alexander and his Church.

The Council of Nice did not only determine the Differences which troubled the Church by its Decisions, but also made Rules concerning the Discipline of the Church. These Rules, which are call'd Canons, are in number Twenty, and there never were more Genuine^k, tho' some Modern Authors have added many more.

The first Canon excludes from Sacred Orders, those that made themselves Eunuchs, but not those who became so by Sickness, or by the Cruelty of Barbarians.

The 2d. forbids to advance those Persons to the Orders of Priest or Bishop, who were lately baptiz'd, and Ordains that those who shall be convicted of any Crime, shall be depriv'd of their Ecclesiastical Functions.

The Third forbids Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and other Clergy-men to keep Women in the House with them; yet it excepts Mothers, Sisters, and other Persons, of whom there can be no bad suspicion.

The 4th. Ordains, That a Bishop should be Ordain'd by all the Bishops of the Province, if it can be done; but if it be too difficult to assemble them all, either because of an urgent necessity, or because of their great distance, he may be Ordain'd by Three Bishops, provided that those who are absent be willing and consent by their Letter that this Ordination should be made; but it adds, That the validity of what is done in the Province depends upon the Metropolitan.

The 5th. Ordains, That none of those who shall be separated from the Church by the Bishops in each Province, can be receiv'd or restor'd to Communion in any other place; and that enquiry be the better made, whether their Bishop has justly excommunicated them, they Ordain, That Two Synods shall be held every Year in every Province, one before Lent and the other in Autumn.

The 6th. Canon is famous for the several Questions it has occasion'd. The most natural Sense that can be given to it, is this: "We Ordain, That the Ancient Custom shall be observ'd, which gives Power to the Bishop of Alexandria, over all the Provinces of Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, because the Bishop of Rome has the like Jurisdiction over all the Suburbicary Regions (for this Addition must be supplied out of Rufinus): We would likewise have the Rights and Privileges of the Church of Antioch, and the other Churches preserved; but these Rights ought not to prejudice those of the Metropolitans. If any one is Ordain'd without the consent of the Metropolitan, the Council declares. That he is no Bishop: But if any one is Canonically chosen by the Suffrage of almost all the Bishops of the Province, and if there are but One or Two of a contrary Opinion, the Suffrages of the far greater number ought to carry it for the Ordination of those particular Persons."

This Canon being thus explain'd has no difficulty in it. It does not oppose the Primacy of the Church of Rome, but neither does it establish it. It preserves to Great Secs their ancient Privileges, that is, the Jurisdiction or Authority which they had over many Provinces, which was afterwards call'd the Jurisdiction of the Patriarch or Exarch. In this sense it is, That it compares the Church of Rome to the Church of Alexandria, by considering them all as Patriarchal Churches. It continues also to the Church of Antioch, and all the other Great Churches, whatsoever Rights they could have; but left their Authority should be prejudicial to the ordinary Metropolitans, who were subject to their Jurisdiction, the Council confirms what had been Ordain'd in the Fourth Canon concerning the Authority of Metropolitans in the Ordination of Bishops. This Explication is easy and natural, and we have given many proofs of it in our Latin Dissertation concerning the ancient Discipline of the Church.

The 7th. is, That since by ancient Tradition the Church of Elias, or of Jerusalem has been honoured, this Prerogative of Honour shall be continued to it, but without prejudice to the Rights of its Metropolis.

The 8th. declares, That the Novatians who return to the Church, may continue in the Clergy after they have receiv'd Imposition of Hands, and made Profession of following the Discipline of the Church.

^k There were never more Genuine. Theodoret and Rufinus mention only these 20 Canons; tho' the latter reckons 22 of them, yet he own'd no more, because he divided 2 of them. The Bishops of Africa found but 20 of them, after they had enquired very diligently all over the East for all the Canons made by the Council of Nice. Dionysius Exiguus and all the other Collectors of Canons, have acknowledged a but those 20. The Arabian Canons which Echellensis publish'd under the Name of the Council of Nice, cannot belong to this Council.

That

That if a Novatian Bishop in a City, where there is a Catholick Bishop, return to the Church, he shall not take the place of the Catholick Bishop, but continue in the Presbytery, unless the Catholick Bishop will allow him the Name of a Bishop: But if he will not, this Novatian Bishop shall continue Priest or Suffragan.

The 9th. or 10th. Ordains, That those Priests shall be degraded, who are found either to have Sacrificed, or to have been guilty of other Crimes before their Ordination.

The 11th. imposes a Penance of Ten Years upon those who voluntarily renounce the Christian Religion, without being forced, either by the loss of their Estate, or danger of their Life.

The 12th. imposes Thirteen Years Penance upon those who having shewn their Zeal for the Faith did afterwards apostatize to obtain Offices: Nevertheless it permits this Penance to be shorten'd in favour of those who testify much Grief and Remorse.

The 13th. renews the ancient Law, which Ordains, That dying Persons shall not be deprived of the last and most necessary Viaticum, that is, of Absolution; but upon condition, That if the sick Person recovers his health, he shall be placed only in the Rank of those who are present only at the Prayers of the Church. It leaves it at the discretion of the Bishop to give or to refuse the Communion to dying Persons who desire it.

The 14th. turns back those Catechumens to the place of Hearers, who Apostatized when they were ready to receive Baptism, and enjoins them to continue in that place for Three Years before they can be restor'd to the place wherein they were before.

The 15th. forbids the Translations of Bishops and Priests, and Ordains, That those who shall be Translated, shall return to their First Church.

The 16th. forbids the receiving of Priests, Deacons or Ministers of another Church without the consent of their Bishop.

The 17th. Ordains, That Clergy-men who are Usurers, or who take sordid Gain, shall be deposed. The 18th. forbids Deacons to give the Eucharist to Priests, because it is against the Canons and contrary to Custom, and they have not the power to Offer nor to Give the Body of Jesus Christ, to those who do offer. It forbids them also to take the Eucharist before the Bishops, and advertises them from the hand of a Bishop or a Priest; That they ought to receive the Eucharist after Priests, and threatens those who do not obey this Rule with the deprivation of their Ministry.

The 19th. Ordains, That the Penitents shall be re-baptiz'd who return to the Church; and that if there be found any who had the Name of Clergy-men among these Heretics, who are worthy of Orders, the Bishop shall Ordain them after they have been baptiz'd; but if they be not found worthy of Holy Orders, they shall be deposed. It Ordains the same thing of Deaconesses who are reckoned among the Clergy, tho' they never receiv'd Imposition of Hands, that they shall be placed among the Laity.

The last Canon abolishes the Custom of some Churches wherein they kneeled on Sunday and Whitsunday, and Ordains for keeping Uniformity, that they shall pray to God standing at this time in all Churches.

We must add to the History of this Council Two remarkable Stories related by Socrates and Sozomen, which Socrates says he learn'd from an old Man who assist'd at this Council. The First is concerning Acilius a Novatian Bishop, who being asked by the Emperor, whether he approv'd the Decision of this Council, answer'd him, That he had receiv'd from his Ancestors the Faith which they had decreed, and that he always celebrated Easter on the Day which they had appointed. The Emperor having afterwards ask'd him, Why then did he separate from the Communion of the Church? He alleg'd the Indulgence which the Church had given from the time of Decius, and said that those who had fallen into Crimes ought never to be receiv'd into the Communion of the Church, and that they ought to expect pardon from God only who only could grant it them. The Emperor hearing this Answer, answer'd him pleasantly, O Acilius, take then a Ladder, and mount up to Heaven alone. The other Story concerns Paphnutius a Bishop in Egypt, who oppos'd the Canon, which was propos'd in the Council for obliging Bishops, Priests and Deacons to observe Celibacy. This good Man said, that up on the Clergy. Some question the truth of this Story; I believe they do it rather for fear lest this Story might prejudice the present Discipline, than from any solid proof they have for it. But these Persons should consider that this Canon is purely a matter of Discipline, and that the Discipline of the Church may change according to the Times, and that 'tis not necessary for the Defence of it, to prove that it was always Uniform in all Places.

[This would be an excellent Defence for the Discipline of the Church of Rome in this particular, if there were some Ages wherein Celibacy could more easily be preferred than it can in others] or if the Constitution of Mankind varied according to the Temporal interests of any one private Church.

What we have hitherto said, shews, That the Authentical Monuments of the Council of Nice are the Confession of Faith, with the Anathematism subjoin'd to it, the Letter of the Synod to the Egyptians, the Decree concerning Easter, and the Twenty Canons. I do not think that there ever were any other Acts of this Council, since they were unknown to all the ancient Historians. There

^l I do not think that there ever were any other Acts of this Council. If there had been any, St. Athanasius would have sent them to his Friend, who desired of him the History of the Council of Nice, or he would have

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The Council.

is a Latin Letter of this Synod to St. Sylvester extant, but it is supposititious, which has no Authority, and which has all the Marks of Forgery, that any writing can have, as well as the pretended Answer of St. Sylvester. Neither is that Council genuine, which is said to have been assembled at Rome by St. Sylvester for the confirmation of the Council of Nice. The Canons of this Council are also forged, which contain Rules contrary to the Practice of that time, and which it had been impossible to observe.

Constantine sent a Letter to the Catholic Church which is instead of a Synodical Letter of the Council, because by this Letter he publishes what was decided concerning *Eusebius*. He says nothing of the cause of the *Arians* and *Meletians*, because that particularly concerned the *Egyptians* to whom the Council gave an account of it. He condemns *Marcellus* and the *Arians*. He sent this Heretick into banishment with *Secundus* and *Theonas*, who would not subscribe the Decrees of the Synod, and the Council ending happily in the Month of August in the Year 325, at the beginning of the Second Year of his Reign, he gave the Bishops a noble Entertainment, and sent them home loaded with Presents, after he had exhorted them to Unity.

bid him read them: But he never did it, and he gives him an account of his own of what was done in the Council. There is a Passage cited out of St. Athanasius, to prove that he acknowledged other Acts of this Council. 'Tis taken out of the Book of Synods, where mention is made in the Verbon of it, of the Acts of the Council of Nice. But in the Greek it is only *τὰς πρώτων πράξεων*, which has been written by the *Fathers*; and 'tis plain that he speaks in this place of the Confession of Faith. And that which further shews that there never were any Acts of the Council of Nice, is, that the *Fathers* of the Council themselves in their Letter to the *Egyptians*, say, that their Arch-Bishop *Alexander*, should inform them particularly of all that pass'd in the Synod. In a word, neither *Rufinus*, nor *Socrates*, nor *Theodoret*, nor any ancient Historian, had ever seen or known these Acts. St. *Jerom* says, that he read the Acts of the Council of Nice, but he means only the Creed, the Canons, and the Subscriptions. The Acts which *Gelasius* *Cyricianus* attributes to *Dalmatius* were made since the Council, and taken out of *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and other Historians.

The Letter of the Council to St. Sylvester is supposititious. 'Tis the Style of it is barbarous and intricate. It begins with this Period which has no sense: *Gloriam corroborata de divinis mysteriis. Ecclesiastica utilitas qua ad vobis pertinens Ecclesie Catholice & Apostolice ad fidem suam Romanam explananda, &c. de Græco redacta scribere consuevit*; and afterwards, *Nunc itaque ad vestra sedis argumentum accurrimus roborari*, and so on. It is all made up of such kind of stuff. The date is ridiculous, wherein the Councils are called *Soveiens*, an Epithete never given to them, and the Letter is dated Five or

Of the pretended COUNCIL of Antioch against Eustathius.

IN this Council which was held in 330, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and those of his Faction, depos'd *Eustathius*, after the manner which we related, when we gave an Account of the Life and Writings of this Bishop, and they chose in his room *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*. 'Tis probable that in this Council they depos'd *Aclepas* Bishop of *Gaza*, and condemn'd *Eutropius* of *Adrianople*. However this be, this Council has not left any Monument in Writing.

Of the SYNOD of Cæsarea.

ST. Athanasius was cited to a Council held at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, in the Year 334, but he did not appear, and there is nothing known of this Synod.

Of the pretended COUNCIL of Tyre against St. Athanasius.

THE Emperor call'd a Council in the Year 335, in the City of *Tyre*, to judge the Cause of St. Athanasius. He wrote a Letter to the Bishops of this Synod, wherein he exhorts them to settle Peace and Concord in the Church: He recommended it to them to Judge justly and without Prejudice, and threatened those with banishment who would not appear at the Council. He sent thither Count *Dionysius* with Guards to hinder any Disorder. This Council consisted of Sixty Eastern Bishops or thereabouts. St. Athanasius came thither with Forty Bishops of *Egypt*; he was forc'd to appear there as a Criminal. Several Accusations were propos'd which could not be prov'd, and so they insisted upon that of the Chalice, which they alleg'd he had caus'd to be broken in

Marcellus

of the Fourth Century of Christianity.

The Council.

Marcellus by his Priest *Macarius*. The Council sent Deputies to the places to inform themselves of the Truth or Falshood of this Story. But since the Deputies were the greatest Enemies of St. Athanasius, who could not fail of returning their Information to his Disadvantage, he thought himself obliged to retire, and appeal to the Emperor. Some time after, the Deputies returning with an Information, which they had made as they would themselves, the Synod pronounced against him a Sentence of Condemnation and Deposition.

Of the SYNOD of Jerusalem.

THE Synod of *Tyre* was not yet finished, when the Emperor sent a Letter to the Bishops, wherein he ordered them to come presently to *Jerusalem*, to make there the Dedication of a Magnificent Church which he had built there. They obeyed the Emperor's Orders, and having perform'd this Ceremony with much Pomp, they made a Synod there, wherein they received *Arius*, &c. I know very well that *Valesius* affirms that *Arius* was then dead, and that the Council received only the Followers of *Arius*. But St. Athanasius says plainly in his Book of the Synods of *Ariminum* and *Seleucia*, That *Arius* and his Followers were received in this Council. We have in St. Athanasius the Synodical Letter of this Council written to the *Egyptians* and *Alexandrines*, wherein they write to them, that they had received *Arius* and his Party after they were satisfied that they held very Orthodox Doctrines.

Of the COUNCIL of Constantinople against Marcellus of Ancyra.

THE Council of *Jerusalem* being ended, the Bishops came to *Constantinople*, where they held also a Synod, wherein they depos'd *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*, as convicted by his Writings of renewing the Error of *Paulus Samosatensis* and *Sabellius*. He had been already accused of this Heresy in the Council of *Jerusalem*, and he had promised that he would retract it, and burn his Book; but refusing to do it in *Constantinople*, he was there condemned and depoled.

Of the COUNCIL of Constantinople against Paul Bishop of that City.

AFTER the Death of *Constantine*, *Paul* of *Constantinople*, who had been banished, returned to *Constantinople*, according to the permission which the *Cæsar* had given to the exil'd Bishops to return from their Banishment. But *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* who had a mind to usurp the See of this great City, and the Bishops of his Party, being Enemies to *Paul*, because he was a Defender of St. Athanasius, stirr'd up against him his Priest *Macedonius* who accused him of leading a Life unbecoming the Priesthood, and they presently assembled a Synod at *Constantinople*, wherein they depoled him, and chose in his room *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*.

Of the COUNCIL of Alexandria in behalf of St. Athanasius.

ST. Athanasius being returned from *Trier*, which *Constantine* had banished him, re-entr'd upon the possession of the See of *Alexandria*, and notwithstanding the Condemnation of the Council of *Tyre*, was acknowledged as their lawful Bishop: yet being oppos'd a-new by the *Eusebians* under the Empire of *Constantine*, he caus'd a Council of a 100 *Egyptian* Bishops, or thereabouts, to assemble in the Year 340, who wrote in his Favour to all the Bishops of the World, and cleared him from the Accusations that were laid against him. This Letter is extant in the Second Apology of St. Athanasius.

Of the COUNCIL of Rome, under Pope Julius, in behalf of St. Athanasius.

THE *Eusebians* desiring to obtain the Favour of Pope *Julius*, sent Deputies to him about the end of the Year 339, to request of him a Council to judge the cause of St. Athanasius, and declared to him at the same time, That if he pleas'd they would make him Judge of their Difference. *Julius* answer'd them, That it was just a Council should be assembled in what place they pleas'd; That there they might propose their Accusations against St. Athanasius, and answer what he had to say against them. The *Eusebians* without waiting for this Synod, where they could not be Judges, to fill the See of *Alexandria*, and sent him to seize upon it by main Force. St. Athanasius standing what they had done, retired to *Rome*, where he was kindly received by Pope *Julius*, who appointed them to all the Eastern Bishops, that they should come to *Rome* on the Day which he declar'd to appear before the Synod which was to be assembled about the end of the Year 341. The *Eusebians* never appeared, and detain'd the Pope's Legates who brought this Letter. At the Month of *January* in the next Year. However, the Bishops of *Italy* assembled in a Church of *Rome*, and examined the Cause of St. Athanasius, and that of *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. All the Accusations which had been alleg'd against the former were propos'd, and after he had proved them all to be false, he was declar'd Innocent. *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* perswaded the Bishops that his Faith was Orthodox, and declar'd that his Books were misunderstood, and so was acquitted also. At last, the Council pray'd *Julius* to write to the Bishops of the East; which he did in the Year 342, after

after the return of his Legates. We have often already spoken of this Letter of *Julius*, and therefore it is not necessary to say any thing more of it here.

Of the COUNCILS held at Antioch.

Of Antioch.

341.
342.

THE Eastern Bishops having quitted the Design they had of appearing before a Council of the West, or of taking the Pope for Judge of their differences with *St. Athanasius*, assembled at *Antioch* in the beginning of the Year 341, and there held a Synod of Ninety Bishops or thereabouts. The occasion of this Synod was the Celebration of the Dedication of the Church of *Antioch*. But as it was the Custom of the Bishops when they were assembled to make some Ecclesiastical Rules, to these thought fit to compose New Confessions of Faith, and to make Canons concerning the Discipline of the Church.

In the First of these Confessions of Faith, they declare, That they are not followers of *Arian*, and that they have no other Faith but what they receiv'd by Tradition; That they restore *Arian*, because they found that his Doctrines were Orthodox, but that they do not follow him. After this Protestation there followed a Confession of Faith, wherein they do not use the Word *Consubstantial*, but they declare, *That they believe in one only Son of God, coexistent with his Father who begot him, by whom all things were made; and in the Holy Spirit.* This was the First Confession of Faith that was made after that of the Council of *Nice*; and it was quickly follow'd by a Second made by the same Bishops in the same place, wherein they enlarge much more upon the Attributes of Jesus Christ: They say, *That he was Born of the Father before all Worlds, That he is God of God, Whole of Whole, a perfect Being, &c. That he is the perfect Image and exact Resemblance of the Divinity of the Substance, of the Will, the Power and Glory of the Father.* They add, That the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are not Three different Names, but Three Substances, and that they are one in Will. They pronounce an *Anathema* against those who say, *That there was an Age or a Moment before the Generation of the Word, or who say, That he is a Creature form'd like other Creatures.* These Expressions of being one by Will, of being a Creature like others, and some others like them which are in this Confession of Faith, render it very much suspected.

For this reason perhaps it displeas'd some Bishops of the Synod, which obliged *Theophrastus* Bishop of *Tyana* to make a Third Confession, which was approv'd by all, wherein they profess to believe in Jesus Christ, *The only Son of God, God, the Word, the Power and Wisdom by which all things were created, who was begotten of the Father before all Worlds, perfect God of perfect God, who exists in the Father Hypostatically.* This Confession of Faith has nothing that could render it suspected, but only the omission of the Word *Consubstantial*. These are the Three Confessions of Faith which were made in this Council.

As to what concerns the Discipline of the Church, these Bishops supposing that *St. Athanasius* had been fairly judg'd in the Council of *Tyre*, though they had no more to do but ordain a Bishop in his room. At first they call their Eyes upon *Eusebius of Edessa*, a Disciple of *Eusebius of Caesarea*, and of *Patriphilius of Scythopolis*: But this Prudent Man refusing it, lest he should be affronted by the People of *Alexandria* who loved *St. Athanasius*, they chose *Gregory*, and pray'd the Emperour to send him with a strong Force to *Alexandria* to take Possession of that Church.

Afterwards they made 25 Canons concerning the Discipline of the Church, whose Authority has been Disputed upon the account of those who made them. *St. Chrysostom* and Pope *Innocent* reject them as being compiled by *Arian*; yet they were inserted into the Code and the Universal Church, and cited in the Council of *Chalcedon*, where some Canons of this Council of *Antioch* are quoted; and since that time they have had a place in all the Collections of Ecclesiastical Canons. And indeed, they contain the Wisest, and the Justest Rules that ever were observed in the ancient Church; which has made some Authors believe, That part of them at least were made by another Synod; but their Conjectures will not hold, and it is evident, that the 4th. 12th. and 15th. were made by this Synod, since they are the same which *St. Chrysostom* and Pope *Innocent* reject, because they were made by *Arian*. This being evident, say I, 'tis very probable, that all the other Canons were made by the same Council, especially since in all the Collections, they are attributed to one Synod of *Antioch* only, which was held soon after the Council of *Nice*.

But we must carefully distinguish this Council of *Antioch*, of which we have just now spoken, that was held in the Year 341, from another Synod made up of a part of the same Bishops, who assembled in the beginning of the Year 342; for this last was held after *St. Athanasius* was acquitted, when the Bishops of the East sent back the Pope's Legates, after they had been detained till *January*, in the Year 342. 'Twas in the name of this Synod that they wrote a Letter to *Julius*, wherein they excuse themselves for not being able to come to the Synod of *Rome* which he had assembled, both upon the account of the War with the *Persians*, and because of the shortness of the time between the delivery of *Julius's* Letter to them, and the Day which he had signified to them for the meeting of the Synod. They took it ill that *Julius* had written to them all alone, and had address'd his Letter only to *Eusebius*; but above all they complained that he had taken into his Communion, *Athanasius* and *Marcellus*, who were condemn'd and deposted.

Probably 'twas in this last Synod that the Fourth Confession of Faith was compos'd which is produced by *St. Athanasius*. It comes very near to that of the Council of *Nice*, saving only that it omits the Word *Consubstantial*. They made it, as *St. Athanasius* observes, to send it into the West to the Emperour *Constantine*.

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The 1st. Canon of the Council of *Antioch* confirms the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, concerning the Celebration of *Easter*.

The 2d. condemns those who would never communicate, and who have an aversion to the receiving of the Eucharist, and forbids the holding Communion with those that are excommunicated, under the Penalty of being excommunicated themselves.

The 3d. forbids Clergymen to forsake their Churches to abide in others, and ordains that he who will not return being recall'd by his own Bishop, shall be deposted, and that the Bishop who detains him shall be punish'd by the Synod.

The 4th. ordains, That in case a Bishop being deposted by a Synod, and a Priest or a Deacon being deposted by his Bishop, shall dare to discharge the Functions of their Offices before they be restored, they can never hope to be restor'd in another Synod; That they shall not be permitted to defend themselves, and that all those shall be excommunicated who have communicated with them, and knew the Judgment that was given against them.

The 5th. is, That if a Priest or a Deacon despising his Bishop, separate from the Church, and make private Meetings, setting up a New Altar, and will not obey his Bishop, when he shall be admonish'd and call'd back again two or three times, he can no longer hope to continue in his Office, and if he continue to trouble the Church, the Aid of the Secular Arm may be implor'd to chastise this seditious Person.

The 6th. forbids the receiving of an excommunicated Person until he has been restored to Communion by his Bishop.

The 7th. ordains, That no Person shall be received into Communion, who has not Letters of Peace, i. e. Letters testifying that he is not separated from the Communion of the Church.

The 8th. declares, That these Letters cannot be given by the Priests who are in the Country Villages, or at least that they cannot address them but only to their neighbouring Bishops; but that the Suffragans may grant them.

The 9th. ordains, That the Bishops of the Province reverence their Metropolitan, and do nothing of consequence without him, but only take care of the Dioceses, to ordain Priests and Deacons, and to regulate the particular Affairs of their Church; but to do nothing more without the Metropolitan, who ought likewise to do no considerable thing without taking the Advice of the Bishops of the Province.

The 10th. regulates the Rights of Suffragans. It enjoins them not to exalt themselves above their Rank; to take care of the Churches, which are subject to them, without meddling with the Affairs of others. It permits them in their own Churches to ordain Readers, Sub-Deacons and Exorcists, but it forbids them to ordain Priests and Deacons, tho' they have even received Imposition of Episcopal Hands, that is, tho' they have been ordained Bishops. Lastly, it ordains, That the Suffragan should be ordained by the Bishop of the City.

The 11th. ordains, That in case a Bishop, or a Priest, or another Clergyman address to the Emperour without the Consent of the Bishops of the Province, and chiefly of the Metropolitan, he ought to be excommunicated and deposted; but if he has any Affairs which oblige him to wait upon the Emperour, he may do it with the Consent of the Metropolitan and the Bishops of the Province, which shall be express'd in the Letters which they give him.

The 12th. forbids Clergy-men who have been deposted by their Bishop to address themselves to the Emperour, to obtain Restitution; and takes from those who shall do it all hopes of being restored.

The 13th. forbids Bishops to pass from one Province to another to ordain there, unless they be called by the Metropolitan of the Province, and nulls every thing which shall be done by one Bishop of a Province.

The 14th. says, That in case the Bishops of one Province cannot agree about judging of a Bishop, the Metropolitan may call the Bishops of the neighbouring Province, to judge and decide this Controversy.

But it is ordained in the 15th. That if a Bishop is condemn'd unanimously by all the Bishops of the Province, he cannot be judg'd a-new, and that the Sentence of the Synod of the Province ought to remain firm.

The 16th. declares, That if a Bishop who has no Bishoprick; invade a vacant Church, without the Authority of a Synod, he ought to be driven away from it, tho' the People of the Church whereof he is Bishop should choose him. It adds, That a Synod cannot be complete and lawful without the presence of the Metropolitan.

The 17th. declares, That if any being ordained Bishop, refuse to accept of the Bishoprick, he is to continue excommunicated until such time as he accepts it, or that the Synod of the Province has otherwise determin'd about it. But if it be none of his Fault, that he does not go to his Church, but shall have the Honour and Place of a Bishop, upon condition that he do not any wise trouble the Church wherein he shall continue.

The 19th. forbids the Ordination of a Bishop without a Synod and without the presence of the Metropolitan. It adds, That 'tis convenient that all the Bishops of the Province should be present at this Synod with him; but if this cannot be done, yet they must be summon'd to it, and several of them must give their Suffrages, either in the Synod, or by Letters: That if the Ordination be made otherwise, it shall not be good; but if some particular Persons out of a Spirit of Contradiction contest it after it is thus made, the Suffrages of the major Part should carry it.

The 20th. ordains, That every Year two Synods shall be held in a Province; viz. the First, the

The Councils. Third Week after Easter, and the second of the months of May, June, and in short, all those who pretend that their Bishop has done them any injury, may have recourse to the Synod. It forbids also to leave these Synods without the Metropolitan's

The 22d. forbids a Bishop to meddle within the Diocess of another, and to make any Ordination there.

The 24th. provides for the preservation of the Church-Lands: It gives the management of them to the Bishops; but it ordains, that the Priests shall take cognizance of the Lands of the Church, left after the Death of the Bishop, his Heirs seize upon them.

That he shall regulate the use to which the Bishop should apply the Revenue of the Church: Is ordained. That he shall dispose of them, for the good of the Poor and of Strangers; and that he shall be content with necessities, according to the command of the Apostle *St. Paul*; That he shall not keep the remainder to himself; That he shall not give it to his Brethren or to his Children, but that he shall distribute it according to the Advice of the Priests and Deacons; That if he does not do it, he shall be accountable to the Synod of the Province; And Lastly, That if the Priests and the Bishop be accused of conspiring together, to appropriate to themselves the Ecclesiastical Revenues, the Synod shall examine this Accusation, and shall punish them if it be found true.

Of the COUNCIL of Antioch.

OF *Amisich*,
345. THE *Enghians* assembled also at *Amisich* about the end of the Year 345, or the beginning of the next Year, and there made a large Confession of Faith, which they sent into the West, by *Eudoxus*, *Martyrin*, and *Macedonius*. 'Tis quoted as well as the others by St. *Ambrosius*. There they make profession of believing in Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, begotten of his Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light; and they condemn those that say, That he is not God, or that he was made of nothing, and those that say, There are Three Gods, and those that confound the Divine Persons. This Confession is Catholic, tho' the Term *Consubstantial* is not found in it.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Milan.

THE Bishops of the West being assembled at this Council to find out some means of determining the Differences of the Bishops which troubled the Peace of the Church, the Deputies of the Eastern Bishops came thither, and proposed that large Confession of Faith last mentioned to them: The Western Bishops for their part declar'd, That the *Nicene Creed* must be approved, and *Arius* condemn'd. This Proposition provoked the Deputies of the Bishops of the East who retired in great anger. *Orsacius* and *Valens* were received into Communion in this Council, after they had presented *Athenasius*, wherein they condemn the Heresies of *Arius*: and *Pelagius*. The Error of the latter was also condemn'd in this Synod. This Council was held in the Year 346. For, First, It was assembled when the Deputies of the Council of *Antioch* came into the West, and brought with them their long Confession of Faith; and *St. Athanasius* says, That they did this Three Years after the First Deputation which they made about the end of the Year 342. Secondly, *Liborius* says in his Letter to *Constantinus* compos'd in the Year 354. That it was then Eight Years since the Legates who came from the East, withdrew from the Council of *Adrian* in great discontent. Lastly, *St. Athanasius* says, that *Constantinus* commanded him to appear at *Milan*, in the Fourth Year of his Abode in the West; and he came in 341, and therefore this Synod was held about the end of the Year 345, or the beginning of the Year 346.

Of the COUNCIL of Cologne against Euphratas.

Of Cologne, against *Epiphanius*, 346.

There is commonly plac'd in the Year 346, a Synod which is thought to have been held at Cologne, and wherein 'tis said that *Epiphanius* Bishop of this City was depofed for denying the Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt. The Acts of this Council are extant in the Second Tome of the Councils p. 614. But I find there is great probability that theſe Acts were forg'd, and that this Hiſtory is falſe: For this *Epiphanius* who is ſaid to have been depoſ'd in this Synod in the Year 346, i. e. in the next Year after the Conſulſhip of *Anatolius* and *Albinius*, was preſent the Year after at the Council of *Sardica* as a Catholick Biſhop, and was alſo one of the Deputies where the Council ſent into the Eaſt, as appears by the Testimonies of St. *Atanasius* and *Theodoret*. Is it poſſible that a Biſhop, who was a little before convicted of denying the Divinity of the Son, and then depoſ'd, ſhould be preſent at the Council of *Sardica* among the Catholick Biſhops, and ſhould be choſen for a Deputy by the whole Council? Some ſay, that this Council was held ſome ſpace of *Sardica*; but this Hypotheſis which is contrary to the Date of the Acts, may alſo be eaſily deſtroy'd: For *Maximinus* of *Trier* who is thought to have preſided at this Council, as the Acts reſtify, died long before the Council of *Sardica*; ſince it is certain by the Testimony of St. *Atanasius*, in his Epistle to thoſe that lead a Monack Liſe, That *Paulinus*, the Succeſſor of *Maximinus*, was Biſhop of *Trier* when *Cyrillus* and *Valens* were ſtruck, i. e. in the Year 340. But from the Year 347 to 349, *Epiphanius* was always out of France, and conſequently it is impoſſible that he ſhould be Depoſed by *Maximinus* of *Trier*.

There is alſo another Argument which proves the Acts of the Council of Cologne to be forg'd. *Servatus* Biſhop of *Tonger*, ſays, that he reprov'd *Epiphanius* in the preſence of St. *Atanasius*. Now

this ~~synod~~ ^{synod} could not have seen St. Athanasius, but upon Two Occasions. First, when this Saint was at *Triers*; and Secondly, when *Severatus* was sent into the East by *Magnentius*: But he could not reprove *Barbaras* in the presence of St. Athanasius neither when this Father was at *Triers*, since *Euphrasius* could not be accus'd of this Error before the Council of *Sardica*, nor when he was sent Deputy into the East; for then *Maximianus* of *Triers*, who is said to have presided at the Council of *Cologne*, was dead, as we have just now shewn.

The Subscriptions of these Acts do also plainly discover their Forgery: For there you may read the Names of *Deliderius* of *Langer*, and of *Simplicianus* of *Aulun*, who liv'd in the Fifth Age of the Church; there is also the Name of *Discalus* Bishop of *Rheims*, who is not to be found in the Catalogue of the Bishops of that Church. Lastly, *Severinus* who is said to have been Ordin'd in the Cathedral of *Ephesates*, was still alive in the Year 400, according to the Testimony of *Sulpicius Severinus*: The true Names of *Deliderius* and *Discalus* are amongst the Names of the Bishops of *France*, these Acts, took from thence these Names; but it is probable that he that forged them, added to be, these Acts were unknown to all the ancient Historians, who make no mention of this History, nor of the Council of *Cologne*. The First who cited them is the Author of the Acts of *Servatus* of *Tongres*, which the Learned now own to be supposititious. After him *Servatus Lupus* mentions them in the Life of *Maximinius*; *Hogerius* Abbot of *Lobbes*, and some Modern Authors mention them; but their Authority is of little weight in so ancient a Matter as this.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Sardica.

THE Emperours *Constantinus* and *Constantinus* desiring to restore Peace to the Church, call'd a Synod of the Eastern and Western Bishops at *Sardica* in the Year 347¹. Thither came 100 Bishops from the West, and 73 Bishops from the East². But those of the East having declared to those of the West, that they would not be present at the Council, unless *St. Athanasius*, *Marcellus* and the other Bishops that were condemned, were excluded from Ecclesiastical Communion, and the Western Bishops refusing to accept of this Condition, the Council was divided and the Eastern Bishops withdrew. Those of the West, of whom *Hosius* was the Head and President³, did notwithstanding hold a Synod in their absence, to treat of the Faith, and of the Accusations charg'd upon *St. Athanasius* and the other Catholic Bishops, and to make Canons concerning the Discipline of the Church. In Matters of Faith, they all Agreed that they must not make any new Creed, but must hold to that of the Council of *Nice*: Yet some particular Persons would have made a new Creed, in imitation of the Bishops of the East, but all the Council disapproved their Design. The Creed then drawn up is preserv'd by *Theodore* Ch. 8. of the 2d. B. of his History. Afterwards the Council took into their consideration the personal Accusations against *St. Athanasius* and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*. The First justified himself and was acquitted; the Second having alleged that *Eusebius* and his Adversaries was rector'd; *Theodorus* of *Heraclea*, *Natarius* of *Neronius*, *Stephen* of *Amicoe*, *George* of *Ladicea*, *Memphianus* of *Ephesus*, *Ursacius* of *Singidunum*, *Valens* of *Mursa*, and *Parophrius* of *Synopolis*, were excommunicated and Depos'd.

Lastly, the Council produced Twenty Canons and wrote Three Letters. The First which was addressed to all the Bishops, is to the Church of Alexandria by St. Athanasius, and by St. Hilary in his Fragments; the Second is to Julius which is in St. Hilary in the same place, and the Third produced by St. Athanasius. There was also a long Letter to the Emperours, which was in St. Hilary's Book, but is not now in his Fragments, nor any where else.

On the other side the Eastern Bishops who withdrew from *Sardica*, assembled at *Philippopolis*, and wrote a Letter from thence, which they dated from *Sardica*, addressed to all the Bishops of the World. There they cry out upon St. *Athanafius*, *Marcellus* of *Ancyra* and *Arslepas*, and make them

^a The Emperor Constantius and Confians called a Council at Sardica in the Year 347. See *Socrates* II. c. 20. and *Sozomen* B. III. Ch. 11. testify that it was called in this Year. *St. Athanasius* confirms this Epoch, because he says, that it was held a Year after the Council of *Nicean*. It appears by the express Testimony of *St. Athanasius* and *St. Basil* that the Council of *Nicean* was held in the Year 325. *St. Basil* indeed says, that the Letter of this Council of *Sardica* containing his Abolution was signed by 300 Bishops, but this is to be understood not only of those who were present at the Council, but also of those who subscribed after the Council was over, to its Synodical Letter.

monies of *St. Athanasius*, that this Council¹ was called by the Emperours. *Hefius* says the same thing in his Letter to the Emperour, and the Historians, *Scorates*, *Optatus*, *Theodoret* and *Sulpitius Severus* follow this Opinion. *Baronius* says, the Bishopp^o of the East complain'd that *Julian* had allowed too little time for coming to the Synod; but he compares what they say about the Council of *Rome*, with what concerns the Council of *Sardica*.

^b *Thither came 100 Bishops from the West, and 73 from the East.*] *St. Athanasius* in his Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life, says, that this Council consisted of 170 Bishops or thereabouts. Now it appears by the Subscriptions of the Letter of the Bishops of the East, that these Bishops from the East were 72. *St. Athanasius* says, that the Council was held in the year 325.

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pais for wicked Rogues. They declare; That they do not join with the Bishops of the West, because they had receiv'd into their Communion those Bishops who were deposed in the East, and upon the account of this pretended violation of their Authority they excommunicate; *Hofius*, *Prologus*, *Gaudentius*, *Maximinus* and *Julius*. They complain that the whole World was turn'd upside down, and the whole Church disturbed for the sake of One or Two wicked Fellows. They accuse the Bishops of the West of Arrogance, and reprove them for endeavouring to establish a new Law, to give themselves the liberty of examining a new what had been determined in the East. They observe that the ancient Discipline of the Church is contrary to this Practice, and that the Judgments given in the East ought to be confirm'd in the West; as those of the West were received in the East. They prove this Rule by several Examples. Lastly, they add to this Letter a Confession of Faith, wherein they make profession of Believing in the Son of God begotten of the Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light, who Created all things; and they condemn those who say, That the Son was made of nothing, or that he is of another Substance than the Divine Substance, and that he is not of God, or that there was a time when he was not the Son of God; as also they anathematize those who say, That there are Three Gods, or that Jesus Christ is not God, or that there is not one Christ only the Son of God, or that he is the same Person with the Father or the Holy Spirit: This Letter which is preserved in the Fragments of St. Hilary is address'd to *Gregory of Alexandria*, to *Amphion of Nicomedia*, and to several other Bishops, and among the rest to *Donatus of Carthage*. For which Reason the *Donatists* urge it in the Conference of *Carthage*, and the Catholic Bishops being ignorant of this History, say, that the Council of *Sardica* was made up of *Arian* Bishops. Some say, That *Paul of Constantinople* was restor'd in the Council of *Sardica*, others who follow *Epiphanius*, say, That *Photinus* was condemned there. They are both mistaken; for *Paul* was dead, and *Photinus* was not condemned in this Synod.

I have only now to give an Abridgment of the subject Matter of the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*. These Canons were not compos'd as those of other Councils in the form of Laws; but they are propositions made by *Hofius* and some other Bishops, which are approved by all the Synod.

In the 1st. *Hofius* says, That they ought wholly to abolish a wicked Custom and pernicious Abuse, by hindring Bishops to pais from one See to another. And having declared that Avarice and Ambition are the only causes of these Translations, because there is no Example of a Bishop who ever quitted a great Bishoprick to take a little one. He proposes for a severe Punishment of this Fault, that those who are guilty of it shall be excluded from Lay-Communion. And all the Fathers of the Council answer'd, We agree to it.

In the 2^d Canon. *Hofius* adds, That the same Sentence ought to be pronounced against those who excuse themselves, because they were defired by the Faithful of their second Church; and the Synod ordains that it shall be so.

The three following Canons concern Ecclesiastical Decisions. It had been ordain'd in the Council of *Antioch*, That the Decision of the Council of the Province could not be invalidated, and that if the Bishops of the Province could not agree, they should call in those of the neighbouring Bishops.

The Council of *Sardica* falls upon these Two Decisions: For in the Third Canon *Hofius* proposes, First, That it should be forbidden to appeal to Judges of a neighbouring Province; and Secondly, he says, That for the Honour of the Memory of St. Peter, he judg'd it convenient, with the leave of the Council, to Ordain, That if a Bishop condemn'd in his own Country thought himself innocent, those who had judg'd him should write of it to the Bishop of *Rome*, to enquire whether the Cause of the Bishop accus'd should be examin'd a new: That if he, and the Judges whom he should name were of this Opinion, they must proceed to a new Decision upon the place; but if he did not think fit that the Cause should be examin'd a new, then the Sentence already pass'd must stand good.

Gaudentius adds in the Fourth Canon, That a Bishop depost by the Synod of the Province, who desires this new Decision, must not be expell'd his See, till the Bishop of *Rome* has determin'd, whether the Cause ought to be examin'd a new.

Lastly, in the 5th. Canon, according to the Greek, and the 7th. according to the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, *Hofius* says, That when the Bishop of *Rome* thinks fit that the Cause of a Bishop should be examin'd a second time, he ought to write to the Bishops next adjoining to his Province, That they examine the whole Matter with Care and Exactness; That he must also be empowered to send Legates in his own Name to this New Synod, unless he think it more convenient to leave the judging of the Cause to the neighbouring Bishops of the Province only, without sending thither his Legates. The Bishops of the Council approve these Propositions of *Hofius* and *Gaudentius*. These three Canons have occasioned great Disputes, which would quickly vanish, if Men would confine themselves to the Words of the Council of *Sardica*, which sufficiently discover; First, That the Discipline which these Fathers establish is New; Secondly, That they do not give the Bishop of *Rome* power to judge the Cause of a Bishop in his own Tribunal at *Rome*; but they only give him Authority to enquire whether it were well or ill determin'd; and in case he find that it was determin'd wrong to Order a New Decision of it in the Country, and by the neighbouring Bishops of the Province where it was determin'd, whether he might send Legates in his own Name to be present, if he thought it convenient. This is the Natural Sense of the three Canons of this Council, which I have explain'd more at large in my Second Dissertation of the Discipline of the Church.

The 5th. Canon according to the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus* declares, That if there remains but one Bishop in a Province, and he will not ordain other Bishops, the Bishops ought to come to him and joyn with him in ordaining; but if he persist in his unwillingness and will not meet them

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them for ordaining Bishops, the neighbouring Bishops alone may then ordain them without his Consent. This is the Proposition of *Hofius*, to which the Council agreed.

The 6th. is, That a Bishop ought not to be ordained in a Borough or little City, where a Priest is sufficient, left the Dignity of a Bishop be lessened.

The following Canons are about the Journeys of Bishops to Court. *Hofius* for hindering them to go thither continually, and importune the Emperor by their frequent Petitions; thought fit to ordain.

First, That none of the Bishops shall go to Court, unless he be required by the Emperor's Letters. Secondly, That those who shall have Requests or Petitions to make for the Poor of their Churches, shall only send thither a Deacon.

Thirdly, That this Deacon, before he goes to Court shall address himself to his Metropolitan, to whom he shall make known the occasion of his Petitions, and of whom he shall obtain Letters of Request and Recommendation.

Fourthly, That those who shall go to *Rome*, shall address themselves to the Bishop of that City, who having examined their Petitions, shall write of them to Court if he finds them just.

Fifthly, *Gaudentius* adds, That for putting these Rules in Execution, the Bishops which lie upon the Road, shall ask the Bishops whom they shall fee going to Court, and if they find that they have not observed the Canons above-mentioned, they shall not receive them into their Communion. But because these Rules were New, *Hofius* moderates this Penalty, and says, That they must first make them known to these Bishops, and persuade them to send a Deacon to Court from the place where they shall be, and then return to their own Dioceses. These Propositions are approved by the Council, and contained in the Canons 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

In the 13th. *Hofius* says, That he thought it necessary to ordain, That Bishops shall only be given to those who have discharged the Offices of Reader and Deacon, or Priest, for a considerable time. The Bishops of the Council approve this Proposition.

In the 14th. *Hofius* says, That it ought to be ordain'd, that a Bishop should not continue longer than three Weeks, in the Dioceses of another, and out of his own. All the Bishops are of this Opinion: But *Hofius* moderates this Law in the following Canon, in favour of those who have an Estate out of their Dioceses, and who are obliged to continue there more than three Weeks for their Affairs, but he would have them forbidden after this time is spent, to go to the great Church of the City, and orders them to be present only at the Officiating of a Priest.

In the 16th. *Hofius* proposes the renewing of that Law, which forbids a Bishop to give the Communion to him who is excommunicated by his own Bishop: And the Bishops of the Council say, That this Rule will preserve Peace and Concord.

The 17th. allows Priests and Deacons who are condemn'd by their own Bishop to appeal to the Judgment of the Bishops of the Province.

In the 18th. the Bishop *Januarius* desires that a Bishop may be forbidden to sollicite the Clergy of another Bishop, that he may ordain them in his own Dioceses. The Council answers, That these Contentions occasion Discord among Bishops, and is of Opinion, that it ought not to be done.

Hofius adds in the 19th. Canon, That the Ordination of a Clergy-man of another Diocese ought to be void, and that the Bishop who shall do it, ought to be punished.

In the 20th. the Bishop *Actius* having remonstrated that many Priests and Deacons, Strangers, continued a long time at *Thessalonica*, the Synod ordains, That the Rules made with respect to Bishops may oblige these Persons.

The 21st. Canon according to the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus* which we have followed, declares, That according to the Remonstrance of the Bishop *Olympus*, the Council is of Opinion, that a Bishop forc'd away from his own Dioceses for the Defence of the Discipline of the Church, or of the Faith and Truth, may continue in the Bishoprick of another, till he can return to his own, for it would be great Inhumanity not to receive him who is persecuted, and that on the contrary, much Civility and Kindness ought to be shewn to him.

There are in the Greek two other Canons which concern a particular Business. The Bishop *Gaudentius* says to the Bishop *Actius*, That since he had had no trouble in his Dioceses from the time that he was Bishop of it, he thought that he ought to receive those who were ordained by *Musani* and *Eutychianus*. *Hofius* judg'd that he ought not to admit those who being ordained would not continue in the Churches to which they are nam'd. He adds, That *Eutychianus* and *Musani* ought not to be look'd upon as Bishops, but if they desir'd Lay-Communion, it should not be refus'd to them.

These Canons end with these Words in the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*, The whole Council hath said; The Catholic Church spread over all the Earth, shall observe what has been now ordain'd. However, the Canons of the Council of *Sardica* were never received by the Catholic Church, as general Laws. They were never put into the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church, approv'd by the Council of *Chalcedon*. The East never received them, neither would the Bishops of *Africa* own them. The Popes only used them, and cited them under the Name of the Council of *Nice*, to give them the greater Weight and Authority.

Of the First COUNCIL of Sirmium.

THE First Council of *Sirmium* was made up of Western Bishops; it was held in the Year 349, Of the Two Years after that of *Adrian*. *Photinus* who had been already excommunicated, was there First of condemn'd, but he could not be forced away from his See, and therefore the Western Bishops only *Sirmium* gave 349.

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gave notice to the Eastern of the Judgment they had given against this Heretick. This is related in the Fragments of St. Hilary.

Of the Second COUNCIL of Sirmium.

Of the Second Council of Sirmium, 351.

THE Second Council of Sirmium was made up of Eastern Bishops assembled by the Emperor Constantius in the Year 351. *Basil of Ancyra* entered the Lists there against *Photinus*, and convicted him of Heresy. He was afterwards Deposed by the Bishops, and sent into banishment by the Authority of the Emperor. In this Council was made the First Creed of Sirmium wherein the Bishops make profession of believing in Jesus Christ the only Son of God, born of his Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light, by whom all Things were made. There they anathematize those that said; *He was created of nothing, or of another Substance; or that he was not of God, or that he was made in Time; Those that said there are Two Gods; or those who on the contrary aver'd, That the Father, or at least one part of him, was born of Mary, and also those who made no distinction of the Three Divine Persons; or who said, That the Divinity was changed into Flesh, and that it was subject to Sufferings and Changes.* This is the Sum of that long Creed quoted in Greek by St. Athanasius, and in Latin by St. Hilary, who has considered and explained it as a very Orthodox Confession of Faith.

Of the COUNCIL of Arles.

Of Arles, 353.

Constantius had a long time desired to get *Athanasius* condemned by the Western Bishops. To compass this Design, he assembled a Synod in the Year 353, in the City of Arles. The Pope sent for Legates *Vincentius of Capua*, and another Bishop of *Campania* called *Marcellus*; and ordered them to desire the Meeting of a Council in the City of *Aquileia*. These Legates being arrived at the Council of Arles, desired that they would begin with handling the Doctrine, and with condemning the Error of *Arian*, before they spoke of the Cause of St. *Athanasius*: But *Ursacius* and *Valens* who had no other Design but to procure the Condemnation of St. *Athanasius*, would not admit this Proposition; and forc'd the Bishops of the Council, and even the Pope's Legates to subscribe the condemnation of this Saint. There was none but only *Paulinus* Bishop of *Trier*; that continued steadfast, and for this Reason he was banished immediately.

Of the COUNCIL of Milan.

Of Milan, 355.

Liberius being informed of the Fall of his Legates, sendeth *Lucifer* Bishop of *Calaris*, to wait upon the Emperor, and desire of him a new Synod. The Emperor granted him one, and caus'd it to meet at Milan in the Year 355: But it did not answer the Pope's Expectation. The Emperor caus'd the Bishops of the East and the West to be Summoned to it; but yet it was compos'd only of the Western Bishops. There came almost 300 to it. Thither they brought *Eusebius of Vercelles*, and *Lucifer of Calaris*, who was the Pope's Legate, together with *Pancratius* the Priest, and *Hilary* the Deacon. These were invited to the Synod, and were urg'd to subscribe the Condemnation of St. *Athanasius*: They answer'd, That they must first handle Matters of Faith; That they saw in the Assembly some Hereticks, or such as were suspected of Heresy; That in the First place they must make profession of the Faith contain'd in the Nicene Creed. *Dionysius of Milan* took Pen and Paper, to write down and sign the Creed: But presently *Ursacius* and *Valens* took them by force out of his hands. Thereupon there arose a great Tumult, the People were put in a Commotion, and the Bishops withdrew to the Palace, where they were press'd to sign a Letter written in the Emperor's Name against St. *Athanasius*. There were but few Bishops who could resist the Emperor's Solicitations, and those who were so steadfast as to do it, viz. *Eusebius of Vercelles*, *Dionysius of Milan*, and some others, were sent into banishment. *Balsazin* in his new Collection of Councils, has caus'd the New Acts of this Council to be printed, taken out of the Life of *Eusebius of Vercelles*, published by *Ughellus* in the First Tome of his *Italia Sacra*; but there is no probability that they are Authentical.

Of the COUNCIL of Biterre, or Beziers.

Of Biterre, or Beziers, 356.

THE French Church had not yet been toss'd with the Storms which troubled the Peace of all the Churches in the World. *Saturnius* Bishop of Arles a factious Man, was the First who brought thither the fire of Division. He assembled in the Year 356, a Council at Beziers, and us'd all his Endeavours to make it receive the followers of *Arian*; but St. Hilary oppos'd him stoutly, and having desired them to treat of Doctrinal Matters offer'd to convict *Ursacius*, *Valens* and *Saturnius* of Heresy. Instead of hearkning to him they wrote to Court against him, and he was sent into banishment together with *Rhodanus* Bishop of *Tholouse*. After he was forced away, the Bishops of this Council being devoted to the Interests of *Saturnius*, did whatever he desired; but the other Bishops of France would never communicate with him, nor with *Ursacius* and *Valens*, and would not suffer other Bishops to be Ordin'd in the room of those that were banish'd.

of the Fourth Century of Christianity.

Of the Third COUNCIL of Sirmium.

THE Second Creed of Sirmium was made in that City in the Year 357, by *Potamius* Bishop of *Lisbon* a City of Spain, in the Presence of *Valens*, *Ursacius*, *Germanus*, and some other Bishops. This Creed is *Arian*. In it they reject the Word *Consubstantial*, and they declare, That the Father is greater than the Son, and that the Son had a beginning.

Of the COUNCIL of Antioch.

THE Eastern *Arians* seeing that those of the West had plainly made Profession of their Error, did also publicly declare themselves in a Council assembled at Antioch in the Year 357. *Endoxius* Bishop of that City, a Patron of *Arian*, *Acanus* Bishop of *Cesarea* in Palestine, *Uranus* Bishop of *Tyre*, and some others; did there condemn the Words *Consubstantial*, and like in Substance, and wrote to *Ursacius*, *Valens* and *Germanus*, to thank them, because by their means the Bishops of the West had embraced their Doctrine.

Of the COUNCIL of Ancyra.

THE greatest part of the Eastern Bishops oppos'd this Design of *Endoxius*, and could not endure that he should make so publick a Profession of the Impious Doctrine of *Arian*. *George* Bishop of *Laodicea* wrote a Circular Letter upon this Subject, wherein he exhorted his Brethren to join together for defending the Faith of the Church. *Basil of Ancyra* presented this Letter to many Bishops who were assembled in his City for Dedicating his Church, about the Feast of *Easter* in the Year 358. These Bishops wrote a Synodical Epistle related by St. *Epiphanius*, wherein they first confirm'd the Creeds of the Eastern Bishops made at Antioch, at Sardica, and at Sirmium, and then condemn'd the Heresy of *Arian*, and profess'd to believe the Son of God to be like his Father. There follow after their Creed 18 Anathematisms, wherein they condemn these following Impious Dogmes, viz. That the Son of God is not like to his Father, That he is unlike in Substance, That he is a Creature, That he is another God than God the Father, &c. At the end of these Anathematisms there is one against those who say, That the Father and the Son are Consubstantial. St. Hilary who explains the others, makes no mention of this last, because the Deputies of this Synod durst not bring it to Sirmium.

Of the Fourth COUNCIL of Sirmium.

SOON after the Council of Ancyra, there was a Council held at Sirmium, wherein the Bishops of the of Italy and the West were present. Therein was made a Collection of the Creeds of Antioch, Fourth of the First of Sirmium, of that of Sardica, and of that of Ancyra, which *Eusebius* Bishop of *Se-Sirmium*, *bastes*, and *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cyzicum*, presented to be sign'd by all the Bishops, who made no Scruple to do it.

Of the Fifth COUNCIL of Sirmium.

Constantius having appointed Two great Synods, one in the East at *Seleucia*, and the other in the West at *Ariminum*, some Eastern Bishops before they went to *Seleucia*, met together at *Sirmium*, where they made a new Confession of Faith, which was dictated by *Marcus of Arrethusa*, a long Conference with the other Bishops, and was sign'd by those that were present. Therein they make Profession of believing the Son of God to be in all things like to his Father; but they reject the name of Substance, as a Term that ought not to be us'd in speaking of the Trinity, because it is not found in Scripture, and is not intelligible by the People. Nevertheless *Basil of Ancyra* added in his Subscription, That the Son of God was in all things like to his Father, not only by the consent of Will, but also in Substance and Essence. This Creed has the Names of the Consuls at the beginning, which displeased many.

Of the COUNCIL of Ariminum.

WHILE these things were a-doing in the East, the Western Bishops assembled from all Parts of *Ariminum*. The Emperor had sent his Letters Mandatory for them, and provided for them publick Carriage, and Money for performing their Journey; but the Bishops of France and Britain thought it below them to accept of these Offers, and chose rather to travel at their own Expence. There came about 400 to the Synod, which began about the Month of July in the Year 359. *Ursacius* and *Valens* propos'd there the Creed which was made a little before at Sirmium; but the Council confin'd themselves to that of Nice, and would not receive any other. This is declared by a solemn Decree which was sign'd by all the Bishops, and to it they subjoin'd Anathematisms against the Error of *Arian*, which are related at the end of St. Hilary's Fragments. *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germanus* and *Demophilus* refusing to acquiesce in this Definition, were condemn'd by the unanimous consent of all the Bishops. Matters being thus determin'd in the Council to the advantage of the Faith of the Church, the Bishops sent Deputies to Constantius with a Letter, wherein they give him an account of what

what they had done: But on the other side *Oracius, Valens* and their followers, sent also Deputies to the Emperor, and having much greater Interest in the Emperor, they persequit him, and hindered him from giving audience to the Deputies of the Synod. And he did nothing but write back to them, that he had not time to hear the Twenty Deputies which the Synod had sent to him, because he was obliged to go against the *Perfians*; and that he had given them Order to wait till his Return to *Adrianople*, because he would examine Matters of Religion with a Mind calm and disengaged from all other Business. The Council answer'd him, That they would never depart from what they had done, and they earnestly prayed him to permit the Bishops to return to their Churches before the rigour of the Winter. In the mean time, the Deputies of the Council assembled at *Nice*, a City of *Thrace*, and declared all that was done at *Ariminum*, null and void. *Oracius, Valens*, and *Germanius*, approved a Confession perfectly like that of *Sirmium*, wherein they declare, That the Son of God is like his Father in all things, and reject the Terms of *Substance* and *Hypostasis*. *Oracius* and *Valens* recited this Confession of Faith at *Ariminum*, and the Emperor sent his Commands to the Governor, that he should not suffer any Bishop to go away till he had sign'd it, and gave Order to lend those into banishment who should continue Obsolete, provided they were no more than Fifteen. At first they all testified much Constancy, but by little and little they suffer'd themselves to be overcome through Emulation, and the greatest part of them sign'd the Confession of Faith: There were but Twenty that held out to the last, but in the end they were overcome also, and sign'd as well as the others. Nevertheless some of them, as *Phagadius* Bishop of *Tongres*, added Professions of Faith to their Subscriptions, wherein they expressly condemn the Heresy of *Arius*. When all the Bishops had sign'd the Confession of Faith, they wrote to the Emperor, that they had fully satisfied his Commands, by agreeing with those of the East, and rejecting the Word, *Substance*; and therefore they prayed him earnestly to give Order to the Governor to suffer them to go to their Churches. The Emperor gave them leave: And thus ended this Council, whose beginning was Glorious, and end Deploable.

Of the COUNCIL of Seleucia.

Of Seleucia, 359.

While these things were doing in the West, the Eastern Bishops assembled at *Seleucia*, and there rais'd Disputes which they maintained with extrem Heat. There came to this Synod 160 Bishops of two different Parties altogether opposite to one another. One of them were pure *Arians* who maintained, That the Son of God was not at all like in Substance to his Father. There were about 40 of this Party. The others call'd *Semi-Arians*, made profession of believing the Son of God to be like in Substance, and rejected the Errors of *Arius* and *Atius*; those of this Party were 105. The other Bishops were probably Catholics, Defenders of the Consubstantiality. There was an Officer from the Emperor's Court, call'd *Leonas*, present at the Council for hindering any Tumult. The first Assembly was held on the 23d. of September in the Year 359. *Leonas* required the Bishops to propose what they were to treat of. The *Semi-Arians*, whereof the chief were *George of Laodicea*, *Elenus* of *Cyzicum*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeopolis*, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, *Macedonius* of *Constantinople*, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, and *St. Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, maintain'd, That Personal Causes should be first examin'd before they handled Matters of Faith. On the contrary, the *Arians*, whereof the Heads were *Aetius* of *Caesarea*, *George* of *Alexandria*, *Oraninus* of *Tyre*, *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, maintain'd, That they should first begin with Matters of Faith; and they carried it against the others. They propos'd that the *Nicene* Creed should be rejected, and a New one should be made. But the Bishops of the other Party said, That they received the Council of *Nice*, and found nothing to be blam'd in it, but only the Word *Consubstantial*. Hereupon there arose a great Dispute which lasted till Night. To put an end to it, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus* said with a loud Voice, That it was needful to make a New Creed, that they had nothing to do, but Sign that which was made at *Antioch*, by the Synod held there for the Dedication of the Church. The *Acacians* seeing that this Proposition was approv'd, withdrew, and the next Day the other Bishops being shut up in the Church, caus'd the Creed of *Antioch* to be Sign'd by all the Bishops. On the Third Day, *Leonas* re-assembled the Bishops of both Parties. The *Acacians* desired that the Bishops who were divided from them and depos'd, should withdraw; they complain'd that they were not suffer'd to speak freely in the first Assembly; and they propos'd a Confession of Faith wherein they declare, That they did not refuse to approve the Creed made at *Antioch*, but that they were obliged to reject more expressly the Terms, *Consubstantial* and *like in Substance*, which troubled the Church; That they did also condemn those who said that the Son of God was not like the Father, and that they made Profession of believing with the Apostle that he was the Image and Resemblance of the Father. They add, That the Creed of *Sirmium* was perfectly like theirs. This Confession of Faith is related by *St. Epiphanius* with the Subscriptions of 39 Bishops of this Party. *St. Hilary* observes, That the greatest Part of those who Sign'd it being *Ammaeans*, were forc'd to explain the Profession which they then made, by saying, That the Son was like his Father as he was his Father, but he was not like him as he was God. The Fourth Meeting was spent in Disputes which came to no end. Wherefore *Leonas* seeing that there was no means left to reconcile them, declared that he would put an end to the Council, and that he would not be present the next Day at the Assembly of the Bishops. The *Acacians* took occasion from thence to appear no more. The other Bishops, after a Citation of them, depos'd *Acacius*, *George* of *Alexandria*, *Oraninus* of *Tyre*, and Six other Bishops of their Party, and excommunicated Nine of them. They restor'd *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and ordain'd one named *Anianus* Bishop of *Antioch*, in the room of *Eudoxius*; but this *Anianus* was immediately sent into banishment.

The

The Success of what was done both by the one and the other Party in this Council, depended upon the Will of the Emperor; the business was, who should first engage him. The Deputies of the *Acacians* came first to *Constantinople*; and they were quickly followed thither by those of the *Semi-Arians*, whereof the chief were *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, and *Elenus* of *Cyzicum*; they were assisted by *St. Basil* who was as yet but a Deacon. The Emperor would have the Cause of the Faith discuss'd in his own presence. 'Tis said that *Atius* entered upon a Conference with *Basil* of *Ancyra*, and was convicted of Heresy. However this be, *Theodoret* says, that *Eustathius* of *Sebastea* presented to the Emperor a Confession of Faith, wherein it was said that the Son of God was not like his Father, and accus'd *Eudoxius* of maintaining it; that the Emperor having given it to this Bishop he denied it, and said that it was *Atius's*, and that *Atius*, having acknowledged it for his, was driven out of the Palace. While these things are doing, the *Nicene* Creed, which was Sign'd at *Ariminum*, was [That made in *Nice* brought to *Constantinople*, and the Emperor having propos'd it, it was a City of *Thrace*.] Sign'd by all the Bishops of both Parties.

Of the COUNCIL of Constantinople.

THE *Acacians* having stay'd at *Constantinople*, assembled there a Council of 50 Bishops, in the beginning of the Year 360. Thither they invited the Bishops of *Bithynia* who were of their Party, and they approv'd and publish'd in this Synod the Creed of the Council of *Ariminum*, changing only a few things in it. Afterwards they condemn'd *Atius*, and excommunicated three Bishops who would not Consent to his Condemnation. But as they condemn'd this Heretic only out of Policy, that they might obtain the favour of the Emperor who could endure him no longer; so they revenged themselves afterwards upon all the Bishops which oppos'd them in the Synod of *Seleucia*, and depos'd the Heads of the *Semi-Arians* Party, who were *Macedonius* of *Constantinople*, *Basil* of *Ancyra*, *Elenus* of *Cyzicum*, *Eustathius* of *Sebastea*, *Heortasius* of *Sardis*, and *Dracontius* of *Pergamus*. In the second Session, they added to these *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeopolis*, *Elpidius* of *Satala*, and *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*. They alledg'd many Pretences for deposing of them, *Eudoxius* possess'd himself of the See of *Constantinople*.

Of the SYNOD of Melitine.

There is mention made in the Council of *Constantinople*, whereof we have just now spoken, of a Synod held at *Melitine* about the Year 357. This Synod was compos'd of Bishops of *Acacian's* Party, since they alledge his Authority in the Council of *Constantinople*, and condemn *Elpidius* sine. having received a Priest who had been depos'd in this Synod. *St. Basil* in Letter 74 testifies, That *Eustathius* of *Sebastea* was depos'd in this Council. *St. Cyril* was present there, if we may believe the Bishops of the Council of *Constantinople*. This is all that we could learn of this Synod; of which we have very little in Antiquity.

Of the SYNOD of Antioch.

THE Church of *Antioch* continuing vacant by the departure of *Eudoxius*, *Meletius* was ordain'd Bishop of it by a Synod which *Constantianus* call'd in 361. 'Tis said that some time after being invited to preach before the Emperor upon these words of the Proverbs, *God hath created me in the beginning of his ways*, he declared openly for the Faith of the Church; whereupon the *Eudoxians* call'd a second Synod at *Antioch*, and depos'd him under pretence that he had received into his Communion some Egregy-men who were depos'd by *Eudoxius*, and ordain'd *Euzoius* in his room. Afterwards they made a Confession of Faith, wherein they discover plainly their impious Doctrine, making no scruple to declare, That the Son of God was not at all like his Father in Substance, and that he was created of nothing. This was the last Synod held under *Constantianus*, and the last of the Creeds made by his Order.

Of the COUNCIL of Alexandria.

St. Athanasius being returned to *Alexandria* after the Death of *Constantianus*, held a Council there to enquire what way they should take with the *Arians* who were willing to be reconciled to the Church. In this Council the State of the Church of *Antioch* was consider'd, and the Bishops deput'd *Asterius* Bishop of *Amasea*, and *Eusebius* of *Verceilles*, to make Peace in that Church. The Question of the three Hypostases was debated in this Council; and it was determin'd that it did not concern the Faith, and that those who say there are three Hypostases in the Trinity are of the same Opinion with those who say there is but one, because they understand the same word differently. In it they also speak of the Mystery of the Incarnation, and determine, That the Word did not only take a Body but also a Soul, and a Mind. We have lost the Synodical Letter, but the Letter which *St. Athanasius* wrote to the Church of *Antioch* by the Order of the Council, is still extant. He enjoys them to receive the Christians who assembled in the ancient Church of *Antioch*, without exacting of them any other Condition, save only, that they condemn the Heresy of *Arius*; and be oblig'd to receive the Faith

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Faith

The
Councils.

Faith of the *Nicean* Council, and that they reject their Error who believed the Holy Spirit to be a Creature. He advertises them, that no New Creed was made in the Council of *Sardica*; he gives them an Account of what was determined in the Council of *Alexandria*, concerning the Hypostats, and the Incarnation; He exhorts them to labour for Peace, and to shun such Questions as tended only to foment Divisions. This Letter was Sign'd by the Deputies of *Lucifer*, of *Paulinus* and *Apollinarius*, and by *Paulinus* himself who approv'd it when it was brought to *Antioch*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Paris.

Of *Paris*,
362.

THE Western Bishops, who had been abused in the Synod of *Ariminum*, being conscious of their Fault, endeavour'd to repair it by assembling many Synods to annul what had been done there, and to maintain the *Nicene* Faith. *France* was none of the last that testified her Zeal upon this occasion. *St. Hilary* assembled there many Councils for Re-establishing the Faith of the Council of *Nice*. We have yet in the Fragments of *St. Hilary*, a Letter of a Council held at *Paris*, wherein the Bishops that were there present, declare their hearty Consent to the Faith of *Nice*, and to speak no more of the Word, *Substance*. They profess to believe, that the Three Persons of the Trinity are of the same Nature, and of the same Substance, and they condemn *Aerius*; *Praxias*; *Valens*; and *Saturinus*. This Council was in the Year 362.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Italy.

Of Italy,
262.

“Was not only in *France* that the Synod of *Ariminum* was rejected: The Bishops of *Italy* also nullified and voided all that had been done in this Synod, and Anathematiz’d *Ursacius* and *Valens* as the Heads of the *Arians*. We have in the Fragments of St. *Hilary* a Letter written upon this subject in the name of the Bishops of *Italy* to the Bishops of *Illyricum*.

Of the COUNCIL of the Egyptian Bishops, held at Antioch.

Of the *E-*
gyptian Bi-
shopsheld
at *Antioch*,
363.

THE Emperor *Jovian*, a most pious Prince, being at *Antioch* in the Year 363, desir'd of *St. Athanasius* and the *Egyptian* Bishops, who were come to wait upon him in that City, that they would explain to him the Faith of the Church. These Bishops being assembled, propos'd to him no other Creed but that of the Council of *Nice*, and reject'd the Error of the *Macedonians*; who deny'd the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. It is commonly thought that this Council was assembled at *Alexandria*. But it appears by the Letter which it presented to the Emperor, relay'd by *Theodores Ch.* 3. of the 4th. B. of his History, That it was compos'd of some *Egyptian* Bishops, representing all the other Bishops of their Province, who had deputed them: Which plainly shews, That this Council was held out of *Egypt*, in the place where the Emperor was, that is, in *Antioch*, where 'tis certain *St. Athanasius* came to wait upon *Jovian*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Antioch *under* Meletius.

Of *Antioch*,
under *Me-*
lerius,
353.

THE *Acacians* seeing that the Emperor *Zoian* favoured the Catholics, joined themselves with *Melchius* Bishop of *Antioch*, and held a Council in that City, wherein they declared, That they would embrace the Faith of the Council of *Nice*, and receive the Terms, *Confessionals*: But at the same time they add, That this Term must be understood in the sense, which signifies, That the Son of God was begotten of the Substance of his Father, and that he is like in Substance to his Father; That we must not believe that there was any Passion in this ineffable Generation; That we must not make use of the Word, *Substance*, according to the natural sense of this Term; That it was not used but to destroy the Error of *Arius*, who said, That the Word was made out of nothing, an Error which was revived by the *Acemans*. These Bishops having made this Declaration in their Letter to the Emperor, approve the whole and entire Creed of the Council of *Nice*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Lampfacus.

Of Lamp-
jacks.
355.

H*ypatius* the Deputy of the Bishops of the *Hellepont*, deferd a Council of the Emperours *Valens* and *Valentinian*. They appointed one at *Lampsaçæ*, where the Bishops assembled in the Year 365. After they had deliberated by the space of Two Months what they should do, they milt'd all that had been done at *Antiochia* by the space of an Intriguing of *Eudoxius* and *Acacius*. They declared that *Acacius* was like a Substance to his Father, and adher'd to that Profession of Faith which was made in the Synod of *Antioch*, while the Dedication of the Church of that City was celebrated. They Ordain afterwards, That the Bishops depos'd by the *Anomæans*, should re enter into their Churches, from which they had been unjustly forced away, and they appointed them for Judges the Orthodox Bishops of their Province, and some of those that were nearest to it. They sent Deputies to *Valens* who was then at *Heraclæa*; but they were not well receiv'd, because *Eudoxius* had prepossest the Emperour, who Ordain'd, That the Churches should be given to those of his Party. He oblig'd also *Eletius* of *Cyzicum*, in a Synod held in the Year 366, to agree with *Eudoxius*; but this Bishop repented of it, and publicly testified the sorrow he had for being overcome by the Solicitations of the Emperour.

The
Councils.

Of the COUNCIL of Singedunum, Compos'd of Arian Bishops.

OF Singe-
lunum, of
Arian Bis
hops,
265.

Germinius Bishop of Sirmium made in 366. a Confession of Faith, wherein he makes profession of believing in *Iesus Christ the only Son of God, our Lord and our God, the true Son of God, of the true Father, God, begotten before all Worlds, like in all things to his Father, in Divinity, in Majesty, in Greatness, in Power and in Wisdom.* This Confession of Faith displeas'd *Urfacius, Valens* and the other Arian Bishops, who desired of him an Account of his Faith. The only Answer that he made to them was, that he would not separate from them: Wherefore they assembled at *Singedunum* a City of *Moesia*, and from thence wrote to him to dissuade him from maintaining that the Son of God was in all things like his Father. This Letter is preserved in the Fragments of *St. Hilary*: 'Tis Dated December 16th. in the Year 366. *Germinius* answer'd them, [*That he made Profession of believing the Son of God to be in all things like to his Father, except the Unlikeness, God of God, Light of Light, Begotten before all Ages, who is not made of nothing, but begotten of God his Father.* In short he says, that he does not depart from the Creed drawn up by *Marcus of Arethusa*, which had been formerly sign'd by *Urfacius and Valens.*

Of the SYNODS held by the Semi-Arians.

THE Bishops who are call'd *Semi-Arians*, assembled many Councils after the Synod of *Lampascus*: They held one at *Smyrna* composed of the Bishops of *Asia*, one in the Province of *Pamphylia*, another in *Isauria*, and one in *Lydia*. These Councils wrote Letters not now extant, that were carried to Pope *Liberius* by *Eusebius* the Deputy of these Bishops, who sent him into the West to make a Reconciliation with those who made Profession of adhering to the *Nicene Creed*. *Eusebius* discharged his Deputation, approv'd the *Nicene Creed*, and obtained Letters of Commendation from *Liberius*. He brought these Letters to a Synod which was held in *Sicily*, wherein the Faith of the Consubstantiality was approved; and returning afterwards into the East, he receiv'd the Letters of a Synod of *Mlyricum* held in the Year 367, which declared the Trinity to be Consubstantial, and particularly established the Divinity of the Holy Spirit. The Letter of this Council is related by *Theodore* B. IV. of his History. About the end of this Letter the Bishops of this Council exhort those of the East to choose for filling up the vacant Bishopricks, either the Children of Bishops which were dead, if they found them capable, or the ancient Priests, and not to Ordain for Priests or Deacons such Persons as came out of the Palace or the Army, but to take them out of the inferior Clergy. The Decision of this Synod was confirm'd by an Edict of the Emperour, address'd to the *Asiaticks*, wherein he declares that the Term *Consubstantial*, signifies not only that the Son is like to his Father, but that he is of the same Nature and the same Substance.

Of the SYNOD *of* Tyana.

Of *Tyana*;
368.

Eustatius being returned from the East with Letters of Commendation from the Western Bishops, came to a Synod assembled at *Tyana* in the Year 368, composed of the Bishops who had declared in *Jovian's* time, That it was necessary to maintain the Faith of the Confutabtiliality. *Eustatius* having read there the Letter of *Liberius* and the other Western Bishops, was there admitted to Communion, and the *Anomæans* were reconciled to the *Semi-Arians*. A Synod was appointed at *Turis*; but the Emperor *Valens* hindered its Meeting there, and caused one to be held in *Caria*, wherein the Term *Confutabtilial* was rejected.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Gangra.

Of Gangas;
370.

THE precise time of this Council is not known. Some have thought that it was held between the Council of *Antioch* and that of *Nice*. Others following the Testimony of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, place it after the Council of *Seleucia*. This Opinion is confirmed, because that *Emphibius* who first signed the Canons of this Council, was probably the Bishop of *Cefasarea Cappadocia*, the Predecessor of *St. Basil*, who held the See of this Church from the Year 362, to the Year 374. This Council condemns the Errors of one *Eustathius* who is different from the Bishop of *Smyrna*, who under pretence of leading a more perfect and austere Life, established such Practices as were contrary to the Laws of the Church. In the Letter of the Synod, he and his followers are Accused, First, Of condemning Marriage, and parting Wives from their Husbands; Secondly, Of forsaking the Publick Assemblies of the Church to keep private Meetings; Thirdly, Of refusing the Oblations for themselves only; Fourthly, Of parting Servants from their Masters, and Children from their Fathers, under pretence of making them lead a more austere Life; Fifthly, Of permitting Women to be habited like Men; Sixthly, Of despising the Fasts of the Church, and observing others, according to their own fancy, even on *Sundays*; Seventhly, Of believing that it was forbidden in all Time, to eat Meat; Eighthly, Of rejecting the Oblations of married Priests; Ninthly, Of despising Holy Places, and the Tombs of the Martyrs; Tenthly, Of believing that none can be Sav'd without parting with all their Goods. These Errors are condemned in Twenty Canons, which have been placed in the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church.

The 11th. condemns those who disallow Marriage, and believe that a Married Person cannot be Sav'd.

The

The 2d. thunders an Anathema against those who condemn such as eat Flesh, excepting only the Blood of those things that have been offered to Idols, and things trangled.

The 3d. is against those who teach their Slaves to despise their Masters, instead of serving them with respect.

The 4th. is against those who say, we must not take the Communion from the hand of a married Priest. The 5th. against those who despise the House of God, and the Assemblies there kept.

The 6th. condemns those who would have another than the Publick Church, who despise it, and would have the Ecclesiastical Functions performed without a Priest approved by the Bishop.

The 7th and 8th. are against those who receive the Ecclesiastical Offerings out of the Church, without the consent of the Bishop, or of those whom he has entrusted.

The 9th. is against those who keep their Virginity, not because of its Excellency, but because they think Marriage to be an abominable thing.

The 10th. against those who insult over Married Persons.

The 11th. against those who despise the *Agape*, that is to say, the Feasts of Charity.

The 12th. against those who sinise themselves to be more holy than others, because they wear a singular Habit, and condemn those that wear decent Apparel.

The 13th. pronounces an Anathema against those Women who leave off their own Habit and wear Men's Apparel.

The 14th. against those who forsake their Husbands out of Detestation of Marriage.

The 15th. against those who abandon their Children, who do not Feed them, nor Educate them in Piety, but neglect them under pretence of Devotion.

The 16th. against those Children who under pretence of Piety forsake their Parents, and shew them no more that Respect which they owe them next to God.

The 17th. against those Women who cut their Hair, to destroy the Sign of that Submission which they owe to their Husbands.

The 18th. pronounces an Anathema upon those who Fast on *Sundays* under pretence of leading a more austere Life.

The 19th. is against those who break the Fasts of the Church without Necessity, and in Contempt. The 20th. pronounces an Anathema against those who abhor the Assemblies and the Sacrifices which are made in honour of the Martyrs, and despise their Memories.

At last, the Fathers of this Council conclude with these excellent Words: "We ordain these things not to exclude those who would, according to the Advices of Holy Scripture, exercise themselves in the Church by these Practices of Continence and Piety, but against those who use these kinds of Austerities for a Pretence to satisfy their Ambition, who despise those who lead an ordinary Life, and who introduce Innovations contrary to Scripture and the Ecclesiastical Laws. We admire Virginity when it is accompanied with Humility; we praise Abstinence which is joyn'd with Piety and Prudence. We respect that Retirement which is made with Humility; but we also honour Marriage. We do not blame Riches when they are in the hands of Persons that are Just and Beneficent; we esteem those who cloath themselves Modestly, without Pride and Affectation, and we abhor uncivil and voluptuous Apparel: We have a Reverence for Churches, and we approve the Assemblies which are there made as Holy and Useful: We do not confine Piety to Houses. We honour all places built to the Name of God; we approve the Assemblies which are kept in the Church for the publick Good: We praise the Largeesses which the Faithful give to the Church to be distributed among the Poor. In a word, We wish and desire that these things may be observ'd in the Church which we have learn'd from the Scripture and the Tradition of the Apostles."

Of the COUNCIL of Laodicea.

It has been commonly believed, That this Council was more ancient than that of *Nice*, but the Regulations which are contain'd in its Canons, do sufficiently discover, that it was held at a time, wherein the Church flourish'd, and had been a long time delivered from the Pagan Persecutions; which shows that this Council could not have been assembled before the middle of the Fourth Century. 'Tis very probable that it was celebrated between 360 and 370. We know nothing of its History; but we have 60 Canons of this Assembly, which regulate many considerable Points of Ecclesiastical Discipline, and have been received by the whole Church, and put into the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church.

The 1st. of these Canons declares, That by a kind of Condescension, the Communion ought to be given to those who are married a Second time, after they have for some time given themselves to Fasting and Prayer.

The 2d. is, That the Communion ought to be given to those Sinners who have done Penance for their Crimes.

The 3d. is, That those ought not to be promoted to a Bishoprick who were lately baptiz'd.

The 4th. That Clergy-men ought not to be Usurers.

The 5th. That Ordination should not be made in the presence of those who are in the Rank of Heretics.

The 6th. That Hereticks should not be suffered to enter into the House of the Lord.

The 7th. That in order to the receiving of Hereticks, such as the *Novatians*, the *Phonians*, the *Quarto Decimani*, they ought first to abjure and anathematize all Heresies, and chiefly that whereof they made Profession; and then after they are instructed in our Doctrine, they ought to be anointed with Chrism; and lastly, made partakers of the Holy Mysteries.

The

The 8th. That they must be wholly baptiz'd a-new who come from the Sect of the *Montanists*.

The 9th. That the Faithful ought to be forbidden to go to the Cemeteries or Churches of Hereticks to pray there with them, and that those who do it ought to be excommunicated, and do Penance for their Fault.

The 10th. That Catholicks should not give their Daughters in marriage to Hereticks.

The 11th. That Priestesses should not be ordained in the Church.

The 12th. That the choice of Bishops should be approv'd by the Metropolitan, and by the Bishops of the Province.

The 13th. That the choice of a Bishop should not be wholly left to the People.

The 14th. That the Holy Mysteries ought not to be sent at *Easter* as a Benediction.

The 15th. That none but the Canon-Chanters who sit in high Chairs, and read in Books, shall sing in the Church.

The 16th. That the Gospel should be read together with the other Books of Scripture, on *Saturday*.

The 17th. That many Palms should not be read together, but between every Psalm a Lesson.

The 18th. That the same Prayers should be read at *Mattins* as at *Vespers*.

The 19th. That after the Bishop's Sermon, the Prayers of the Catechumens shall be read apart by themselves, and when these are gone forth, then shall be the Prayer of the Penitents; and Lastly, after these have withdrawn having received Imposition of Hands, the Prayer of the Faithful shall be made at three times successively: That the First Prayer shall be made in peace, but the Second and Third Prayers shall be pronounced with a loud Voice, and after that the Peace shall be given; that when the Priests shall give it to the Bishop, the Laity shall give it to themselves, and afterwards the Oblation shall go on till it be finished; and that none but those who are Holy shall be suffered to approach the Altar to receive the Communion.

The 20th. forbids Deacons to sit in the presence of a Priest without his leave, and it ordains like-wise, That the other Ministers and all the inferior Clergy shall show the same respect to Deacons.

The 21st. forbids Ministers to do the Offices of Deacons, and to touch the Holy Vessels.

The 22d. and 23d. forbids Ministers and Readers to carry the Stole.

The 24th. forbids all the Ecclesiasticks to go to a Publick House.

The 25th. declares, That Ministers must not give the Holy Bread nor bless the Cup.

The 26th. That those who were never ordained by Bishops, must not meddle with exorcising in the Church, or in Houses.

The 27th. That those Ecclesiasticks who are invited to the Love-Feasts, must not carry any Meat away with them to their own Houses.

The 28th. That these Feasts must not be made in Churches.

The 29th. That Christians must not observe the Ceremonies of the Jews, nor Feast on *Saturday*; but they must labour on this Day, and abstain from labour on *Sundays*.

The 30th. That an Ecclesiastick or Monk, must not wash in the Baths with Women;

The 31st. That Men ought to give their Children in marriage to Hereticks.

The 32d. That the Blessing of Hereticks ought not to be received.

The 33d. That the Faithful ought not to pray with them.

The 34th. That a Christian ought not to forsake the Martyrs of Jesus Christ to go and honour false Martyrs which have been Hereticks.

The 35th. That Christians ought not to forsake the Church to invoke Angels, and keep Meetings in private.

The 36th. That those ought to be cast out of the Church who practise Magick, Judicial Astrology, and Witchcraft, &c.

The 37th. That the Faithful ought not to celebrate the Feasts of Jews or Hereticks.

The 38th. That they ought not to use the unleavened Bread of the Jews, nor follow their Ceremonies.

The 39th. That they ought not to celebrate the Feasts of Pagans.

The 40th. That the Eastern Bishops ought to be present at a Synod to reform others there, or to be reform'd themselves.

The 41st. and 42d. That a Clergy-man must not go out of his Diocess, without Canonical Letters; without the permission of his Bishop.

The 43d. That the Porters should not leave the Gates of the Church for a moment under pretence of praying.

The 44th. That Women ought not to come near the Altar.

The 45th. That none ought to be baptized in the Second Week of Lent.

The 46th. That he who is to be baptized, ought to be instructed in the Faith, and that he ought to give notice on *Holy Thursday* to the Priests or the Bishop, that he will present himself to Baptism.

The 47th. That those who were baptized during their Sickness, ought to be instructed when they recover their health.

The 48th. That those who are baptized, after Baptism should be anointed with Heavenly Chrism.

The 49th. That no Offerings should be made during Lent but on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*.

The 50th. That they should not break their Fast in the last Week of Lent; but Fast throughout the whole Lent eating nothing but dry Meats.

The 51st. That the Feasts of the Martyrs ought not to be observed in Lent, but on *Saturdays* and *Sundays*.

The 52d. That Marriages should not be celebrated in Lent.

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The 53d. That Christians ought not to behave themselves disorderly at Marriage-Feasts, nor Dance there, but take their Repast Modestly.

The 54th. That Clergy-men ought not to be present at the Shows or Balls, that are made during Marriage-Feasts, but arise and be gone before the Mask begins.

The 55th. That neither Clergy-men nor Lay-men, ought to make Feasts at Taverns, by paying every one their Club.

The 56th. That Priests ought not to enter, nor go up into the Pulpit, before the Bishop be come into the Church, unless he be sick or absent.

The 57th. That Bishops must not be plac'd in Towns, nor Villages, but Visitors, who ought to do nothing without the Advice of the Bishop who is in the City, and that the Priests ought to observe the same thing.

The 58th. That neither Bishops nor Priests ought to make the Oblation in their own Houses.

The 59th. That private **Psalms** ought not to be sung in Churches, nor any Books read there which are not **Canonical**, but only the **Canonical Books** of the **Old and New Testament**.

The 60th. and Last Canon contains an Enumeration of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament. It places in the number of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament those which the Jews acknowledged; and in this number it places *Esther*, *Job* and *Ruth*, but not *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom*, nor the Books of the *Maccabees*. The Canonical Books of the New Testament are the Four Gospels, the *Acts*, and the Seven Canonical Epistles, and the Fourteen Epistles of *St. Paul*; but the *Revelation* is not in this Catalogue.

Of the COUNCIL of Rome under Damasus.

Of Rome,
under Da-
majus,
37c.

IN the Year 370, Pope *Damasus* assembled a Council at *Rome*, in whose Name Synodical Letter was written against the *Arians*, produced in Greek by *Theodoret*, B. VI. of his History, Ch. 23, and by *Sozomen*, B. II. Ch. 22. and published in Latin by *Helferichus*. It is addressed to the Bishops of *Illyricum*, and not to the Bishops of the East, since these last are mentioned in the Third *Formal* of this Synod confirms the Faith of the Council of *Nice*; and declares that *Aurestius* Bishop of *Milan* was condemned by the Bishops of *France*. It excommunicates those who do not believe that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one and the same Divinity, and one and the same Substance. It observes, That the Council of *Ariminum*, could not prejudice the Decisions of the Council of *Nice*, because those who made the Creed of *Ariminum*, protested afterwards against what they had done, and also because neither the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Judgment was chiefly to be waited for, nor *Vincencius* of *Capua*, nor many other Bishops, did ever consent to the Decision of the Council of *Ariminum*. Lastly, they say, That they hope that the Bishops who hold not the Doctrine established by the *Nicene* Creed, should quickly be deprived of their Bishopricks, and they exhort the Bishops of *Illyricum* constantly to defend the true Faith.

Of the COUNCIL of Rome against Ursicinus.

Of Rome,
against
Ursicinus,
372.

THIS Council was held in the Year 372. against *Ursicinus* the *Anti-pope*. In it the Associates of this pretended Bishop are condemned, and among others *Florentius* of *Puteoli*, and the Bishop of *Parma*.

Of the COUNCIL *of* Valence.

Of *Valence*,
374.

IN the Year 374, *Phœbadius* or *Fegadius* Bishop of *Agen*, and 20 Bishops more, assembled at *Valence* to settle some Commotions of this Church, and having regulated this Affair they made Four Canons for the Reformation of Discipline.

In the First they forbid those to be Ordained for the future who have been twice Married, or those who have espous'd a Widow, whither they did it before or since their Baptism : But they do not meddle with the Ordinations of *Bigamists* made before their Decision, lest they should disturb the Church.

In the 2d. Canon they Ordain, That Penance shall not immediately be allowed to those Virgins, who Married after they had made a Vow of Virginity, and that they shall not be receiv'd until they have made full satisfaction.

The 3d. Canon delays Absolution of those till death, who having been baptized, did partake in the Profane Sacrifices of Devils, and exhorts them in the mean time to do Penance for their Fault, and to wait for the Remission of it from the Mercy of God.

In the last place they declare, That all those Deacons, Priests, and Bishops must be deposed, who confesse themselves guilty of some great Crime, whether they did really commit it, or only accuse themselves falsely. There is a Letter prefixed to these Canons, wherein they address to the Bishops of the Five Provinces, and of *Gaul*, after which follows another Letter written to the Church of *Frejus*, wherein the Synod acquaints it, That tho' the Bishop *Concordius* had spoken in behalf of one *Acempius*, who probably had accused himself of some Crime whereof he was not guilty, yet the Synod did not think fit to make an Exception in his favour from the general Rule which they had made. To give a Reason of this Rule they add, That tho' they knew that many Persons accuse themselves of those Crimes which they have not committed, from the dread they have of the Priesthood, yet Men being more inclined to judge ill than well, they thought fit that all those who had

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said ill of themselves should be removed from the Priesthood, whether it were true or false, for fear of giving occasion of Disputes, by those Accusations which might be urged against the Ministers of Jesus Christ of such Crimes, whereof they might be convicted by their own Testimony. This Synod consisted of 21 Bishops. Phœbadus of Agen is the First; in it there is found also the Names of Rhodanus of Tholouse, of Julius of Lyons, of Brito of Trier, of Florentin of Vienna, and of Concordius of Arles. 'Tis observed in some Manuscripts, That it consisted of 30 Bishops, but perhaps this number ought to be corrected, by making it 21.

Of the COUNCIL of Antioch for restoring Peace in that Church.

Of Antioch.
378.

THE Church of *Antioch*, for a long time had been rent in pieces with Divisions. After the Deposition of the Great *Euthymius*, some rigid Catholics had always maintain'd themselves without a Bishop, till *Lucifer* Ordain'd one, *Paulinus*, who the greatest part of the Catholics acknowledged *Meletius* for their lawful Bishop. The East favoured the latter, *Egypt*, and the West adher'd to *Paulinus*. *St. Basil* us'd all his Endeavours in vain to reconcile both, for he could not compass it; but Nine Months after his death, as is observ'd by *St. Gregory Nyssen*, for the Life of *St. Macrina*, in the Year 378, a Council was held at *Antioch*, wherein the Two Parties were reconciled, upon condition that no Bishop should be Ordain'd in his room who should die first, but the Survivor should continue sole Bishop. *Theodore* says, That *Paulinus* would not accept this Condition, but the Bishops of *Italy* affirm the contrary in the Letter of the Council of *Aquileia*, and in the Fifth Letter of the Council of *Italy*. There was receiv'd in this Synod a Confession of Faith sent from the West, which was call'd the *Tome of the West*, as it is declar'd in the Fifth Canon of the Council of *Constantinople*. It is probable, That this *Tome* is either the Synodical Letter of *Damasus*, or the Anathematisms which follow it. *Baronius* says, That Deputies were named in this Council, and he grounds this Conjecture upon a Passage of *St. Gregory Nyssen*, who says, That he was deputed by a Council; but it cannot be known at present, whether he speaks of this Council or of another.

In short, *Valesius* attributes to this Council the Letter 69 of *St. Basil*, written by several Bishops, to the Bishops of *Italy* and *France*, wherein mention is made of a Writing of the Bishops of the West: but this Conjecture cannot be maintained, since there are among the Bishops, in whose Name this Letter was written, the Names of *St. Basil* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Theodotus* of *Nicopolis*, who were dead when the Synod, which we now speak of, was held; besides that there is no mention in it of the Reconciliation of *Meletius* and *Paulinus*, which was not till after the death of *St. Basil*.

Of the COUNCILS of Constantinople.

FOR the better understanding the History of the Council of *Constantinople*, which is called the Second General Council, we must distinguish Three Assemblies of Bishops held at *Constantinople* First of at Three several times.

The Firm was held in the Month of *May* in the Year 381. It was composed of all the Bishops of the Eastern Empire, except *Egypt*. *Meletius* of *Antioch* presided in the Affair, and he confirmed *St. Gregory Nazianzen* in the See of the Church of *Constantinople*. There is some probability that in this Synod the Canon was made, wherein the Election of *Maximin* is condemned, who endeavoured to invade the See of the Church of *Constantinople*, and also the Canon wherein the second place of this Synod was granted to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. However this be, *Meletius* died before the end of this Synod, but was carried back to *Antioch*, and the Eastern Bishops chose in his room *Flavianus*, contrary to the Promise that was made while *Meletius* was alive, That no Person should succeed in the room of the Bishop, that died Bishop.

Of the Second COUNCIL of Constantinople.

WHEN *Flavian* was Ordain'd, the Eastern Bishops returned to *Constantinople*, at the beginning of the Year 382. They were never after so favourable to *Gregory Nazianzen*, because he reprehended the Ordination of *Flavian*, as a thing contrary to the Agreement that was made; and therefore this Saint had no sooner arriv'd, but almost all the Bishops conferred to it. After his retirement, the Council Ordain'd *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. 'Tis to this Synod that the Canon and Creed of the General Council of *Constantinople* is attributed. In it was read the Letter of the Western Bishops assembl'd at *Aquileia*, wherein they defend'd the Council of the East and West may be held at *Alexandria*. The Eastern Bishops answer'd, That they could not go farther off, and they only sent Three Deputies into the West, to acquaint them with their desires of Peace, and to inform them of the truth of their Doctrine.

The Western Bishops were diffidatis with this, and with what was Ordain'd the Council of *Constantinople*, complained to the Emperour, First, that they had Ordain'd *Flavianus* in the *Remission* of *Meletius*, contrary to the promise made while he was alive; Secondly, that they had Ordain'd *Neftorius* Bishop of *Constantinople* without any regard to *Maximus* who had been Ordain'd by the Patriarch. Thirdly, that they had avoided the calling of a General Council, that they might hold one at *Constantinople*. At last, they pray that a General Council may meet at *Rome* to determine all Differences: For say they, 'tis fit that the Eastern Bishops should not peldge the Judgement of the Bishop of *Rome*, and the Bishops of *Italy*, since they have waited for the Judgement of *Agathus* of *Theſſalonica*.

We do not, add they, assume to our selves the Prerogative of this Examination, but we expect to have a part in the Judgment, because the Judgment ought to be common to all those who are of one and the same Communion.

Of the Third COUNCIL of Constantinople.

Of the Third of Constantinople.
383.

THIS Letter from those of the West, was deliver'd in the Year 383, to a Synod assembled at Constantinople, whereof Nestorius was President. The Bishops of this Council made answer, That they wished they could be present at Rome to treat there of the Affairs of the Church; but not being able to do it left they should leave their Churches in a forlorn condition, they thought it would be sufficient to give them an account of all that they had ordain'd. They say therefore, That they have approved the Creed of the Council of Nice, That they admit one and the same Divine Majesty in Three Persons, That as to the Incarnation they have a very Orthodox Doctrine, being persuaded that Jesus Christ took a Body, Soul and Spirit, and that he is a perfect Man. They prove that this is their Doctrine by the *Tome of the West* , which they approved at the Synod of Antioch. As to the manner of Governing the Churches, they declare, That according to the Canons of the Council of Nice, they believed that the Bishops of each Province, ought to Ordain the Bishops of their own Province, and call in to their assistance their Neighbours also, if they thought fit: That according to this Law Nestorius was ordained Bishop of Constantinople in the General Synod, with the Consent of the People and Clergy of Constantinople, and in the presence of the Emperor; that after the same manner Flavianus was ordain'd by all the Bishops of the Province and of the Dioceses of the East, and that St. Cyril was some time ago ordain'd Bishop of Jerusalem by the Bishops of the Province. They exhort the Western Church to approve of what they had done, and to admonish them to prefer the Edification of the Church, before the Inclinations they might have to any particular Persons, that so they might re-establish a perfect Union among all the Members of the Church. This is what is contained in the Letter of this Synod relate'd by Theodoret. This Council is not different from that mention'd by Socrates, Ch. 10. of B. V. of his History, and by Sozomen, Ch. 12. of B. VII. In which were present the Chief Bishops of all the Sects, ready to defend their own Opinions: But Nestorius confounded them all, by asking them if they would refer themselves to the ancient Catholic Authors, who lived before the beginning of these Divisures: For some being willing to accept of these Terms, and others refusing to do it, the Emperor who saw them divided, desired of every one their Confession of Faith, and when they had presented them to him, he tore all those in which there was not Profession made of believing the Consubstantial Trinity, and made an Edict against all Heresies.

The Creed of the Council of Constantinople is not very different from that of Nice. The Fathers of this Council have only added some more express Terms, to denote the Divinity of the Holy Spirit, by calling him, *The quickning Lord who proceedeth from the Father, who is to be worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son, who speak by the Prophets.* They make Profession also, of believing one only Holy and Apostolick Church, of confessing one Baptism only for the Remission of sins, of looking for the Resurrection of the dead, and the Life of the World to come. This Creed was not at first received by all Churches, and there were some that would add nothing to the Council of Ephesus, and there it was also forbidden to make use of any other: But this of Constantinople was authentically approved in the Council of Chalcedon, where it was read after that of Nice.

It was a long time before the Canons of this Council were approv'd by the Western Bishops: Not only St. Leo rejected them in his Epistle 53; now the 80, but also Gelasius in his Epistle to Dardanus, and St. Gregory in his Epistle 23 of B. VI. rejects them, as not being received in the West; but however, they have been received in the East, and are put in the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church. 'Tis not easy to tell how many Canons were made in the Three Councils of Constantinople, whereof we have just now spoken, nor to which of the Three they are to be attributed, and whether they were all made in one and the same Synod. The Version of Dionysius Exiguus contains but Three of them; but the Second contains that which is the Third in the Greek; and the Last is reckon'd for the Fourth which concerns the Ordination of Maximus. But the Code of the Canons of the Universal Church, adds to these a Fifth, which concerns the *Tome of the Western Bishops* , a Sixth about the Form of Ecclesiastical Decisions, and a Seventh concerning the manner of receiving Hereticks. Photius, Zonaras, Balsamon, and the other Greeks, acknowledged these last Canons, and attribute them to the Council of Constantinople, so that there can be no Question but they were made by one of those three Councils of which we have spoken, but it is more probable that they were made by the Last. First, Because Dionysius Exiguus has not put them in his Collection of Canons; Secondly, Because Socrates and Sozomen mention only the Four first when they speak of the First and Second Council of Constantinople; Thirdly, Because 'tis plain that these Canons are an Addition, or Supplement to the Three other Canons; Fourthly, because it appears that the Fifth Canon was made by some Bishops, who had a Confession of Faith of the Bishops of the West, which they call a *Tome* , and which they approv'd. Now the Bishops of the Third Council of Constantinople speak of this Confession in their Letter to the Bishops of the West, and give it the Name of a *Tome* ; which shows that the Fifth Canon and this Letter were from the same hand. Lastly, Nicholas the I. in his Letter to the Emperor Michael, cites the Sixth Canon of this Council, as belonging to the Council of Constantinople; but he observes that it is not to be found in his Code of the Canons. These Reasons shew, That the Four first Canons of the Council of Constantinople; belong to the First and Second Synods, but

but rather to the First than the Second, because of the Fourth which is against the Ordination of Maximus, and that the three following belong to the Third Synod held in 383.

The 11th of these Canons confirms the Creed of the Council of Nice, and pronounces an Anathema against all the Heresies that are contrary to it, especially against the Eusebians, the Anomians, the Arians, the Eudoxians, against the Semi-Arians who were Enemies to the Holy Spirit, against the Marcianists, the Photinians and Apollinarists.

The 2d. Canon consists of Four Parts: In the First the Bishops of one Diocese are forbidden (taking the name of Dioceses for many Provinces) to go out of their own Dioceses; and 'tis ordained according to the Canons, That the Bishop of Alexandria shall govern Egypt only; That the Bishops of the East shall govern the East, saving always to the Church of Antioch its Privileges and Prerogatives, which are mention'd in the Sixth Canon of the Council of Nice; That the Bishops of the Dioceses of Asia shall regulate what concerns their own Dioceses; That those of Thrace shall govern only the Churches of Thrace, and those of Pontus the Churches of Pontus.

The Second Part forbids every Bishop in particular to go out of the Bounds of his own Country to Ordain, or to meddle with the Affairs of the Churches in another Diocese.

The Third ordains, That the Synod of every Province shall regulate what concerns its own Province, as had been ordain'd by the Council of Nice.

The Last Part declares, That the Churches which are among the Barbarians, that's to say, those that are without the Roman Empire, shall be governed according to their ancient Customs, because in these Countries there is no distinction of Dioceses or Provinces.

The 3d. Canon grants to the Bishop of Constantinople the first Place of Honour next to the Bishop of Rome: Some have pretended that this Canon is to be extended to Jurisdiction; but this Explication is contrary to the Terms in which it is conceived, and was never approv'd by Practice, tho' the Bishop of Constantinople taking occasion of this Prerogative of Honour, endeavour'd afterwards to usurp the Dioceses of Thrace, of Asia, and of Pontus: which at last were subjected to him by the Determination of the Council of Chalcedon. The Reader may see this more largely explained in the first Differtation about the ancient Discipline of the Church.

The 4th. Canon declares, That Maximus was never Bishop, that his Ordinations are null, and that all that he did ought to be made void.

The 5th. Canon, which is the first of those of the Third Council, approves the *Tome of the Bishops of the West* , and of those of Antioch who acknowledge one and the same Divinity in the Three Persons of the Trinity. There is also mention made of this *Tome* in the Council's Letter, and 'tis probable that this was the Synodical Letter of Damasus, sent to the Council of Antioch held in the Year 378.

The 6th. Canon regulates the Form of Ecclesiastical Decisions, and ordains, First, That all sorts of Persons shall not be admitted to accuse Bishops of Crimes which concern Religion; That no Hereticks, Schismatics, Persons excommunicated, condemned, and in word, all those that are separated from the Communion of Bishops shall be allowed to do it. Secondly, That the Accusation of a Bishop shall be carried to the Bishops of his own Province. Thirdly, That if the Bishops of the Province cannot judge of the Crimes whereof a Bishop is accus'd, recourse must be had to the Synod of the Diocese. Fourthly, That those who accuse a Bishop, ought in writing to subject themselves to the same Penalty, to which they expose him that is accus'd, if they be convicted of Calumny. Lastly, That any one slighting these Laws, shall address himself either to the Emperor or to Secular Judges, or shall desire a General Council, without acquiescing in the Judgment of the Bishops of the Diocese, he ought to be heard no longer, since he has violated the Canons, and overthrow'd the Discipline of the Church.

The Last Canon is concerning the manner of receiving Hereticks, who offer themselves to return unto the Bosom of the Church. It ordains, That the Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatians, Novatians, Quartodecimani, Tetratites and Apollinarists, shall be receiv'd after they have made Profession of Faith, and Anathematiz'd their Errors, By the Undction of the Holy Spirit, and the Chrism wherewith they shall be anointed on the Forehead, the Eyes, the Hands, the Mouth, the Ears, at the pronouncing of these Words: *This is the Seal of the Holy Spirit.* As to the Eusebians, the Montanists, the Sabellians, and all the other Hereticks, the Council ordains, That they shall be received like Pagans; that's to say, That at first they shall receive Imposition of Hands to give them the Name of Christian; That afterwards they shall be plac'd in the rank of Catechumens; That they shall be exorcis'd by blowing three times upon their Faces, and into their Ears; That they shall be catechiz'd, and that for a long time they shall be permitted to hear only the Holy Scripture in the Church; and at last they shall be baptized.

Of the COUNCIL of Aquileia.

THE Council of Aquileia was assembled in the Month of September of the Year 381. It should have been compos'd of the Bishops of the East and West; but St. Ambrose having declared that it was needless to weary the Eastern Bishops with such a Journey, none but the Western Bishops were oblig'd to come thither, and those of the East were only left at their Liberty to come there if they thought fit. There were about thirty Bishops present at the Council, together with the Deputies of the Bishops of France and Africa. Valerius was President. In it two Bishops of Dacia and Moesia, nam'd Polladius and Secundianus, were accus'd of Arianism; there was read to them before the Council, a Letter of Arius, but they would neither approve, nor condemn it, and answer'd

of Aquileia,
381.

The Councils.

only, That they should see in two Days time, that they were both Catholics. This Day being come they appeared before the Council; but they would not acknowledge it for a Judge, desiring a General Council compos'd of the Eastern and Western Bishops; nevertheless they examined them, convicted them of the Heresy of *Arians*, and condemned them. The Acts of this Council, the Letter which they wrote to the Bishops of *France* and *Spain*, to thank them for the Deputies they had sent, and the Letter address'd to the Emperours, wherein there is an account of what they had done, and prays them to hinder the Hereticks from entering into the Church, are still extant: It complains afterwards of the Crimes of an *Arian* Bishop nam'd *Valens*; and Lastly, it supplicates the Emperours to hinder the Assemblies of the *Phœnicians*. All these Monuments are extant in *St. Ambrose*.

The Bishops of this Council wrote a Letter to the Emperour, praying him to drive away *Ursinians*, which was publish'd by *Sirmondus*, and is in the Second Volume of the Councils. p. 998.

They wrote also a Letter which is found in the same place, in which they give the Emperour an Account of the State of the Eastern Empire, they thank him for restoring to the Catholics the Eastern Churches; but they complain that many things were chang'd there, and that those were not kindly us'd who had always been in the Communion of the Western Churches, as *Timoteus* of *Alexandria* and *Paulinus* of *Antioch*. They pray that a General Council may be assembled at *Alexandria*, to examine those who ought to be admitted into Communion, and those to whom Communion must be denied. This Letter was delivered to the Emperour, at the time of the Second Council of *Constantinople*, and was read in this Council.

At last, when the Bishops understood what had been done in the East without consulting them, concerning the Ordination of *Flavianus* and *Nectarius*, they complained of it by another Letter, whereof we have already spoken, preserv'd in the same Volume of the Councils. p. 345. They re-fer also by a Fourth Letter which precedes these, how much they could have wish'd that the Council which they desired had been held, and how necessary it would have been. These Letters do not properly belong to the Council of *Aquileia*, but were written some time after in the name of those Bishops which were there assembled, and for executing what they had Order'd. For which Reason, it was thought necessary to mention them here.

Of the COUNCIL of Saragosa.

Of Saragosa.

While the Bishops of *Italy* were thus labouring to procure the Peace of the Church of *Rome*, those of *Spain* were no less busied in allaying the Commotions which were rais'd upon occasion of *Priscillian* and his Disciples. The Council of *Saragosa* was assembled upon this account about the Year 381, where having condemned *Priscillian* and his followers, they made some Canons against their Practices.

The 1st. forbids Women to meddle with Teaching and Expounding Articles of Faith.

The 2d. pronounces an *Anathema* against those who fasted on *Sundays* from a superstitious or false Principle; and against those who entered not into the Churches during *Lent*, but hid themselves in their Houses or in the Fields.

The 3d. anathematizes those who having receiv'd the Eucharist did not eat in the Church.

The 4th. forbids any to be absent from the Church from the 15th. of *December* until the *Epiphany*.

The 5th. forbids Bishops under pain of Excommunication to receive those who are excommunicated by their own Bishops.

The 6th. declares, That those of the Clergy must be cast out of the Church, who abandon the Ministry out of vanity to turn Monks.

The 7th. declares, That it is not lawful for any to take to himself the Title and Name of Doctor, but only those to whom it is granted.

The 8th. forbids Virgins to be veiled, that are devoted to Jesus Christ, except they be Forty Years old.

'Tis easy to perceive that all these Canons are made against the *Priscillianists*, who affected a singular Way of living.

Of the COUNCIL of Sida in Pamphylia.

Of Sida in Pamphylia.

St. Ambrosius assembled in 383, a Council of 25 Bishops at *Sida*, a City of *Pamphylia*, against the Heresy of the *Mallians* or the *Euchaitæ*. This Council condemn'd the Errors of these Hereticks, and wrote a Synodical Letter to *Flavianus* Bishop of *Antioch*: It is not now extant. *Photius* had read it, and he tells us of it in Volume 52 of his *Bibliotheca*.

The same *Photius* speaks in this place of a Synod held against these Hereticks at *Antioch* by *Flavianus*. There were present in it Three Bishops and 30 Priests and Deacons of the Church of *Antioch*. There *Adelphius* a Ring-leader of the Heresy of the *Mallians* was condemn'd, and they would not receive him tho' he should have abjur'd his Heresy, because they were perswaded that he would not do it sincerely, these Hereticks making no scruple of renouncing their Doctrine with their mouth. *Flavianus* sent an account to the *Orientalians* of what pass'd in this Synod.

Of

Of the COUNCIL of Bourdeaux.

The Councils.

Of Bourdeaux.

THIS Council was assembled by the Order of the Emperour *Maximus*, and condemn'd *Instancius* a follower of *Priscillian*, and had condemn'd *Priscillian* himself if he had not appeal'd to the Emperour. See what we have said upon this Subject p. 191. 'Tis said, That afterwards there was a Council held at *Triers* where *St. Martin* was present. But this Assembly of Bishops who came to Court to desire the Condemnation of the *Priscillianists*, deserves not the Name of a Council. See *Sulpitius Severus's* Account of it in his Dialogues of the Life of *St. Martin*. The same *Sulpitius Severus*, at the end of his Second Dialogue, mentions a Council held at *Nîmes* in *St. Martin's* time, but he acquaints us with nothing that pass'd in it.

Of the COUNCIL of Capua.

THE Council of *Capua* was assembled by the Emperour *Valentinian* in the Year 390, to determine the Difference which was between *Flavianus* and *Evagrius*, the Successor of *Paulinus* in the See of *Antioch*. In it *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* and the Bishops of *Egypt* were named for Judges of this Cause. But *Flavianus* would not acknowledge them for Judges, and told the Emperour boldly, *accuse my Manners or my Faith, I am ready to submit my self to the Judgment of my Accusers themselves; but if they would have my Primacy and See, I will have no dispute with any body about it, neither will I resist those who aspire to this Dignity; And therefore give the See of Antioch to whom you please.* This resolute Answer made the Emperour wonder, who sent him back to *Antioch* to govern his Church. But tho' the Synod of *Capua* had not been assembled but for this Affair, yet in it they affirm that the Virgin *Mary* had Children by *Joseph* after the birth of Jesus Christ. The Council refer'd this Cause to *Anysius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, and the other Bishops of *Macedonia*. They forbid him to enter into his Church. This Bishop being dissuaded by this Judgment, consulted *St. Ambrose*, whether it were lawful for him to enter into it. This Saint answered him, That he ought to do nothing contrary to the Judgment given by the Bishops of *Macedonia*: And they desiring to ratify their Judgment by the Opinion of the Bishop of *Rome*, wrote an account of it to *Siricius*, who answered them, *That the Council of Capua having reverend this Cause, it did not belong to him to judge of it, but to them to determine it.* We learn all this from the Letter of *Siricius*, which was formerly attributed to *St. Ambrose*.

This Synod treated also of Re-baptization, of Re ordinations, and Translations of Bishops, as it is observ'd in the 48th. Canon of the Code of the Canons of the Church of *Africa*, which is conceiv'd in these Words, *We have declared what was Ordained in the Council of Capua, That it was not lawful to use Re-baptization, Re-ordination and the Translation of Bishops.* This is all we know of this Council.

Of the COUNCILS of Rome, and of Milan, against Jovinian.

Siricius condemn'd *Jovinian* and his followers in a Synod of his Clergy, and his Condemnation was confirmed by a Synod of *Milan*. We have the Letters of these two Synods. In the First it is and of *St. Augustine*, That tho' we ought not to despise nor condemn Marriage, yet Virgins are more to be honoured. The Second contains the Proofs of this truth, and in it is shown, that the Blessed Virgin lost *Jovinian*, not her Virginity by bringing forth Jesus Christ into the World.

Of the COUNCIL of the Novatians held at Sangarus.

Socrates mentions in the 21st. Ch. of the 5th. B. of his History, a Council of the *Novatians* held at *Sangarus* about the end of this Century, wherein it was declared a thing indifferent to celebrate the Feast of *Easter* on *Sunday* or another day, against what was Ordained in another Synod held before that at *Pactus*.

Of the First COUNCIL of Carthage.

THO' this Council was celebrated in the Year 348, yet we have hitherto delayed to speak of it, tho' that might give an Idea of all the African Councils of the Fourth Age together. This was a general Council of the African Bishops, and *Gratus* Bishop of *Carthage* who was present at the Council of *Sardica*, presided in it. He spoke first to his Brethren, and said, That we must first give thanks to God who hath put an end to the Schism, and inspired the Emperour *Constantine*, (it must be read *Constantine*) to send *Paulus* and *Macarius* into *Africa* to procure Peace there, and for the Liberty which the African Bishops have enjoy'd of meeting together in Provincial Councils, and assembling from all the Provinces of *Africa*; that afterwards we must examine the Heads, about which it will be necessary to make some Decrees, according to the Divine Laws, and the Instructions of Holy Scripture; but then we must have such a regard to this time of Peace, that we neither weaken the Obligation of the Laws, nor yet prejudice the present Unity by too much severity. The first Head which he propos'd was about Re-baptization. He ask'd, whether that Men ought

to be re-baptiz'd who at his Baptism made Profession of believing the Trinity. The Bishops answered: *God forbid. We declare that this Re-baptization is against the Equity to the Orthodox Faith and the Ecclesiastical Discipline.*

The 2d. Head was to remedy the abuse which the *Donatists* were guilty of in giving the Name of Martyrs to Fanatics, who had violent hands on themselves, or threw themselves headlong from Precipices. *Gratus* was of Opinion, That they should be forbidden for the future to honour these false Martyrs, and that those Lay-men should be put under Penance, who meddled with Deposing of Clergy-men. The Bishops approved his Opinion, and said That the same was Ordained in the Provincial Councils.

In the 3d. they forbid those Persons who profess Virginity, to cohabit or have any familiarity with any Persons of the other Sex, under the pain of Excommunication for the Laity, and of Deposition for the Clergy. The Reason which they give for this Law is excellent: *We must, say they, shun the occasions of Sin, remove all kind of Suspicion, and avoid the Snarers which the subtilty of the Devil uses to destroy simple Souls which are not upon their guard, under pretence of Charity and Love to our Neighbour.*

The 4th. contains the same Prohibition to Widows.

In the 5th. the Bishop *Priscianus* remonstrates, That a Bishop ought not to be permitted to receive a Clergy-man belonging to another Bishop, unless he has the permission of his own Bishop; neither ought he to Ordain a Lay-man of another Diocess without the consent of his own Bishop. He alleges the Authority of the Council of *Sardica* to prove that this Order ought to be observ'd.

In the next, another Bishop nam'd *Nicasius* remonstrates, that it does not become Clergy-men to take upon them the charge of Secular Affairs. *Gratus* confirm'd this Remonstrance by the Authority of Scripture, and the Bishops approved it.

In the 7th. another Bishop propos'd, That a Priest or a Lay-man of another Diocess should not be receiv'd into Communion, unless he had a Letter from his own Bishop.

In the 8th. 'tis Ordin'd after the Proposition made by *Evagrius*, and according to the Opinion of *Gratus*, That those shall not be Ordained, who have been Guardians, or managed several other sorts of business, till their Accounts be made up and ended.

The 9th. forbids them to choose Clergy-men to be Treasurers or Collectors of the Publick Taxes.

The 10. forbids Bishops to invade the bounds of the neighbouring Diocesses.

The 11th. regulates the numbers of Judges necessary to fit upon a Clergy-man. A Deacon who is accus'd ought to be judg'd by three neighbouring Bishops, a Priest by six, and a Bishop ought not be judg'd by less than twelve.

In the 12th. *Antigonius* Bishop of *Madawra*, complains, that after he had made and sign'd an Agreement with *Optatus* (who probably was his Rival in the Bishoprick) by which they agreed to divide the People between them, yet this *Optatus* continued still, contrary to this Agreement, to win the Affections of all the People. The Bishops decree that the Agreement should stand good.

In the 13th. *Abundantius* Bishop of *Adrametum* says, That in the Council of his Province, Priests were forbidden to take Interest. *Gratus* represented that it was not necessary to make any Canon about this, that they need only put the Law in Execution which was written in the Gospel; and that if Usury was to be condemn'd in Lay-men, it was much more damnable in Clergy-men. All the Bishops approv'd his Judgment.

The Last Canon enjoys Clergy-men and Lay-men to observe these Canons, and those which had been made by other Councils, under the pain of Excommunication for Lay-men, and Deposition for Clergy-men.

Of the Second COUNCIL of Carthage.

From the Inscription of this Council corrected by a Manuscript of the *Vatican* we learn, that it was assembled under the third Consulship of *Valentinian* and *Neoterius*, that's to say in the Year 390, on the 14th. of *June*, at *Carthage* in the Church of *St. Perpetua*; That *Gensethius* Bishop of *Carthage* presided there, and that Bishops came thither from different Provinces. *Gensethius* opens the Council by giving thanks to God for the coming of the Bishops to *Carthage* according to the Letters which he had written to them. He says, That tho' all the Bishops were not present at this Council, yet it was to be believ'd that those who were absent were united in Spirit with it. He recommends afterwards to the Bishops to defend the Faith of the Trinity.

The 2d. Canon renews the Law established in the preceding Council concerning the Celibacy of Bishops, Priests and Deacons.

The 3d. forbids Priests to bless the Christen, to consecrate Virgins, and to reconcile Penitents at a Publick Mass. This is one of the most ancient Monuments where the name of *Mass* occurs to signify the Publick Prayers which the Church made at offering the Eucharist.

The 4th. Canon permits Priests to reconcile Penitents who are Sick and in Danger, with the Bishop's leave.

The 5th. forbids the making New Bishopricks without the leave of the Bishop of the place.

The 6th. forbids the admitting any Persons of bad Reputation as Accusers of Bishops.

The 7th. confirms the Rule made in many Councils, which forbids a Bishop to receive a Person excommunicated by his own Bishop.

The 8th. declares, That if a Priest excommunicated by his own Bishop, undertake to offer up Sacraments

crifices in private, and to set up Altar against Altar, thereby making a Schism, he ought to be anathematiz'd, because there is but one Church, one Faith, and one Baptism.

The 9th. forbids Priests to celebrate *Mass* in all kinds of places: It is call'd in this place, *Agenda*. The 10th. ordains, That a Bishop accus'd, who would justify himself, if he cannot call together more, ought at least to defend his Cause before Twelve Bishops, a Priest before Six, and a Deacon before Three, one of which ought to be their own Bishop.

The 11th. forbids Bishops to intermeddle in the Diocesses of others.

The 12th. declares, That Bishops shall not be ordained without the Consent of the Primate, that's to say, the Metropolitan, and that in a case of necessity three Bishops are sufficient to ordain a Bishop, provided they have the Consent of the Metropolitan.

The 13th. is the Conclusion of this Council, which ordains, That all the Bishops shall observe the Canons which shall be sign'd by all the Bishops present. Some Critics have doubted of the Truth of this Council, because the Names of *Aurelius* and *Apollin* are found in it, who were not Bishops when it was assembled: But these Names are not found in the Edition corrected by the *Vatican* Manuscript, but in their places there are the Names of *Gensethius* and *Felix*.

Of the COUNCILS of Cabarsiffia and Bagais.

These two Councils are two Assemblies of *Donatist* Bishops of contrary Parties: In the First of *Cabar*, of which *Primianus* head of one Party, Bishop of *Carthage*, was depos'd, and *Maximian* in *Jussa* and the Second. *St. Auspin* quotes the Synodical Epistles of these two Councils; that of the First in the *Bagais*, and Commentary upon *Psal.* 36. and that of the Second in divers places of his Books against *Crescentius* 393, and *Petilian*. This Father says, That the First Council was held in the Year 393, and consisted of 100 Bishops; and yet there are but 43 in the Subscriptions of the Council: The Second which was celebrated the next Year, consisted of 310 Bishops.

Of the COUNCIL of Hippo.

This Council was held at *Hippo* under the Third Consulship of *Theodosius* and *Abundantius*, that's Of *Hippo*, to say, in the Year 393, on the 5th. of *October*. Its Canons were inserted into the Council of *Carthage*, in 397.

Of the COUNCIL of Carthage, in the Year 394.

This Council is mentioned in the Code of the Canons of the *African* Church, where it is observ'd, Of *Carthage*, that it was held under the Third Consulship of *Aradius*, and the Second of *Honorius* on the 24th. of *June*, and that Deputies are nam'd in this Council to attend at the Council of *Adrametum*. 394.

Of the COUNCILS of Carthage, in the Year 397.

Under the Consulship of *Casarius* and *Atticus*, who were Consuls in the Year 397, according to the *Of Carthage*, *Vulgar Aera*, the Bishops deputed from the Provinces of *Africa* came to *Carthage*; but they were not all present there at the same time: Some came on the 26th. of *August*, a Day appointed for the Council, others came not till some time after. Nevertheless, *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage*, having conferr'd with the Bishops who came first, and received Letters from the Bishops of the Provinces, who had not yet sent their Deputies, caus'd the Canons which the Bishops, with whom he had conferr'd, thought fit to make, and those which were propos'd by Letters from the Bishops of *Byzacena*, to be read to those that were present. These Canons were received in the Council, which confirm'd those which had been made in the Council of *Hippo*.

The 1st. Canon orders all the Churches of *Africa*, to inform themselves every Year by the Bishop of *Carthage*, on what Day *Easter* should be celebrated.

The 2d. ordains, That every Year a Council shall meet, to which every one of the Provinces of *Africa* was to send three Deputies, excepting only the Province of *Tripolis*, which could send but one, because of the small number of Bishops in that Province.

The 3d. requires, That the Canons should be read to those who were to be ordain'd, that they might not be ignorant of them.

The 4th. forbids the Ordination of Deacons, and Consecration of Virgins before the Age of 25 Years; and forbids Readers to Salute the People, that's to say, to address any Speech to them, when they read the Gospel in the Church.

The 5th. ordains, That the Sacraments should not be given to the Catechumens during the Solemnity of *Easter*, but only the Salt which was usually given them; because if the Faithful do not change the Sacraments during these Feasts, the Catechumens ought much less to do it. 'Tis hard to say, what this Sacrament is, which the Council forbids to give to the Catechumens during the Feast of *Easter*. It cannot be the Eucharist, for that was forbidden to be given them at all times. But the 37th. Canon of the Greek Code of the Canons of the *African* Church explains it, by observing that the Catechumens were forbidden to offer Honey and Milk on any other Day, but *Easter-Day*.

The 6th. forbids the giving of the Eucharist to the Dead.

The 7th. regulates the delays of Accusations brought against a Bishop: It orders that their Causes shall

shall be carried to the Tribunal of the Metropolitan; but that a Bishop cannot be excluded from Communion, for not appearing till one Month after he shall be cited by the Metropolitan's Letter, and that if he bring a lawful Excuse for his absence, one Month more of delay shall yet be given him; but if he appear not in that time, he shall be excluded from Communion till he be acquitted. And if he be not present at last at the Universal Synod which is held every Year, he is to be look'd upon as self condemn'd; he ought not to communicate with his People, while he is excluded from the Communion of other Bishops; that his Accuser ought not to be excommunicated unless he fail to appear on the Day when the Cause is to be heard, and that no Person of a bad Reputation ought to be admitted to accuse a Bishop, unless the Business be about personal Causes which are not Ecclesiastical.

The 8th, regulates the number of Bishops which are requisite to judge Priests and Deacons. It requires five for judging a Priest, and two for judging of a Deacon. It ordains, That the delays shall be observ'd which are contain'd in the fore-mentioned Canon; and as to others of the Faithful, it declares, That the Bishop of the place may take cognizance of them, and judge them alone.

The 9th, ordains, That if a Clergy-man being accus'd before the Ecclesiastical Tribunal, remove the Cause to the Civil Magistrates, tho' he even gain the Cause, he shall lose his Place, if it be a Criminal Cause; and if it be a Civil Cause, he shall lose what he had gain'd.

The 10th, declares, That if a Person who has appeal'd from one Ecclesiastical Tribunal to other Ecclesiastical Judges of greater Authority, be by them acquitted, the Sentence given by the former Judges ought not to prejudice the latter, unless they be convicted of being bias'd by Passion, or corrupted by Favour. It adds, That it is never lawful to appeal from those Judges that are chosen, even tho' they were not a sufficient number.

The 11th, forbids the Children of Bishops and Clergy-men, to act in profane Shows, or to be present at them, because it is unworthy of Christians to be present in a place where Blasphemies are spoken.

The 12th, forbids Clergy-men to give their Daughters in marriage to Pagans, or Hereticks and Schismatics.

The 13th, forbids Clergy-men to make Donations while they are alive, or by their last Will, to such Persons as are not Catholics, tho' they should be of their Kindred.

The 14th, forbids them to emancipate their Children, unless they be advis'd by their Kindred, or the Children be come to such an Age, that the Sins which they commit can no longer be imputed to their Parents.

The 15th, forbids them to be Farmers or Proctors, or to get their Livelihood by dishonest Traffic.

The 16th, forbids them to receive more than they had lent.

The 17th, forbids them to co-habit with Strange Women, and permits them only to live with their Mothers, their Grand-Mothers, their Aunts, their Sisters, their Nieces, and those of their Domesticks who dwell in the House with them before their Ordination.

The 18th, ordains, That none shall be Ordin'd Priests, Bishops and Deacons, unless they have converted all those who liv'd in the House with them.

The 19th, declares, That Readers are to be obliged, when they come to Age, to Marry, or to make the Vow of Chastity.

The 20th, forbids Bishops to undertake any thing in the Dioceses of their Neighbours.

The 21st, forbids them to detain the Clergy of their Fellow Bishops.

The 22d, ordains, That no Clergy-man shall be Ordin'd who has not been examin'd by the Bishops, and approved by the Suffrages of the People.

The 23d, That in the Prayers the Name of the Father shall not be put in the place of the Name of the Son, That at the Altar the Prayers shall always be address'd to the Father; That those who have compos'd private Prayers shall not make use of them, until they have conferred about them with Clergy-men of good Learning.

The 24th, That nothing but Bread and Wine mingled with Water shall be offered for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

The 25th, That Clergy-men and those who make Profession of Chastity, shall not go to see Widows or Virgins without the permission of the Bishop or some Priests, that they shall not be with them alone, but with other Ecclesiastics, or such Persons as the Bishops or the Priests shall appoint them: That Bishops and Priests also shall not visit them alone, but in company with other Ecclesiastics or Christians of known Probity.

The 26th, forbids the Metropolitan to assume the Title of Prince of the Priests: or the Sovereign Priest, and declares, That no other Name ought to be given him but that of Bishop of the First See.

The 27th, forbids Ecclesiastics to eat or drink at an Inn unless it be in a Journey.

The 28th, forbids Bishops to undertake a Voyage beyond Sea without the consent of the Metropolitan, from whom they should receive Letters recommendatory.

The 29th, declares, That the Sacraments of the Altar ought not to be celebrated by any Persons but such as are fasting, except on Holy Thursday: So that if the Memory of one that is dead is to be celebrated in the Afternoon, the Prayers must only be read without Administering the Sacrament.

The 30th, forbids Clergy-men and Bishops to make Feasts in the Churches, and Orders, That the People shall be hinder'd from doing it, as much as is possible.

The 31st, leaves Bishops the liberty to regulate the time of Penance.

The 32d, forbids Priests to reconcile Penitents without asking leave of the Bishop, unless urgent necessity enforce the doing of it in his absence. It adds, That Penitents whose Crimes are very publick

and

and known by all the Church, should receive Imposition of Hands in an high Place near the Bishop's Throne.

The 33d, Ordains, That when Virgins happen to lose their Relations who took care of them, the Bishop, or in his absence, the Priest, ought to place them in a Nunnery, or commit them to the care of Women of known Probity.

The 34th, That sick Persons shall be baptized, who cannot answer any longer, when those who are by them testify that they desired it.

The 35th, That the Grace of Reconciliation shall not be denied to Sorcerers, Comedians, and other Infamous Persons, nor even to Apostates, when they are converted.

The 36th, hinders Priests from consecrating Virgins without the Bishop's permission, and absolutely forbids them to make the holy Chrism.

The 37th, forbids Clergy-men to dwell in strange Cities, unless the Bishop or the Priests of both Places be witness'd, that they have just and lawful Reasons to do so.

Almost all the Canons which we have now mentioned were made by the Council of Hippo, except some which were added by the Bishops of *Byzacena*. These last are the 35th, and so on to the 47th in the Code of the *African Canons*: There is one besides of the Council of Hippo, which is the 47th in the 3d. Council of *Carthage*. This contains a Catalogue of the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, in the number of which are the Five Books of *Solomon*, the Books of *Tobit*, of *Ezther*, of *Esther*, the *Maccabees*, the Three Epistles of *St. John*, that of *St. Jude*, and the *Revelation*. 'Tis added in the Council of the Bishops of *Byzacena*, That it shall be lawful to read publicly the Passions of the Martyrs.

What concerns the Canonical Books was also repeated in a Council held in 418, under Pope *Boniface*, wherein it was propos'd, That the Churches of *Italy* should be consult'd about this Canon.

There were Two or Three Canons besides of this Council which were explain'd in the Synod of *Carthage*, that we now speak of, whereof the First declares, That a Bishop shall not be Ordin'd but by Three Bishops; the Second, That those who have no Testimonials, and do not remember that they were baptized, shall be baptized a-new; and the last declares, That the *Donatists* shall be receiv'd only to the Rank of Lay-men.

The other Canons were made in this Council of *Carthage*. The First, as appears by the Code of the Canons of the *African Councils*, is the 48th, wherein *Honoratus* and *Urbanus* Legates from the Province of *Mauritania*, say, That they have for a long time expected those of *Numidia*, and declare, That they approve the *Nicene Creed*, and the Canon which forbids any to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice unless he be fasting. They say that *Siricius* and *Simplicianus* ought to be consult'd about the case of Infants baptized by the *Donatists*, whether they may be Ordin'd in the Church or no.

In the 37th, the same Legates say, That Re-baptizations, Re-ordinations, and Translations of Bishops being forbidden in the full Synod of *Capua*, they beg leave to address themselves to the Governor of their Province, to drive away *Crescentinus*, who had removed from *Rhegium* to *Tuburnia*, and would not depart from thence tho' he had been many times admonish'd. The Council granted them this Leave.

In the 39th, the same Persons desire, that it may be Ordin'd, that the Ordinations of Lay-men cannot be made but by 12 Bishops: But *Aurelius* having remonstrated that this was impossible in some Provinces, it was Ordin'd, That Three of them at least should meet. But he adds in the next Canon, That if there be any difference, some other Bishops shall be called in to examine what is said against the Person who is to be Ordin'd.

The 41st, declares, That the Bishop of *Carthage* shall publish *Easter-day* immediately after the Synod, which shall be assembled every Year at *Carthage*.

The 42d, forbids the erecting a Church into a Bishoprick which was put under the Jurisdiction of a Bishop, without his consent.

The 43d, is against those who satisfy themselves with governing their Dioceses without attending at Synods.

The 44th, declares, That Clergy-men ought not to be taken from their own Bishops to make them Bishops, without their consent.

In the 45th *Aurelius* Bishop of *Carthage* remonstrates, That commonly leave is desired by him from the Bishop of the place to Ordain one of his Clergy-men; but he desires to know what is to be done if he refuses it.

Numidius observes upon this Proposal, that it was always lawful for the Bishop of *Carthage*, to take those who were desir'd of him and Ordain them, tho' they were of another Diocese. *Epigenius* declares in the name of the Bishops, That it is his Right: But *Posthumianus* remonstrates, That it may happen that a Bishop shall have but one Priest, and it is not just to take him away from him. *Aurelius* answers, That a Bishop may easily ordain many Priests, but that it is more difficult to find fit Persons to be Bishops; and therefore tho' a Bishop should have but one Priest, he ought to give him that he may be made a Bishop. *Posthumianus* replies, That therefore it is just, that another Church which has many Clergy-men, should furnish that which has given the one Priest to be a Bishop; and *Aurelius* answers him, That the Bishop who has many Priests, shall be perswaded to give some of them to him who has given his one Priest to be a Bishop.

The 46th Canon, which should be the last, declares, That the Bishops which have been ordin'd in a Church, where there was never any before, with the consent of the Bishop of the Place, shall continue in their Bishopricks; but that they shall only govern the People whereof they have been ordin'd Bishops.

After

After this Canon follows the Approbation and Subscription of the Bishops, which is found in Canon Fifty.

Of the COUNCIL of Carthage held in the Year 398, call'd the Fourth.

There are 104 Canons which contain the Ordination and Manners of Bishops, Priests, and other Ecclesiasticks, which are attributed to a Council of Carthage call'd the Fourth. The Preface declares, That it was held under the Consilship of *Honorius and Eusebius*, that's to say, in the Year 398, and that *Aurelius* Bishop of Carthage presided in it. But there is some difficulty about the truth of these Canons; they are neither in the Code of the African Church, nor in the Collection of Canons entitled, *The Council of Atrick*, nor in the Collection of *Ferrandus*, nor in that of *Dionysius Exiguus*; and there is not so much as one of them cited in these places. In a Manuscript of Cardinal *Barbérini*, these Canons are entituled *Ancient Statutes of the Eastern Church*; but this cannot be the true Title, because the Ceremonies of the Ordination of the lesser Orders, as they are described in the Canons of this Council, are agreeable to the Practice of the Western Church, who gave them by delivering the Holy Vessels, and is not agreeable to the practice of the Eastern Church which never made use of this Ceremony, but conferr'd them by Imposition of Hands. In other Manuscripts they are entituled, *Ancient Statutes of the Church*. They agree well enough to the Church of Africa, as appears by the First Canon, where it is Ordain'd, That a Bishop shall be interrogated, about the Errors common in Africa, whether he believes the Consubstantial Trinity; if he believes the Resurrection of this Flesh; if he believes that 'tis the same God who is the Author of the Old and New Testament, of the Law and the Gospel; if he held that the Devil is not wicked by Nature, but became so by his own Will; if he did not condemn Second Marriages; if he did not find fault with those who eat Meat; if he believed that Baptism pardoned all Sins, Original Sin as well as the other actual Sins: Lastly, if he held that a Person may be saved out of the Church. These are the Errors of the *Manichees, Donatists, and Pelagians* which were common in Africa. As to the Article which concerns Original Sin, it is something surprizing that it should be found so expressly set down in a Synod held in 398, since *Pelagius* did not publish his Error in Africa till 411, and was not condemned till 412. But it may be this Error was already known, tho' *Celestius* was not yet come into Africa; and there is no doubt but the Church of Africa from that time maintained Original Sin. However this be, this discovers that these Canons belong to the Western Church, and even to the Church of Africa. I see no reason strong enough to convince me that this Preface is supposititious. The other Canons agree well enough with the Discipline of the African Church. The Reason why they are not found in the Ancient Collections, may be, because they made a Body of Canons apart by themselves for Ecclesiasticks. They are cited under the name of the Council of Carthage, by *Isidore*, by *Hincmar*, by *Burchardus*, by *Ivo Carnotensis*, and by *Gratian*.

The 1st. of these Canons ordains, That he who is to be promoted to the Episcopal Dignity shall be examined as to his manner of Life, his Learning and his Faith. As to his manners, it commands that Enquiry be made, if he be Prudent, Teachable, Moderate, Charitable, Humble, Affable and Merciful: As to his Learning, if he be Enlighten'd and Instructed out of the Law of God, if he be Skilful in the Understanding of the Scriptures, and Vers'd in the Knowledge of the Dogmes of the Church: As to his Faith, the Canon requires that he be examin'd whether he believes the Consubstantial Trinity; whether he believes that the Son of God assum'd real Flesh and a Soul, and that there are two Natures and one Person only in Jesus Christ; and whether he affirms, That he was really dead, and shall rise again to judge the Quick and Dead: It adds, That he who is to be ordained must also be ask'd, if he believes that the same God is the Author of the Old and New Testament; if he believes that the Devil was not wicked by Nature, but became so by his own Free-will; if he believes that the same Flesh which we now carry about with us shall be rais'd again; if he be persuaded of a future Judgment, of future Punishments and Glory; if he does not condemn Marriage and second Marriages; if he does not blame the use of Meats; if he communicates with Penitents that are reconcil'd; and if he holds that Baptism blots out Actual and Original Sin. These are the things about which the Fathers of this Council would have him to be examin'd who is to be ordain'd; and they add, that if he be found well-instructed in all these Points, he may be ordain'd Bishop with the Consent of the Clergy and the Laity, in the Assembly of the Bishops of the Province, by the Authority, and in the Presence of the Metropolitan. That after he has received the Holy Orders of Bishop, he ought not to govern himself according to his Passion or Fancy, but according to the Canons of Councils. They add, That Care should be taken, that none be ordain'd but such as are arriv'd at the Age which the Holy Fathers require for the Ordination of a Bishop.

The 2d. ordains, That when a Bishop is ordain'd, two Bishops ought to lay the Book of the Gospels upon his Head and Neck, and hold it there, and that while one of the Bishops who are present, pronounces the Blessing upon him, all the other Bishops who are present, must touch his Head with their Hands.

The 3d. That at the Ordination of a Priest all the other Priests should lay their Hands upon his Head, while the Bishop Consecrates him, and lays Hands upon him.

The 4th. That none but the Bishop shall lay Hands upon a Deacon, when he is ordain'd, because he is not ordain'd for the Priesthood, but for the Ministry.

The 5th. That the Sub-Deacon who does not receive Imposition of Hands at his Ordination, ought to receive the Patten and Chalice empty from the Hand of the Bishop; and the Flaggons with Water, and the Basin and Towel, from the Hand of the Arch-Deacon.

The

The 6th. That the *Acolyth* at his Ordination ought to learn from the Bishop after what manner he should behave himself in his Ministry; That he receive from the Archdeacon a Candlestick with a Wax-Candle, to instruct him, that he is design'd for lighting the Wax-Candles in the Church; and that he also receive an empty Flagon to give Wine for the Eucharist of the Blood of Jesus Christ.

The 7th. That the Exorcist receive at his Ordination from the Hand of the Bishop a Book wherein are written Exorcisms, and that the Bishop speak to him these Words; *Receive these, and get them by heart, and have thou the Power of laying hands upon the posses'd and Catechumens.*

The 8th. concerns the Ordination of a Reader, which was made in Africa, by giving him the Book of the Gospels, and saying to him, *Be thou a Reader of the Word of God.*

The 9th. concerns the Ordination of a Porter, to whom the Bishop gave the Keys, saying unto him, *Behave your self as one that must give an account to God of those things which are lock'd up under these Keys.*

The 10th. commands, That Virgins who would be consecrated by the Bishop, should present themselves in Habits agreeable to their Profession and Vocation, like to those which they are to use for the future.

The 11th. declares, That Widows and Nuns who are employ'd about the Baptism of Women ought to be capable of instructing others, and giving an account of their own Faith.

The 12th. That those who are contracted, and present themselves to receive the Benediction of Marriage, ought to be accompanied with their Kindred, and to abstain from the use of Marriage the Night after the Benediction.

The 13th. That the Bishop ought to have a Lodging near the Church.

The 14th. That his Household-Stuff should be of little worth, his Table and Diet mean, and that he ought to acquire Authority by his Faith and his Merit, and not by external Pomp.

The 15th. That he ought not to read the Books of Pagans, nor those of Heretics, but in case of necessity, and when occasion requires it.

The 16th. and 17th. That he must not take upon him the Care of Widows, of Orphans and Strangers, but that he discharge this Care upon his Arch-Priest, or Arch-Deacon.

The 18th. That a Bishop ought not to be Executor of a Last Will and Testament.

The 19th. That he ought not to plead a Cause.

The 20th. That he ought not to trouble himself with Domestic Affairs, but apply himself wholly to Reading, Prayer and Preaching of the Word of God.

The 21st. That he ought not to dispute with his going to the Synod, unless there be great necessity; and that if he does not go, he must send a Deputy to approve every thing that shall be ordain'd by the Synod, without prejudice to the Truths of Faith.

The 22d. That a Bishop shall not ordain Ecclesiasticks without the Consent of his Clergy, and that he shall define the Testimony and Approbation of the Laity.

The 23d. That he shall hear no Cause but in the presence of his Clergy, and that the Sentences which he shall give in the absence of his Clergy shall be null and void.

The 24th. That he shall be excommunicated who goes out of the Church in Sermon-time.

The 25th. That if the fear of God does not reconcile the Bishops, they ought to be reconciled together by the Synod.

The 26th. enjoins Bishops to exhort the People of their Diocesses to live in Peace.

The 27th. forbids the Translations of Bishops which are made through Ambition; and as for those which are made for the Good of the Church, it says, they ought to be made upon the Request of the Clergy and People by Order of the Synod: Neither does it permit Clergy-men to remove unto another Church without the leave of their Bishops.

The 28th. declares, That the Synod may examine a new the Condemnation of a Bishop.

The 29th. That a Bishop who accuses a Clergy-man or Lay-man ought to exhibit his Information against him to the Synod.

The 30th. forbids Ecclesiastical Judges to judge in the absence of the Party accus'd.

The 31st. declares, That Bishops ought to use the Goods of the Church, not as their own proper Goods, but as such of which they have only the use.

The 32d. declares all Sale or Exchange of Ecclesiastical Goods to be null and void, which is made without the Consent of the Clergy.

The 33d. declares, That the Bishops and Priests who are forc'd to go into their Neighbour's Churches, shall be received, and that they shall be invited to Preach and to Celebrate the Eucharist there.

The 34th. That a Bishop being feasted shall not suffer a Priest to continue standing before him.

The 35th. That a Bishop shall sit on a Seat rais'd on high in the Church, or in the Assembly of his Priests; but in his House he shall converse with them as his Collegues and Brethren.

The 36th. That the Priests who govern the Churches, shall send for the Holy Chrism before Easter.

The 37th. That the Deacon should look upon himself as the Minister of the Priest as well as of the Bishop.

The 38th. That he may give the Eucharist to the People in the presence of the Priest, if necessity enforce it, and the Priest be willing.

The 39th. That he shall not sit down but with the Priest's leave.

The 40th. That in a Meeting of Priests, he must not speak but when he is ask'd.

The 41st. That he shall not make use of a Surplice but at the time of Oblation.

The 42d. That a Minister who discharges faithfully his Ministry ought to be preferr'd to a higher Dignity.

- The 43d. That Christians who suffer for Religion, ought to be honoured, and their necessities provided for.
- The 44th. forbids Clergy-men to suffer the Hair of their Heads or Beards to grow.
- The 45th. exhorts them to make known their Vocation by their Modesty in their Apparel and Countenance, and forbids them to distinguish themselves by their Habit or their Shoes.
- The 46th. forbids them to co-habit with Strange Women.
- The 47th. and 48th. forbids them to walk in publick Places, and appear at Fairs.
- The 49th. deprives them of their Rewards who are not present at *Vigils*.
- The 50th. declares, That those Ministers should be deprived of their Ministry who do not do their Duty, or do it negligently.
- The 51st. 52d. and 53d. require all Ministers, how able soever they be, to earn their living by an honest Trade, yet without failing in their Duty.
- The 54th. forbids the Advancement of those Ministers higher, who envy the Prerogative of others.
- The 55th. commands Bishops to excommunicate those who accuse their Brethren unjustly, and forbids the admitting of them into the Clergy, even tho' they should amend.
- The 56th. ordains those Ministers to be degraded who are Traitors or Flatterers.
- The 57th. obliges Slandering Ministers to make Satisfaction.
- The 58th. declares, That his Testimony is not to be received without Examination, who often goes to Law.
- The 59th. That the Bishop ought to reconcile those Ministers that are at difference, and that he who will not obey him shall be punished by the Synod.
- The 60th. declares, That a Minister ought to be remov'd from his Ministry, who speaks lascivious words.
- The 61st. That those Ministers ought to be reprimanded who Swear by the Creatures, and if they continue to do it, they must be excommunicated.
- The 62d. That the same severity must be us'd to a Minister who sings at Meals.
- The 63d. is against those Ecclesiastics who break a Fast without inevitable necessity.
- The 64th. declares, That he ought not to be accounted a Catholic who fasts on *Sundays*.
- The 65th. That the Feast of *Easter* ought to be celebrated on the same day.
- The 66th. That an Ecclesiastick who believes that his Bishop has condemned him unjustly, may have recourse to the Judgment of the Synod.
- The 67th. That seditious Persons, Usurers and revengeful Persons, ought not to be Ordain'd.
- The 68th. That those must not be ordain'd who are in the Rank of Penitents, and that if a Bishop has ordain'd any of them through mistake, they ought to be deposted, but if he knew their condition, he shall be deprived of the Power of Ordination.
- The 69th. makes a Bishop liable to the same Penalty, who shall ordain a Widow, or a Woman divorced.
- The 70th. enjoins Ecclesiastics to shun the Society and Feasts of Hereticks and Schismatics.
- The 71st. Ordains, That the Name of a Church shall not be given to the Assemblies of Hereticks.
- The 72d. That none shall Pray or sing with them.
- The 73d. That those shall be Excommunicated who shall Communicate or Pray with them.
- The 74th. That the Bishop shall impose Penance upon him that desires it, without respect to the Quality of the Person.
- The 75th. That negligent Penitents shall be later received.
- The 76th. declares, That if a Person having desired Penance, perceive himself to be seiz'd with a Disease, and lose his Understanding before the Priest can come to him, Penance shall be granted him upon the Testimony of those who affirm that he desired it, and if it be thought that he will quickly die, he shall be immediately reconciled, and the Eucharist shall be put into his Mouth; but yet if he recover his health, he shall be put under Penance.
- The 77th. That Penitents who fall sick shall receive the *Vaticum*, that's to say, the Eucharist.
- The 78th. That those who are thus receiv'd, ought not to think themselves absolv'd, if they recover their health, without Imposition of Hands.
- The 79th. That if Penitents die in a Journey or at Sea, before the Communion can be given them, yet they shall still be commemorated in the Prayers and Oblations.
- The 80th. That Imposition of Hands shall be given to Penitents during all the times of Fasting.
- The 81st. That Christian Burial shall be given to Penitents.
- The 82d. That Penitents ought to use Kneeling even at those times when the Faithful are exempt from it.
- The 83d. That the Poor and Aged must be honoured.
- The 84th. That the Bishop ought not to hinder any Person to enter into the Church, whether he be a Heretick, Jew or Pagan, until the Mass or the Catechumens begins.
- The 85th. That the Catechumens who would be baptized, ought to give in their Names, and after that be prepar'd for Baptism by abstaining from Wine and Meat, and by Imposition of Hands.
- The 86th. That Novices, or those who are newly baptiz'd, ought for some time to abstain from Feasts and Shows, and to live in Continence.
- The 87th. contains the Sentence of Excommunication against a Catholic, who carries his Cause, just or unjust before a Judge of another Religion.
- The 88th. excommunicates him who forsakes the Assembly of the Church to be present at Shows.

- The 89th. casts those out of the Church who practise Sooth-saying or Enchantments, and who are addicted to *Jewish* Superstitions.
- The 90th. declares, That the Exorcists ought every day to lay Hands on the Possess'd.
- The 91st. charges the Possess'd to take care that the Churches be swept.
- The 92d. declares, That the Exorcists shall feed the Possess'd who continue in the Churches.
- The 93d. That Oblations shall not be received from the Brethren that are separated from the Church.
- The 94th. That their Presents shall be rejected who oppress the Poor.
- The 95th. blames those who refuse to give, in Memory of the dead, wherewithal to feed the Poor.
- The 96th. says, That in judging a Cause, the Faith and Conduct of the Accuser and Accused must be inquired into.
- The 97th. That the Superiour of Nuns ought to be approved by the Bishop.
- The 98th. That a Lay-man ought not to teach in the presence of Priests, unless they command him.
- The 99th. That a Woman how Skillful and Holy soever she be, ought not to take upon her to teach in an Assembly.
- The 100th. That she ought not to take upon her to baptize.
- The 101st. That the young Widows which are weak ought to be maintain'd at the Expence of the Church to which they belong.
- The 102d. declares, That it is the fault of the Bishop or the Curate of the Parish, if the Widows and Nuns, are forced through necessity, to have too much familiarity with the inferior Ministers.
- The 103d. That the Widows who are maintained at the Expence of the Church, ought to be very diligent and constant in the Service of God, that they may edify the Church by their Prayers and Works.
- The 104th. excommunicates Widows who marry again, after they have made Profession of Celibacy.
- Balazius* has added yet one Canon more to these, which is against those who cause Schisms and Divisions in the Church of Jesus Christ, which is the Pillar and Foundation of the Faith of Christians. There were many Bishops at this Council, and they all subscribed, but there are none now extant, besides the Subscriptions of *Aurelius* of Carthage, of *Donatianus* of *Talabraca*, or *Telepta*, and of *St. Auspin*.
- Of the COUNCIL of Carthage in the Year 399:
- IT was a settled Custom in *Africa*, that National Councils should be held at *Carthage* very often. Of *Car-*
There was one in 399, in the Month of *April*, which is mentioned in the Code of the Canons of the *thage*,
African Church, which informs us, That this Council sent *Epigenius* and *Vincentius* Deputies to the 399-
Emperour, to obtain a Law to forbid the taking of those out of Churches who had fled thither, what-
soever Crimes they had been guilty of.
- Of the COUNCIL of Carthage in the Year 401, commonly call'd the Fifth.
- THIS commonly thought that this Council was in the Year 398, but it appears by the Code of the Of the
Canons of the *African* Church, that the greatest part of the Canons attributed to this Council Fifth of
were made in Two Assemblies held in the Year 401, in the Months of *June* and *September*; and there. *Carthage*,
fore we follow the Code in the Abridgment of the Canons of this Council. 401.
- Aurelius* remonstrates, That it was necessary for relieving the Churches of *Africa*, which were under
great Necessity and Grief, to depose some Bishops into the West, and particularly to *St. Donatist*
Bishop of the Apostolical See, and to *Venerius* Bishop of *Milan*. He represents that the Church of
Africa was so abused and had suffered so great a Desolation, that it had no Deacon who was sufficiently
learned, and much less a Priest; that therefore one might hear every day the Complaints of an infinite
number of languishing People, and that if the Bishops did not relieve them they must be accountable
to God for the loss of their Souls.
- The 1st. Canon of this Council, which is the 57th. in the Greek Code of the *African* Church, con-
firms what had been ordain'd in a former Synod, That it should be lawful to Ordain those, who hav-
ing been baptized in their Infancy among the *Donatists*, were afterwards reconciled to the Church;
and it leaves it to the Prudence of the Bishops to consider, whether or no they might not receive a
whole *Donatist* Church with its Bishop, who should desire to be re-united to the Catholics.
- In the 2d. *Aurelius* says, That the Emperours ought to be entreated to destroy the Remains of
Idolatry, and to demolish some Temples which were yet standing.
- In the 3d. That they must also be desired to give Orders, that it shall not be lawful to Summon a
Clergy-man for a Witness before a Secular Judge, who has been Arbitrator or Judge of some Dif-
ference.
- The 4th. That they must be desired to forbid the Feasts and Dancings which are made to the ho-
nour of False Gods.
- The 5th. That they must be prayed to hinder the showing of Sports, Plays and Comedies, on *Sun-*
days and Festivals, particularly at *Easter*-time, when it happens sometimes that more People go to the
Circus than to the Church.
- The 6th. That they must be entreated to give Order, that no Person shall defend an Ecclesiastick
condemned by the Bishops, under the pain of Correction and a Fine.

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The 7th. That they must be desired to hinder Comedians who turn Christians from being forced to exercise their Profession.

The 8th. That the Power of enfranchising Slaves in the Church must be desired.

The 9th. declares, That if one *Equinus* a Bishop, be found in *Italy*, who had been condemned in *Africk*, leave shall be desired to make a Process against him.

These are the Canons of this First Assembly in the Year 401.

The other Assembly was held the same Year on the 13th. of *September*. In it were read the Letters of Pope *Anastasius*, who exhorted the Bishops of *Africk* not to dissemble the Vexations which they suffer from the *Donatists*. Nevertheless the Bishops were of Opinion, that they should be treated with gentleness, and that a Letter only should be written to the Governors of Cities, to pray them to cause those Churches to be restored to the Catholic Church, which the *Maximianists* had usurped. This is found in the Canons 66 and 67, of the Greek Code of the Canons of the *African* Church.

The 68th. permits the Bishops for Peace sake, to receive into the Catholic Clergy, those Clergymen of the *Donatists* who should be converted.

The 69th. declares, That some shall be deputed to the *Donatists*, to remonstrate to them, that they ought to be reconciled to the Church.

The 70th. Ordains Bishops, Priests and Deacons to have no more to do with their Wives, under pain of Degradation; for the lesser Orders, it does not oblige them to Celibacy.

The 71st. forbids a Bishop to forsake the principal Church of his Diocess and make his abode at another.

The 72d. declares, That Children ought to be baptized, when there is no proof, nor testimony that they have been already baptized.

The 73d. renews the Canon which Ordains, That the Bishop of *Carthage* shall publish *Easter-day*.

The 74th. forbids him, who has the care of a Church committed to him after the death of its Bishop, to continue there more than one Year; and obliges him to cause a Bishop to be chosen; and if he neglects it, the Canon ordains that at the end of the Year, another Steward shall be chosen for the Church.

The 76th. is against the Bishops who absent themselves without cause from the National Council.

The 77th. is against a particular Bishop named *Crescinius*, who refused to come thither. The Council Ordains, that he shall come to the first National *African* Council, and if he did not, that a Sentence should be pass'd against him.

The 78th. names Deputies for deciding a Difference of a Church in *Africa*.

The 79th. declares, That those Clergy-men are not to be admitted to justify themselves who have continued a Year without taking pains to take off the Excommunication which was pronounced against them.

The 80th. ordains, That if a Bishop give Holy Orders to a Stranger, or if he make a Monk of another Monastery, Superior of his own Monastery, he shall be separated from the Communion of the other Bishops, and shall enjoy only that of his own Church, and that he who was made Clergy-man or Superior, shall not enjoy that Honour.

The 81st. is against those Bishops who should make Hereticks or Pagans their Heirs, tho' they should be of their Kindred.

The 82d. declares, That the Emperour shall be desired to grant the Power of setting Servants free to the Church.

The 83d. is concerning the Care which Bishops ought to take, to hinder the Faithful from honouring False Relicks and False Martyrs.

The 84th. declares, That the Emperour shall be requested to demolish the remaining Temples and Idols.

The 85th. and Last gives Power to the Bishop of *Carthage* to Dictate and Subscribe, in the name of the whole Council, the Letters which the Council thought fit to write and send. These are the Canons of the Fifth Council of *Carthage*, which is commonly plac'd in the Year 398, but was indeed in the Year 401, according to the two Codes of the Canons of the *African* Church.

The Reflections which may be made on the Councils of *Africa* of which we have just now spoken, are these; First, That there were in *Africa* a great number of Bishops; Secondly, That the Title of Metropolitan in *Africa*, was not as in other places, affixed to the Bishop of the Civil Metropolis, but to the Antiquity of the Bishoprick; Thirdly, That the Bishop of *Carthage* had much Authority over all *Africk*; That he enjoy'd great Jurisdictions and Prerogatives; in a word, That he was as it were, the Exarch or Patriarch of all *Africa*; Fourthly, That Synods were very often held in *Africa*, and they were distinguished into two sorts, one Provincial and the other National or General, which were commonly held at *Carthage*, where the Bishops deputed from the Provinces assembled under the Authority of the Bishop of that City; Fifthly, That they handled Matters of Discipline, and made such Canons as they saw the Juncture and State of Affairs requir'd; Sixthly, That their Discipline with respect to Clergy-men, was very Regular and Exact; Seventhly, That they endeavour'd to maintain the Ecclesiastical Authority by the Assistance of the Imperial Laws; Lastly, That they made many Canons very useful for all Christians. These Reflections seem'd necessary for explaining what I have said of these Councils, and they may conduce to represent and discover the usefulness of Councils in general.

of the Fourth Century of Christianity.

Of the COUNCIL of Constantinople, in the Year 394.

Balsamon has preserv'd a Fragment of this Council held at *Constantinople* on the 27th. of *September* in the Year 394. It was compos'd of three Eastern Patriarchs, *Nestarius* of *Constantinople*, *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, and *Flavianus* of *Antioch*, and of Sixteen Bishops of the East and of *Asia*. In it the Difference was examin'd that was between *Agapinus* and *Bagadius*, who both pretended to the Bishoprick of *Bosyra*. *Bagadius* had been depos'd by two Bishops. The Council disapproves this Judgment, and declares, That as a Bishop cannot be ordain'd but by three Bishops, so neither can he be depos'd by less than three. *Theophilus* says, That three Bishops are not sufficient, but all the Bishops of the Province should assemble if it be possible, and all the Synod approv'd his Judgment. This is all we know of this Council.

Of the COUNCIL of Alexandria, in the Year 399.

Theophilus assembled in the Year 399, a Council at *Alexandria*, wherein he condemn'd the Books of *Origen*. *Iustinian* quotes a Fragment of the Letter of this Council in his Epistle to *Abbas*.

Of the COUNCIL of Cyprus, at the same time.

Within a little time after St. *Epiphanius*, being persuaded by the Letters of *Theophilus*, held a Council in the Isle of *Cyprus*, and there also caus'd the Books of *Origen* to be condemned.

Of the COUNCIL of Turin.

THE Bishops of *Africk* were not the only Bishops who took care to maintain the Discipline of the Church about the end of the Fourth Century: Those of *Gaul* and *Spain* have also left us authentic Monuments of their Pastoral Vigilance. The former in the Canons of the Council of *Turin*, and the latter in those of the Council of *Toledo*, for these Two Councils were assembled in the Year 400, or thereabouts.

The Council of *Turin* determin'd several Differences between the Churches and Bishops of *Gaul*. The 1st. is, That which *Proculus* Bishop of *Marsilles* had with the Bishops of *Gallia Narbonensis*, of which he would be acknowledg'd Metropolitan. The Council, for Peace sake, granted to the Person, and not to the See of *Proculus*, the Jurisdiction of a Primate over all the Churches in the Second *Narbonensis*.

The 2d. Difference was between the Bishops of the Churches of *Arles* and *Vienna*, who contested the Right of Primacy. The Synod declares, That this Right belongs to him who shall prove that his City is the Metropolis; but in the mean time it ordains, as a Provision for preserving Peace, That the Bishops of these two Churches shall have under their Jurisdiction the Churches which are nearest to their own Cities, and that they shall live hereafter in Peace, without disturbing one another, by usurping the Churches that are remote.

The 3d. Question which was to be determined in this Synod, concern'd Four Bishops, who had made Ordinations contrary to Order: The Council remits their Fault, on condition that they will not relapse into it any more, and ordains, That for the time to come, those who shall relapse into it, shall be disabled from coming to Synods, and that those who shall be so ordain'd, shall be depriv'd of the Priesthood.

The 4th. is concerning a Lay-man call'd *Palladius*, who complain'd of a Sentence given against him by his own Bishop, *Triferius*, before whom he was not able to prove a Crime of which he had accus'd a Priest. The Council confirms the Sentence of *Triferius*, leaving him nevertheless the Liberty to show favour to *Palladius*.

It confirms also in the 5th. Canon another Sentence of the same Bishop, given against the Priest *Exuperantius*, who had vomited forth many Calumnies and Reproaches against him.

The 6th. Canon is against those who communicated with *Felix* Bishop of *Triers*, who was of the Faction of the *Ilthacians*.

The 7th. forbids Bishops to take Clergy-men from any one of their Brethren, to ordain them in their own Churches, and to receive those into Communion who have been excommunicated in some other place.

The 8th. declares, That those who have been ordain'd contrary to the Canons, and who being ordain'd have had children, ought not to be advanc'd to higher Orders.

Of the COUNCIL of Toledo.

This Council was held in the Year 400, and compos'd of Nineteen Spanish Bishops assembled at *Toledo*, who having made Profession of the Faith, and condemn'd the Errors of the *Priscillianists*, made Canons concerning Discipline. The first thing which they ordained was, That the Canons of the Council of *Nice* should be observ'd: And afterwards they made 20 other Canons.

In the 1st. they permit the Order of Deacon to be given to married Persons, provided they be chaste, and preserve Continence; but they impose no other Penalty upon a Deacon or a Priest who

[Continence in these Canons is to be understood of abstaining from the Rites of Marriage.]

The 2d. Canon forbids the ordaining of a Person who has done publick Penance: It adds, That if necessity require, he may be made a Porter or at most a Reader; but upon Condition, that he neither read the Epistles, nor Gospels, and that if any such Person has been ordain'd Deacon, he shall be only in the rank of Sub-Deacons, without being capable of laying on of Hands, or touching *Holy Things*. 'Tis observ'd afterwards, that a Penitent is he who having done publick Penance after his Baptism, for Murder, or some other Crime of like Nature, has been publickly reconcil'd at the Altar of God.

The 3d. Canon declares, That if a Reader marry a Widow, he cannot be advanc'd to higher Orders, and that at most he shall only be a Sub-Deacon.

The 4th. That a Sub-Deacon who marries again, shall be put in the rank of Porters or Readers, without being capable of reading the Epistles or Gospels; That he who shall marry a third time shall be separated from the Church for the space of two Years, and after he is reconcil'd, he shall never rise higher than the rank of Lay-men.

The 5th. deprives a Clergy-man of Ecclesiastical Orders, who being design'd for the Service of some Church in the City or Country, shall not be present at the Sacrifice which is made there every Day.

The 6th. forbids Virgins consecrated to God to have any familiarity with Ecclesiastical Men, who are not of their near Kindred.

The 7th. gives leave to Clergy-men who have Wives that do not behave themselves well, to bind them and shut them up in their Houses, and forbids them to eat with them till they have done Penance.

The 8th. excludes those from Holy Orders who have been in the Wars after they have received Baptism.

The 9th. forbids Virgins and Widows, to pray with Strangers in their Houses, except in the presence of the Bishop, a Priest or a Deacon.

The 10th. declares, That those must not be ordain'd, who have a dependence upon some Family, or who are engag'd in some Farm, unless those upon whom they depend, consent to it.

The 11th. declares, That if a Man in power has robbed a Clergy-man or a poor Monk, and will not appear before the Bishop to give an account of what he has done, he ought to be excommunicated till he restores the Goods which do not belong to him.

The 12th. forbids to receive a Clergy-man from another Bishop, unless he be a Schismatick, and declares all those Excommunicated who separate from Catholics to join with Schismaticks.

The 13th. Ordains; That those who come to Church and do not receive the Communion shall be admonish'd, that they must either communicate, or be put in the Rank of Penitents, and if they will do neither, they shall be excommunicated.

The 14th. Ordains, That he shall be driven away as a Sacrilegious Person, which having received the Eucharist from the hand of the Bishop, does not eat it.

The 15th. declares, That we must neither eat nor converse with a Lay-man or Clergy-man who is excommunicated.

The 16th. imposes a Penance of 10 Years for Adultery.

The 17th. declares, That he who has a Concubine and a Wife both together, ought to be excommunicated, but that he ought not to be excommunicated who has only a Concubine; so that it is necessary for every one that is a Member of the Church, to satisfy himself either with one Wife or one Concubine. This Canon may give some trouble to those, who know not that the Word *Concubine*, which is at present odious, was formerly taken for a Woman, to whom the Marriage-Promise was given, tho' she was not married with all the Solemnities which the Laws required in Marriage; as St. *Augustin* has explain'd it in the 5th. Chap. of the Book about the Advantages of Marriage.

The 18th. declares, That we ought not to communicate with the Widow of a Bishop, a Priest or a Deacon, if she marries again, and that she ought not to be reconciled until the Point of death.

The 19th. inflicts the same Penalty upon the Daughter of a Bishop, a Priest, or a Deacon, who marries after she has been consecrated to God.

The 20th. is express'd in these Words: Altho it is observ'd almost every where, not to consecrate Chrism without the Bishop, yet because we are inform'd that in some places the Priests do consecrate it, we have ordain'd that for the future, none but the Bishop shall consecrate the Holy Chrism, and that he shall send it through all his Diocess. And to the end that this Canon may be put in execution, every Church shall send to the Bishop a Deacon or Sub-deacon about *Easter*, that he may fetch Chrism for that day. 'Tis certain that the Bishop can consecrate Chrism at all times, which the Priests cannot do without the Authority and Permission of the Bishop. The Deacons cannot administer the Holy Chrism, 'tis only lawful for the Priests to do it in the absence of the Bishop, or by his Order, if he be present.

These are the Ecclesiastical Canons which were made at the end of the Fourth Century, and the beginning of the Fifth.

An

An Abridgment of the Doctrine of the Fourth AGE of the Church.

THO' there was nothing taught in the Fourth Age of the Church, which was not believed in the Three First, yet it must be confess'd that in it the chief Mysteries of Religion were very much clear'd up and explain'd. As to the Divinity and Attributes of God, there was nothing almost added to what was said by the ancient Fathers, and they were even less handled in this Age than in the preceding. But the Mystery of the Trinity, as we have seen, was the Subject of an infinite number of Books written by the Authors of this Age, and of many Synodical Decisions. The Divinity of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit was established. It was prov'd, That these Two Persons are of the same Substance with the Father; Essence and Substance was carefully distinguished from the Person; many Arguments were urg'd whereon to ground this Doctrine; and the Objections which the Heretics propos'd against it, were answer'd.

There was some Difference among the Catholics about the Word, *Hypostasis*; Some would have it said, That the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit were Three *Hypostases*, and others maintain'd that we ought to say, That they were but one and the same *Hypostasis*; but this seeming Difference consisted only in a Question about a Word, which depended upon the signification of the Word *Hypostasis*, which one Party took for the Person, and the other for the Nature. All the Fathers of this Age acknowledged, that the Word was a Person distinguished from the Person of the Eternal Father, and that his Generation was Eternal; but they did not think of explaining how this Generation is made; and they confess'd, That it is ineffable and incomprehensible: Neither did they insist upon a multitude of subtle Questions concerning the Mystery of the most Holy Trinity, and they always continued in the Simplicity of the Faith, which they established upon the Authority of Scripture and of Tradition. They taught also that the Word appeared to the Patriarchs, and in this sense they said that he was visible. Tho' they treated not so much in this Age of the Mystery of the Incarnation as in the next, yet it was explain'd very clearly, and not only the Errors of *Arius* and *Apollinaris* were condemn'd, who denied that Jesus Christ had a Soul or Humane Understanding different from the Divinity; but even the Errors of *Nestorius*, *Eutyches*, and all the other Heretics were rejected beforehand, who either distinguish Two Persons in Jesus Christ, or confound the Two Natures and their Properties. They believ'd the Incarnation to be necessary for the Redemption of Mankind, and acknowledged that none can be sav'd without Faith in Jesus Christ. Some taught also that Jesus Christ preach'd the Gospel to those in Hell, but this Opinion was rejected by many. They affirm'd that there were great numbers of Angels and Devils. They determin'd nothing about the Day of Judgment, and they did all almost confess, that Men are wholly ignorant of it. They looked upon what were groundless Imaginations. They almost all acknowledged that the Souls which are innocent and Wicked are condemn'd to Eternal Fire immediately after their death: Yet they confess'd that after the Resurrection, their Happiness or Misery should still be encreased. They believ'd that the Souls of Men were Spiritual and immortal, but they doubted, Whether they were immediately created by God, or produced by the Souls of their Fathers and Mothers. They spoke more of Grace than those who lived in the preceding Ages, and yet they ascribed always very much to Free-Will. Original Sin, begun to be better known. They excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven, Children who died without Baptism; but they did not affirm that they should endure the Torments of Fire. They acknowledged the Efficacy and Necessity of Baptism. The imposition of the Hands of the Bishop, or the Holy Spirit upon the Baptized. They maintain'd as a Sacrament which brought down the Word to impose Penance, and to forgive the most enormous Sins. They taught clearly, That the Bread and Wine of the Eucharist were chang'd into the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. They gave the Name of a Sacrifice to the Celebration of the Eucharist, and performed it with particular Ceremonies. They were persuad'd that Men ought to be Ordain'd to make them capable of discharging the Ecclesiastical Functions. They approv'd of Marriage, and would have the Persons to be married, contracted in the face of the Church, and in the presence of a Priest who gave a Blessing. They honour'd Virginity, and commended those who profess'd it; and look'd upon those as Sacrilegious Persons who violated that Profession. They had much Reverence and Veneration for the Blessed Virgin and for the Saints; they pray'd to them, and also honour'd their Reliques. They pray'd for the Dead. We have often taken notice of their Opinion concerning the Authority of Holy Scripture and Tradition. They taught that there was but one Catholic Church, out of which there was no Salvation, and to whose Authority all Men ought to submit, because it can neither cease to be, nor Err in Matters of Faith.

Wherefore one may say in general, That the Doctrine of the Fourth Age was the Belief of the Church of that Age, and so the Church not being capable of changing her Belief, it necessarily follows, That the Doctrine of that Time, is not at all different from that which the Church teaches still at this Day.

An Abridgment of the Discipline of the Fourth AGE of the Church.

THE Discipline of the Church consists, either in the Government or in the Policy, or in the Ceremonies, or in the Practices which concern Manners and Christian Perfection. It cannot be doubted but these Three Points, and especially the Two former, were very much improv'd in the Fourth

Fourth Age of the Church. For before this time, the Church which had been continually troubled and troubled with Persecutions, could never settle one constant and uniform Form of Government, nor celebrate the Mysteries with the Pomp and Splendor of Ceremonies: But when once the was perfectly deliver'd from the Yoke of Tyranny; under which she had groan'd before, and established by the Authority of a Christian Emperor, the made Rules and Laws for the Government of her self, and join'd to the purity of Faith the Magnificence of Ceremonies: Thus tho' there had been some Rules for the Government of the Churches of the First Ages, which were established by Custom and Tradition, and there were already many Ceremonies practis'd; yet it may be affirm'd that these things were very much improv'd in the Fourth Age of the Church, as will easily appear by comparing what was Ordin'd and Practis'd in that Age, with what was done in the foregoing.

First, as to the Government of the Church: It was in the Fourth Age that the Body of the Churches were perfected, and that certain Rules were establish'd for Ecclesiastical Decisions. The Distinction, Distribution and Subordination of Churches were settled for the most part according to the Form of the Civil Government. The Civil Provinces form'd the Body of an Ecclesiastical Province: The Bishop of the Civil Metropolis was look'd upon as the first Bishop of the Province. Some Rights and Prerogatives were assign'd to him, and the Care of overseeing the whole Province was committed to him. In every Province there was held twice a Year Provincial Councils, in which the Metropolitan call'd together, and over which he presided. When a Bishop died, all the Bishops of the Province were call'd together to ordain a Successor in his room. He was commonly chosen by the Clergy and People of the Vacant Church; The Metropolitan was to be present at this Ordination, and he could not do it unless two Bishops of the Province were with him, and the rest consented to it. As many Civil Provinces made one District, which was call'd a Diocese, so many Ecclesiastical Provinces made one Ecclesiastical Diocese, of which the Bishop of the Principal City was the Head. This Bishop had the Jurisdiction over the whole Diocese; he enjoy'd also the Right of Ordaining Metropolitans, which belong'd formerly to the Bishops of the Province. The Bishop of the Church of *Rome* was in possession of the Primacy which he receiv'd from Jesus Christ, as being Successor to St. Peter Prince of the Apostles. This Primacy gave him great Rights and Prerogatives in the whole Church, to maintain the Faith, and cause the Holy Canons to be observ'd. It happen'd sometimes, but seldom, that he abus'd his Power and Authority; but when this happen'd, the Church was satisfied that she could remedy the Abuse. So when *Liberius* had subscribed to an *Arian* Creed, and condemn'd *St. Athanasius*, the other Bishops did not think themselves oblig'd to follow his Example. The Churches of *Alexandria*, of *Antioch*, and some others, had also their Privileges founded upon Ecclesiastical Custom. The Church of *Jerusalem* had a Degree of Honour, and acquired by little and little some Jurisdiction. Lastly, the Bishop of *Constantinople* procur'd to himself the Second Rank of Honour, and in a little time assum'd to himself the Jurisdiction over *Thrace*, *Pontus*, and *Ilesia*. The Suburbicary Churches had in a manner no other Metropolitan but the Bishop of *Rome*. The Churches of *Gaul* and *Spain* were governed by Metropolitans and Provincial Synods. The Churches of *Africa* had no fixed Metropolitan; this Dignity belong'd to the most ancient Bishop of the Province: But the Bishop of *Carthage* had great Rights and Prerogatives, and even a kind of Jurisdiction over all *Africa*. As to the Churches without the *Roman* Empire, they had no certain Form, and they were for the most part govern'd by one Bishop only who had under him many Priests. The Priests took care of the People together with the Bishops: There were also Churches in the Cities and the Country, where they presided over the Assemblies of the People, as Parish Priests do now. There were also Suffragans who held a middle place between Bishops and Priests: There was no Bishop, Priest, Deacon, or Minister ordain'd, but who was engag'd to do his Duty in one certain Church, and this he was oblig'd to discharge.

[Whoever has attentively read the foregoing account of the Controversies by which the Church was divided in this Age, and of the Synods that were convened to determine them, can make a very true Judgment whether this is not said (to save himself) by a Man, who having in his other Writings appear'd so zealously for the Privileges of the *Grecian* Church, and the Pretensions of the Court of *Rome*, thought himself oblig'd to infer this Period for the Satisfaction of his scrupulous Brethren. These Abridgments are designed to be heaps of Conclusions from Premises already laid down in the precedent Work, so that tho' this Proposition were true in it self, it were here impertinent, because it cannot be collected from what went before, which makes me think that this Period belongs more to the Licentious than the Author. I need only appeal to this very History, from which Two Conclusions may be certainly drawn. First, That the Orthodox Bishops who were persecuted by *Constantinus* and *Valens* in the East, were glad to fly to *Rome* for Shelter, and would, as all Men naturally do, make the most of the Assistance they found, that possibly they could. Secondly, That every Metropolitan See was equally desir'd to preserve its own Rights, and the rest of the Church thought it only a Matter of Discipline, instituted for the sake of Order and Decency, that one Church had the Rights of a Metropolis, rather than another. This last, Mr. Du Pin takes pains himself to prove, from whence at least this must be plain, That he must believe that in the Fourth Age of one Church, all the Supremacy that was allow'd to the Church of *Rome* was only Titular of its own Jurisdiction; and then the Primacy granted to St. Peter could not have then been understood to belong to any of his Successors, (even tho' we should allow them to have thought that St. Peter had a real Authority) since the rest of the Church plainly act'd without any regard to it, and testified no remembrance for it afterwards.]

any thing without the Advice of his Clergy. Provincial Councils were commonly held twice a Year, where the Determinations and Differences of the Bishops of the Province were examin'd: There all Ecclesiastical Differences were first decid'd, Matters of Faith only excepted. But those who thought them-

themselves injured, quickly had recourse to the Bishop who presided over the Dioceses, and to his Synod. The Bishop of *Rome* pretended to have this Jurisdiction over all the rest, and the Council of *Sardica* granted him something like it. But the Eastern Churches and many others maintain'd the Authority of their Diocesan or National Synods: All the Bishops thought themselves Judges of Matters of Faith. When any Question of Faith became a publick Dispute, the Bishops of the Great Sees were consult'd, and chiefly the Bishop of *Rome*, whose Opinion was of great weight, as well upon the account of his Primacy, as because he answer'd in the Name of all the Western Bishops, and was a Witness of their Doctrine. The General Council of the Eastern and Western Bishops, was look'd upon as the Sovereign Judge for deciding all sorts of Ecclesiastical Controversies. Excommunication or Separation from the visible Communion of the Church, was the Ecclesiastical Penalty, which was made use of against all those who were convicted of an Error or a Crime; if they repented, they were put under Penance, and then they might be restor'd to the Communion of the Church; but if they were obstinate, they were wholly cast out. The Churches were united together by Letters of Communion. 'Twas forbidden to receive any one into the Church who had been excommunicated, by his own Bishop, without his Consent. And to those who were excommunicated, were separated from the Communion of all the Churches in the World. If any particular Church, any Bishops, or any other Persons separated themselves from the Body of the Church, or continued separated from it, they were look'd upon as Schismatics. Translations of Bishops were forbidden; they were very rare in the West; but the Ambition of some Bishops made them common in the East. Many Canons were made for hindering Bishops and Clergy-men from going to Court. A Bishop was forbidden to meddle with the Affairs of another Diocese, or to Ordain any Persons out of his own. Persons of an unblameable Life were made choice of to enter into Holy Orders; they were depos'd when they committed any Crime. In many Churches the Age and the necessary Times were prescribed, at which any one could be rais'd to Ecclesiastical Orders. The Bishops, Priests and Deacons, were oblig'd to Celibacy in the West; which Law was not establish'd in the East. The Church begun then to have great Riches, which came to her from the Liberality of the Emperours and others of the Faithful. The Sacraments were admitt'd gratis, and it was forbidden to take or give any thing for a Spiritual Benefit. Many very useful Canons were made concerning the Life and Manners of Ecclesiastics. In a word, Nothing can be Greater or Wiser than the Laws which were made at this time, concerning the Government of the Church; but it must be confess'd, That they were not always very exactly observ'd, and that the Interests and Passions of Men, the Ambition of Bishops, and the Will of Princes, caus'd them often to be violated, contrary to the Intention of the Church, which us'd all her Endeavours to maintain them.

When Christians began in the Reign of *Constantine* to perform Divine Service publicly with Pomp and Solemnity, there is no doubt but the Ancient Ecclesiastical Ceremonies were then perfected, and that new ones were added to render the Celebration of the Holy Mysteries more venerable to the People. Some of the chief of them were these.

Baptism was admitt'd to Infants and Adult Persons with many Ceremonies. They were dipped Three times into the Water. Exorcisms and Anointings were in use. Milk and Honey were given to the Catechumens. The Solemn Times for Administering Baptism were *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, and also *Epiphany* in some Churches. The Adult were prepared for Receiving this Sacrament a considerable time before, and there were many Degrees of Catechumens, as we have already observ'd. After Baptism the Bishop conferr'd the Fullness of the Holy Spirit, by Imposition of Hands in the Latin Church, and by Unction in the Greek. The Times and Degrees of Publick Penance for Crimes committed after Baptism were settled by an infinite number of Canons, yet it was always left to the Discretion of the Bishop, to lessen or encrease them. Publick Penance was impos'd for all the great Crimes, which the Penitents were either convicted of, or confess'd themselves to be guilty of. Abolition was not commonly restor'd for any Crime; but Penance was never granted twice. The Holy Sacrifice of the Eucharist was celebrated with Ceremonies. The Eucharist was commonly given to the Laity in both Kinds; but upon certain occasions they gave it in one kind only. The Bread which was consecrated was ordinary Bread, broken into many pieces. The Faithful were often present at the Holy Sacrifice; Catechumens and Penitents were debar'd from it; the Eucharist was received in the Act of Adoration. The Laity receiv'd also the Bread of the Eucharist into their hands, but the custom of carrying it to their Houses was very rare, and it was commonly spent all in the Church, while they were fasting. The Love-Fests or Feasts of Charity, were removed in most Churches; almost all those that were present at the Sacrifice received the Communion; and so Christians receiv'd the Body of Jesus Christ very often, and yet were perswaded, that they ought to be Holy and Innocent to receive it worthily. Before the Communion-Office began there were some Prayers which were made for Catechumens and Penitents. The Holy Scripture was read in the Assemblies of Christians, and the Bishop or one of the Priests preach'd the Word of God. These Assemblies were held in Churches consecrated to God, and built magnificently; they were made very splendid, and Divine Offices were celebrated there with much Pomp and Splendor. Singing of Psalms was also us'd; Wax-Chandles were lighted chiefly during the Nocturnal Offices. The Dead were buried with much Ceremony and Pomp, the Great Festivals were celebrated with much Solemnity. Processions began to be introduced. Prayer for the Dead was a common Practice in the Church; they were commemorated at the celebration of the Eucharist. The Invocation of Saints and Martyrs, and the Celebration of their Festivals were common in all the Churches; the use of Croscs was frequent; the Sign of the Crosc was made very often; there were Images in many Churches. A Blessing was given for Marriage; but the Church never gave it

for Second Marriages, and they even put Bigamists under Penance for some time. Marriages contracted between Persons who could not lawfully marry according to the Civil Laws, were looked upon as null. Divorce for Adultery was permitted in some Churches. Orders were conferred by Imposition of Hands. Bishops had the sole Power of Ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and of Confirming. Solemn Baptism also, and the Absolution of Publick Penitents was reserved to them. The number of lesser Orders was not fixed; there were more or fewer of them in different Churches. There were Deaconesses in almost all Churches. The Mysteries were carefully concealed from those who were not yet baptized. The Bishops, Priests, Deacons, and the Laity had their Places in the Churches. In short, Divine Service was performed with much Decency, Modesty, Gravity and Pomp.

Fasting is one of the chief external Practices which concern Manners: The Christians of the Fourth Age were very Religious in observing it. Lent was established in all Churches, tho' it was longer or shorter in different Places. The Fasts of *Wednesday* and *Friday*, (or *Saturday* in the Church of *Rome*) were also Religiously observed: During the time of Fasting, they waited till Night in Lent before they eat any thing, and till three a Clock in the Afternoon in other Fasts; and all this time they commonly abstained from Meat and Wine in almost all Churches. The Monastick State was established in this Age, and became very common in a little time. There quickly appeared a great number of Monasteries full of an infinite number of Monks, who retir'd from the World, observ'd Celibacy, liv'd in Obedience, kept excessive Fasts, and perform'd very great Austerities. Many Virgins were also consecrated to God, made a Vow of Virginity, and liv'd in common under the Government of an Abbeys. The Monks and Nuns were both under the Jurisdiction of their Bishops. There were very few Monks who were Priests; some were taken out of Monasteries to be made Bishops. There were also some Hermits who dwelt alone in the Deserts. The Christians were constantly at Prayers and gave great Alms to the Poor, assisted the Sick, visited Prisoners, and did several other Works of Charity. They sometimes undertook Pilgrimages to visit the Holy Places; but tho' the Holy Fathers approved the Devotion, yet they feared the Accidents which might happen upon it, and were not of Opinion, that these kind of Journeys should be undertaken rashly and lightly. They did not tolerate superstitious Practices, nor any new Devotions founded upon the Imaginations of private Persons, but they recommended the Practice of Evangelical Councils, and exhorted all Christians to go on to that Perfection which is described in many Places of the Gospel.

These are some part of the Points of Discipline of the Fourth Age of the Church: I shall not stay now to observe many others, nor to prove these by Authentical Testimonies; because my Design is not to make a Dissertation upon this Subject, which would be longer than all this Volume, but only to give a slight Idea of the Discipline of that Time. Neither shall I undertake to Collect or Abridge what the Writers of this Age have said of Morality, which would be an infinite Work; and the Reader ought to be satisfied with the Extracts that are made in the body of our Book taken from the finest Passages of the Authors here mentioned.

The End of the Second Volume.

A CHRO-

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

ECCLIESIASTICAL AUTHORS

Mentioned in this VOLUME.

Giving an Account of the Time of their Birth, their Names, Country and Employments, when they Flourished, with the Time of their Deaths.

EUSEBIUS,

BORN in the Reign of *Galerius*, about the Year 264. Ordain'd Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* in 313. Flourished under *Constantine*. Died in the Year 338.

CONSTANTINE,

Born in the Year 273. The first Christian Emperor. Elected the 6th of *August* 305. Died *May* 22. 337.

C. VECTUS AQUILINUS JOVENCUS,

A Priest of *Spain*. Flourished about the Year 329.

RHETICIUS,

Bishop of *Arum*. Flourished at the beginning of the Fourth Century.

EUSTATHIUS,

Born about the end of the Third Century. Elected Bishop of *Antioch* in the Year 322. Flourished from that time to the Year 330. Died about the Year 335.

PETER,

Ordained Bishop of *Alexandria* in the Year 300. Suffered Martyrdom in 311.

ALEXANDER,

Ordained Bishop of *Alexandria* in 305. Died about the End of the Year 325.

St. ATHANASIUS,

Born about the Year 300. Ordained Bishop of *Alexandria* in 326. Maintained the Faith of the Church until the Year 373. Died about the Year 373.

St. JACOBUS NISIBENUS,

Flourished at the End of the Third and the beginning of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 340.

MARCELLUS,

Bishop of *Angora*. Flourished from the Year 325, till the Year 336.

HOSIUS,

Born Anno 267. Bishop of *Corduba*. Flourished from the beginning to the middle of the Fourth Century. Died in 358.

JULIUS,

Ordained Bishop of *Rome* in the Year 335. Died in 352.

ASTERIUS,

An *Asian* Philosopher. Wrote about the Year 330.

A

THEODORUS,

Bishop of *Perinthus*. Flourished about the Year 330.

TRYPHILIUS,

Bishop in *Cyprus*. Flourished under *Constantine*.

HELIODORUS,

A Priest. Under the same.

DONATUS,

Under *Constantine* and *Constantius*.

VITELLIUS,

and Under *Constantius*.

MACROBIUS,

St. ANTHONY the Abbot,

Born about the Year 250. He Retired into his Solitude in the Year 270, and Flourished till the middle of the Fourth Century. Died An. 356.

St. PACHOMIUS,

Abbot. Flourished at the end of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 400.

ORESIESIS,

Disciple of St. Pachomius. Flourished at the end of the Fourth Century.

THEODORUS,

Priest. Successor of St. Pachomius. Flourished at the same time.

MACARIUS,

A Monk of *Sceta*;

MACARIUS,

Abbot in *Thebais*, and

MACARIUS,

Disciple of St. Anthony.

SERAPION,

Bishop of *Thmuis*. Ordained in the Year 340.

EUSEBIUS EMISENUS,

Flourished from the Year 330. Died about the Year 350.

BASIL,

Ordained Bishop of *Angora* in the Year 336. Died after the Year 350.

LIBE

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

LIBERIUS,

Ordained Bishop of Rome in the Year 352. Driven away in 356. Restored in 358. Died in the Year 366.

St. HILARY,

Ordained Bishop of Poitiers about the Year 350. Sent into Exile in 356, and Restored in 360. Died Anno 367.

LUCIFER,

Bishop of Calaris. Flourished about the middle of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 370.

MARIUS VICTORINUS,

Of Africa. Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 370.

St. PACIANUS,

Bishop of Barcelona. Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 380.

GREGORY,

Bishop of Elvira in Spain. Flourished from the Year 357 to the end of that Century.

PHILADRIUS,

Bishop of Agen. Flourished from the Year 350, almost to the end of the Century. Died about the Year 395.

St. OPTATUS,

Bishop of Milevis. Wrote about the Year 370. Died in the Reign of Valentinian, about the Year 372.

ACACIUS,

Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine. Succeeded Eusebius in the Year 338. Died in 366.

PHOTINUS,

Bishop of Synnada. Discovered his Error about the Year 344. Died in 376.

AETIUS,

Taught his Errors in the Year 340. Died in 366.

EUNOMIUS,

Disciple of Aetius. Published his Errors from the Year 350 till near the end of the Century. Died about the Year 395.

GEORGE,

Of Laodicea. Began to appear about the Year 320, and was ordained Bishop in 330. Died about the Year 359.

APOLLINARIUS the Father,

Priest of Laodicea. Flourished under Constantius and Julian.

APOLLINARIUS the Son,

Bishop of Laodicea. Flourished under Constantius and Julian. Died about the Year 370.

TITUS,

Of Bostra. Flourished in the Reigns of Julian and Jovian.

DIDYMUS the Blind,

Born towards the Year 300. Professor in the School of Alexandria. Flourished about the middle of the Fourth Century. Died about the Year 395.

PETER,

Bishop of Alexandria. Ordained in the Year 373. Died in 381.

LUCIUS,

The pretended Bishop of Alexandria. Invaded that See in the Year 373.

AQUILIUS SEVERUS,

Died about the Year 370.

EUZOIUS,

Died about the Year 390.

St. CYRIL,

Ordained Bishop of Jerusalem in 356. Died about the Year 386.

St. EPHREM,

The Syrian, Deacon of Edessa. Flourished from the Year 350. Died in the Year 378.

DAMASUS,

Ordained Bishop of Rome in the Year 366. Died in 384.

St. BASIL,

Born in the Year 328. Ordained Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia in 369. Died in the Year 379.

St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN,

Born about the Year 328. Flourished from the Year 368. Died in the Year 389.

St. GREGORY NYSSEN,

Born in 330. Consecrated Bishop of Nyssa in 371. Died in 395.

St. CAESARIUS,

Born about the Year 330. An Officer of the Emperor. Died in the Year 369.

St. AMPHILOCHIOS,

Ordained Bishop of Iconium in 375. Died about the Year 395.

MAXIMUS,

A Philosopher. Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century.

EUSEBIUS VERCELLENSIS,

Flourished under the Emperors Constantius and Valens. Died in the Year 370.

MELETIUS,

Chosen Bishop of Antioch in the Year 361. Died 380.

DIODORUS,

A Priest of Antioch. Who Flourished about the Year 370, and was ordained Bishop of Tarsus in 375.

HILARY,

Deacon of Rome. Flourished under Liberius and Damasus.

PRISCILLIAN,

Executed in 384.

MATRONIANUS,

TIBERIANUS,

DICTINIUS,

Died about the beginning of the Fifth Century.

ITHACIUS or IDACIUS,

Bishop of Ophobona. Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century.

FAUSTINUS,

A Luciforian Deacon. Presented his Petition to the Emperors in the Year 384.

PHILAS-

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

PHILASTRIUS,

Bishop of Brescia. Died in 387.

TIMOTHY,

Ordained Bishop of Alexandria in the Year 381.

NECTARIUS,

Chosen Archbishop of Constantinople, Anno 382. Died in 397.

GELASIVS,

Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine. Flourished about the end of the Fourth Century.

SIRICIUS,

Bishop of Rome. Succeeded Damasus in 386.

SABINUS,

Bishop of the Macedonians at Heraclea. Flourished about the end of the Reign of Theodosius.

AMBROSE,

Of Alexandria, Disciple of Didymus. Died about the Year 375.

THEOTIMUS,

Bishop of Tami in Scythia. Flourished at the end of the Fourth Century.

EVAGRIUS,

Ordained Bishop of Antioch in 386. Died in 393.

St. AMBROSE,

Born about the Year 340. Baptized and Ordained Bishop of Milan in 374. Died in the Year 396.

St. EPIPHANIUS,

Born Anno 332. Ordained Bishop of Salamis in the Year 366. Died in 402 or 403.

PHILO CARPATHIUS,

A Supposititious Author.

Q. JULIUS HILARION,

Died about the Year 400.

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE of the COUNCILS held in the Fourth Age of the Church.

The Figures shew the Year in which they were held according to the Vulgar Account.

| The Supposititious Council of Sinessa. | | | | | |
|--|----------|-------------------------------------|-------------|--|--|
| Ciritha. | 303 | Alexandria. | 352 | | |
| Alexandria. | 306 | Paris. | cod. | | |
| Elivris or Elvira. | 306 | Italy. | cod. | | |
| Carthage against Caeilian. | 305 | The Bishops of Egypt at Antioch. | 363 | | |
| Rome. | 311 | Antioch under Meletius. | cod. | | |
| Arles. | 313 | Lampascus. | 365 | | |
| Ancyra. | 314 | Singidunum. | 366 | | |
| Neocaesarea. | cod. | Synods held by the Semi-Arians. | 365, 366 | | |
| Alexandria. | 322 | Tyana. | 368 | | |
| Bithynia. | 323 | Gangra. | 370 | | |
| Alexandria. | 324 | Laodicea, between | 350 and 370 | | |
| Nice. | 325 | Rome under Damasus. | 370 | | |
| Antioch. | 330 | Rome under Ursicinus. | 372 | | |
| Caesarea. | 334 | Valentia. | 374 | | |
| Tyre. | 335 | Antioch for restoring Peace in that | 378 | | |
| Fernsalem. | 335 | Church. | 378 | | |
| Constantinople. | 335 | Constantinople, I. | 381 | | |
| Constantinople. | 338 | Constantinople, II. | 382 | | |
| Alexandria. | 340 | Constantinople, III. | 383 | | |
| Rome. | 342 | Aquil. ia. | 381 | | |
| Antioch. | 341, 342 | Saragossa. | cod. | | |
| Milan. | 345 | Sida. | 382 | | |
| Cologne. | cod. | Bourdeaux. | 384 | | |
| Sardica. | 347 | Capua. | 390 | | |
| Sirmium, I. | 349 | Rome and Milan against Jovinian. | cod. | | |
| Sirmium, II. | 351 | The Novatians at Sangara. | cod. | | |
| Arles. | 353 | Carthage, I. | 348 | | |
| Milan. | 355 | Carthage, II. | 350 | | |
| Bevers. | 356 | Carthage, III. | 393, 394 | | |
| Sirmium, III. | 357 | Hippo. | 393 | | |
| Antioch. | 358 | Carthage. | 394 | | |
| Ancyra. | cod. | Carthage. | 397 | | |
| Sirmium, IV. | cod. | Carthage, IV. | 398 | | |
| Sirmium, V. | 359 | Carthage. | 399 | | |
| Ariminum. | cod. | Carthage, V. | 401 | | |
| Seleucia. | cod. | Constantinople. | 394 | | |
| Constantinople. | 360 | Alexandria. | 399 | | |
| Antioch. | 361 | Cyprus. | cod. | | |
| | | Turin. | 400 | | |
| | | Toledo. | cod. | | |

A TABLE of all the Writings of the Ecclesiastical Authors mentioned in this Volume.

EUSEBIUS of Caesarea.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

AN Apology for Origen in five Books; composed by him and the Martyr Pamphilus, with a Sixth by himself alone.

A Treatise against the Philosopher Hierocles. Fifteen Books of Evangelical Preparation.

Twenty Books of Evangelical Demonstration.

A Chronicon divided into Two Parts.

An Ecclesiastical History divided into Ten Books.

A little Treatise of the Martyrs of Palestine.

Five Books against Marcellus of Ancyra, of which the

Three last are Entitled, *Of Ecclesiastical Theology*.

Four Books of the Life of Constantine.

An Oration of Constantine's to the Assembly of the Saints.

A Panegyric upon Constantine.

A Treatise of Topics.

A Letter preferred by Theodoret.

A Translation of the Evangelical Canons, and of the

Letter to Carpiamus.

BOOKS Lost.

The Ten last Books of Evangelical Demonstration.

Part of the First Part of his Chronicon.

A Paschal Cycle.

Five Books of the Theophany or Incarnation.

Ten Books of Commentaries upon Isaiah.

Thirty Books against Porphyry.

A Treatise of the Signification of the Names which the

Jews give to other Nations.

A Description of the Holy-Land and the Temple.

Three Books of the Life of Pamphilus.

Little Tracts upon the Martyrs.

A Commentary upon the 150 Psalms.

The Evangelical Canons and the Letter to Carpiamus in

Greek.

A Commentary upon the First Epistle to the Corin-

thians.

A Treatise of the Polygamy of the Patriarchs.

Eclogues upon the Bible.

Letter to Alexander and Euphratius, cited in the Second

Council of Nice.

An Apology and Refutation.

An Oration made at the Dedication of the Church of

Jerusalem.

Supposititious BOOKS.

A Commentary upon the Canticles.

Lives of the Prophets.

Sermons published by Sirmondus.

A Concordance translated by Ambrose Canadulensis.

CONSTANTINE the Emperour.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

An Oration made to the Convention of the Saints.

An Oration to the Fathers at the Council of Nice.

A Prayer.

Several Letters, of which see a Catalogue in p. 15, &c.

Several Edicts in favour of the Christian Religion, of

which you have the Catalogue in p. 16, 17, &c.

BOOKS Lost.

Several Harangues.

Several Letters.

Several Edicts.

Supposititious BOOK.

The Donation of Constantine to the Bishop of Rome.

JUVENIUS.

Genuine BOOK still Extant.

A Poem upon the Life of Jesus Christ.

BOOK Lost.

Hymns.

RHETICIUS.

BOOK Lost.

A Commentary upon the Canticles.

EUSTATHIUS of Antioch.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

A Treatise concerning the Witch of Endor.

Fragments of his Book upon the Soul, and of his Dis-

course cited by Theodoret.

BOOKS Lost.

A Treatise against the Arians.

Homilies.

Letters.

A Treatise of the Soul.

Supposititious BOOK.

A Commentary upon the Creation.

PETER of Alexandria.

Genuine BOOK Extant.

Canons upon Penance.

BOOKS Lost.

A Treatise upon the Divinity.

A Discourse upon Penance.

A Sermon against the pre-existence of Souls.

A Mystagogical Discourse.

ALEXANDER of Alexandria.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

Two Letters against Arius, produced by the Ecclesiastical

Historians.

Pastoral Letter published by Catechris.

St. ATHANASIUS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

Two Treatises against the Gentiles, whereof the Second

is, Entitled, *Of the Incarnation*.

An Apologetic to the Emperour Constantine.

A Letter to the Egyptians, Entitled, *The First Discourse*

against the Arians.

A Letter to all the Orthodox Bishops.

First Apology.

Second Apology.

Four Treatises against the Arians.

Letter to those that lead a Monastick Life.

An Historical Treatise to those that lead a Monastick

Life.

A Letter to Serapion concerning the Death of Arius.

A Treatise of Synods.

Two Letters extant in the Works of Lucifer.

A Letter written in the Name of the Council of Alex-

andria.

A Letter

A TABLE of all the Writings of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

A Letter written in the Name of the Council of Antioch.

A Letter to the Bishops of Egypt, Arabic, &c.

A Letter to the Africans.

A Letter to Epiphanius.

A Sermon upon these Words; *My Father hath given me*

all things.

An Epistle to Adelphius.

Two Letters to Serapion upon the Divinity of the Son

and the Holy Ghost.

An Exposition of the Faith.

A Letter concerning the History of the Decision of the

Council of Nice.

A Letter concerning the Opinion of St. Dionysius of Alex-

andria, upon the Trinity.

A Treatise of the Union of the Humane Nature with the

Word.

Two Treatises of the Incarnation against Apollinaris.

An Epistle to John and Antiochus.

An Epistle to Paulinus.

An Epistle to Diocletian.

An Epistle to Marcellinus upon the Psalms.

An Homily on the Sabbath, and of the Circumcision.

A Treatise of the Words of Jesus Christ: *Whoever shall*

be guilty of Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, &c.

Two Letters to Serapion upon the Divinity of the Holy

Ghost.

A short Discourse against the Arians.

Conference between St. Athanasius and the Arians in the

Presence of Jovian.

Epistle to Ammon.

A Fragment of a Festal Epistle.

An Epistle to Rufinian.

The Book Entitled, *An Abridgment of the Holy Scripture*.

The Life of St. Anthony, [interpolated extremely, if not

Spurious.]

BOOKS Lost.

A large Treatise of Faith.

A Treatise upon these Words of Jesus Christ: *My Soul*

is troubled even unto Death.

Some Dogmatical Treatises.

Supposititious BOOKS.

A Treatise to Prove that there is but one Jesus Christ.

A Treatise of the Incarnation against Paulus Sama-

tanus.

A Refutation of the Hypocrite of Meletius.

A Treatise concerning Virginity.

A Treatise of the Testimonies of Scripture for the

Trinity.

An Homily of the Annunciation of the Virgin.

The Life of St. Syncletica.

The Creed which bears the Name of St. Athanasius.

An Exposition of Faith upon the Incarnation.

A Disputation against Arius.

A Letter to Liberius.

An Explication of these Words of Jesus Christ, *Go ye*

into all the World, &c.

A Homily upon the Passion.

A Homily upon Seed-time.

A Discourse against all Heresies.

A Discourse of the Ascension of Jesus Christ, and of

Melchizedech.

A Letter to Julian.

A Book of Definitions.

Seven Dialogues of the Trinity.

A Book Entitled a *Tragedy*.

Questions to Antiochus, &c.

A Homily upon Easter Eve.

A Fragment of a Letter to Euphrosinus.

Eleven Books of the Unity and of the Trinity.

An Exhortation to the Monks.

A short Instruction to the Monks.

Letters of St. Athanasius to the Popes Marcellus and

Felix.

A Relation of the Passion, and of the Image of Jesus

Christ in the City of Berytus.

A Fragment upon the Incarnation against the Disciples

of Paulus Samositanus.

A Fragment upon the Sabbath.

Seven Homilies, Published by Hollenius.

Four Discourses, Published by F. Combes.

Fragments of Commentaries upon Job and the Psalms

cited in the Catena upon the Scriptures.

JACOBUS NISIBENUS.

BOOKS Lost.

Twenty three Treatises cited by Gennadius, the Titles

of which are set down in Pag. 49.

MARCELLUS of Ancyra.

BOOKS Lost.

Treatises on different Subjects, and particularly against

the Arians; Eusebius cites several Passages in them,

which he Refutes.

HOSIUS.

Genuine BOOK still Extant.

A Letter to Constantius.

BOOKS Lost.

Several Treatises against the Arians.

A Letter to his Sister in Praise of Virginity.

JULIUS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

A Letter to the Bishops of the East.

A Letter to the Egyptians, produced by St. Athanasius;

Supposititious BOOKS.

A Letter to Dionysius concerning the Incarnation.

A Letter to Dositus upon the same Subject.

The two Treatises attributed to this Pope.

ASTERIUS.

BOOKS Lost.

Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Romans, upon the

Gospels and upon the Psalms.

THEODORUS.

BOOKS Lost.

Commentaries upon St. Matthew, St. John, the Epistles

of St. Paul, and upon the Psalms.

TRYPHILLIUS.

BOOKS Lost.

Commentaries upon the Canticles, and several other

Books.

HELIODORUS.

BOOK Lost.

A Book of the Nature of Principles.

DONATUS.

BOOKS Lost.

A Treatise of the Holy Ghost.

A Letter on the same Subject.

VITELLIUS.

A TABLE of the Writings of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

VITELLIUS.

BOOK *Loft.*

A Book shewing that the Servants of God are hated by the World; and some other Writings concerning Discipline.

MACROBIUS.

BOOK *Loft.*

A Treatise Addressed to Confessors and Virgins.

St. ANTHONY.

Genuine BOOKS *Extant.*

Seven Letter to Monasteries.
An Exhortation to Monks.
A short Rule.

Supposititious BOOKS.

A Sermon against Vice.
Other Sermons.

St. PACHOMIUS.

Genuine BOOKS *Extant.*

A Rule for the Monks.
Moral Precepts.
Eleven Letters.

ORESIESIS.

Genuine BOOK *still Extant.*

A Treatise of the Institution of Monks.

THEODORUS.

Genuine BOOK *Extant.*

A Letter concerning *Easter*.

WORKS *Loft.*

Several other Letters.

The MACARII.

Genuine BOOKS *Extant.*

Fifty Homilies or Discourses to the Monks.
Seven small Tracts.
A Rule for the Monks.
Another Rule in the Form of a Dialogue.

BOOK *Loft.*

A Letter cited by *Gennadius*.

SERAPION.

Genuine BOOK *still Extant.*

A Treatise against the *Manichees*.

BOOKS *Loft.*

A Treatise upon the Titles of the Psalms.
Several Letters.

EUSEBIUS EMISENUS.

BOOKS *Loft.*

A Treatise against the *Jews*.
Another against the *Gentiles*.

Another against the *Novatians*.
A Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Galatians*.
Several Homilies upon the Gospels.

Supposititious BOOKS.

A Homily in Latin.

BASIL of Ancyra.

BOOKS *Loft.*

A Treatise against *Marcellus* of Ancyra.
A Treatise of Virginity.
Some other small Tracts.

LIBERIUS.

Several Letters. See the Catalogue p. 63.

St. HILARY.

Genuine BOOKS *still Extant.*

Twelve Books of the Trinity.
A Treatise of Synods.
Three Discourses addressed to *Constantius*.
Fragments.
Conference with *Auxentius*.
Commentaries upon the Psalms, and upon *St. Matthew*.

BOOKS *Loft.*

A Treatise against *Ursacius* and *Valens*.
An Historical Treatise.
A Tract against *Dioscorus*.
Commentaries upon *Job*.
Commentaries upon the *Canticles*.
A Collection of Hymns.
A Treatise of Mysteries to *Fortunatus*.
Letters.

Supposititious BOOKS.

A Hymn and Letters to his Daughter *Apra*.

LUCIFER.

Genuine BOOKS *still Extant.*

Five Books for *St. Athanasius*, against *Constantius* and against the *Arians*.

VICTORINUS of Africa.

Genuine BOOKS *still Extant.*

Four Books against *Arianus*.
A Treatise in Defence of the Term *Consubstantial*.
Three Hymns of the Trinity.
A Poem of the *Manichees*.
A Treatise against the *Manichees*.
A little Tract about the beginning of Day.

BOOKS *Loft.*

Commentaries upon *St. Paul*.

St. PACIANUS.

Genuine BOOKS *still Extant.*

Three Letters against the *Novatians*.
A Treatise of Baptism.

GREGORY of Nazianzen.

BOOKS *Loft.*

Several Treatises.

A Book concerning Faith; unless this be the same with the 49th. Discourse among *St. Gregory Nazianzen*.

PHABA.

A TABLE of the Writings of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

PHABADIVS.

Genuine BOOK *still Extant.*

A Treatise against the Second Creed of *Sirmium*.

OPTATUS.

Genuine BOOKS *still Extant.*

Six Books against the Schism of the *Donatists*.

Supposititious BOOK.

A Seventh Book.

ACACIUS of Caesaria.

BOOKS *Loft.*

A Treatise against *Marcellus* of Ancyra.
The Life of his Predecessor *Eusebius*.
Seventeen Volumes of Commentaries upon the Scripture.
Seven Volumes upon divers Subjects.

PHOTINUS.

BOOKS *Loft.*

A Treatise against the Gentiles.
A Treatise addressed to the Emperour *Valentinian*.
A Conference with *Marcellus* of Ancyra, cited by *St. Epiphanius*, *Hæc.* 71.
Several other Discourses.

AETIUS.

BOOK *Loft.*

An Impious Libel upon the Trinity, whereof *St. Epiphanius* relates some Fragments, *Hæc.* 76.

EUNOMIUS.

BOOKS *Loft.*

Seven Books of Commentaries upon the Epistle to the *Romans*.
Several Discourses against the Church.
An Apology against the Treatise of *St. Basil*.

GEORGE of Laodicea.

Genuine BOOKS *still Extant.*

Two Letters produced by *St. Athanasius*.
A Circular Letter against *Arianus*, cited by *Sozomen*.

BOOKS *Loft.*

A Treatise against the *Manichees*.
The Life of *Eusebius Emisenus*.

The APOLLINARI.

Genuine BOOK *still Extant.*

A Translation of the Psalms in Verse.

BOOKS *Loft.*

Several Commentaries upon the Scriptures;
Treatises against the *Arians*, against *Origen*, and against several other Hereticks.
A Treatise against *Porphyrie*, divided into Thirty Books.
A Treatise of the Truth of the Christian Religion against *Julian*.
Some Letters.

A Poem containing the History of the *Jews* divided into Twenty Four Books.

Tragedies and other Poetical Pieces, the Subjects whereof were Picty.
Of the Gospels and the Epistles in Dialogues.

TITUS of Bostra.

Genuine BOOK *still Extant.*

A Translation of Three Books against the *Manichees*.
BOOKS *Loft.*

The Fourth Book against the *Manichees*, and the Greek Text of all the Four.
Some other Discourses.

Supposititious BOOKS.

Commentaries upon the Gospel of *St. Luke*.
A Sermon upon *Palm-Sunday*.

DIDYMUS of Alexandria.

Genuine BOOKS *still Extant.*

A Translation of his Treatise concerning the Holy Spirit; made by *St. Jerom*.
A Translation of his Commentaries upon the Canonical Epistles.
A Fragment of a Tract against the *Manichees*.

BOOKS *Loft.*

See the Catalogue of them, p. 103.

PETER of Alexandria.

Genuine BOOK *still Extant.*

A Letter quoted by *Theodoret*, Book IV. Chap. 22. of his History.

BOOK *Loft.*

A Letter to those that were Banished, whereof *Facundius* cites Two Fragments.

LUCIUS.

BOOKS *Loft.*

A Letter upon the Feast of *Easter*.
Some other Treatises.

AQUILIUS SEVERUS.

BOOK *Loft.*

The History of his Life, Entituled, *Catastrophe*.

EUTOIUS.

BOOKS *Loft.*

Several Treatises of which we have no knowledge.

St. CYRIL of Jerusalem.

Genuine BOOKS *still Extant.*

Eighteen Catechetical Discourses to the Catechumens.
Five Mystagogical Lectures.

A Letter upon the Apparition of the Cross.
A Letter concerning the Presentation of Jesus Christ in the Temple.

Supposititious BOOK.

A Letter to *St. Austin*.

St. EPHREM the Syrian.

See the Catalogue of his Works, p. 118, 119, and 120.

A TABLE of the Writings of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

DAMASUS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

Two Letters to St. Jerom, to be found in the Works of that Father.
A Letter to the Bishops of Illyricum.
A Letter to Paulinus.
Anathematism sent to Paulinus.
A Letter to the Bishops of the East against Timothy, produced by Theodoret.

Supposititious BOOKS.

A Letter of Damasus to St. Jerom.
A Decretal Epistle.
Epigrams, Epitaphs and other Poems.

St. BASIL.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

434 Letters of this Saint.
Three Canonical Letters to St. Amphilocheus.
Nine Homilies upon the beginning of Genesis.
Two Homilies upon the Creation of Man.
A Homily upon Paradise.
A Homily concerning Watchfulness, upon the 6th. Chapter of Proverbs.
Twenty Two Homilies upon the Psalms.
A Commentary upon the Sixteen first Chapters of Isaiah.
Five Books against Eunomius.
A Book concerning the Holy Ghost to St. Amphilocheus.
Two Books of Baptism.
Thirty One Homilies upon Diverse Subjects.
Three Treatises concerning a Monastic Life.
A Treatise of Judgment, and another of Faith.

Aetical Discourses, viz.

The greater and lesser Rules.
The Book of a Monastic Life.
The Constitutions.
A Treatise of the Chastitments of Monks.
A Treatise concerning Virginitie.

BOOKS Lost.

Commentaries upon the whole Bible.
A Genuine Liturgy.
Some other Treatises.

Supposititious BOOKS.

Letters to Julian and to Apollinaris.
Commentaries upon the Psalms.
A Panegyric upon St. Basil.
A Discourse of Consolation.
An Admonition to his Spiritual Son.
A Treatise of the Praises of a Solitary Life.
Three Liturgies.
A Grammar.

St. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

Forty Four Discourses or Sermons.
A Letter to Eusebius.
A Letter to Meletius.
Letters to Cledonius, Entitled, Discourse 51st. and 52d.
Several Poems.
A Discourse in Latin concerning Bishops.
242 Letters.
His Last Will and Testament.

Supposititious BOOKS.

The 47th. 48th. 49th. and 50th. Discourses.
The Paraphrase upon Ecclesiastes.

St. GREGORY NYSSEN.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

A Treatise upon the Creation of the World.
A Treatise of the Formation of the World.
A treatise concerning the Witch of Endor.
A Book of the Life of Moses.
Two Treatises upon the Inscriptions of the Psalms.
A Homily upon the Sixth Psalm.
Homilies upon Ecclesiastes and the Canticles.
Twelve Books against Eunomius.
The greater Catechism.
A Treatise concerning Faith, addressed to Simplicius.
A Discourse upon the Great Abraham, or of the Divinity of the Son and the Holy Ghost.
A Treatise on the Trinity to Ablabius.
A Treatise to Eustabius.
A Treatise of the Difference between the Nature and Hypostasis.
A Treatise of common Notions.
Two little Treatises against Apollinaris.
A Treatise against the Manichees.
A Treatise of the Soul.
Another Treatise of the Soul and of the Resurrection.
A Treatise to Julius of untimely Death of Children.
A Treatise of Virginitie.
Sermons upon several Subjects, whereof see the Catalogue, p. 179.
Funeral Orations and Panegyrics.
A Canonical Epistle to Letorius.
Letter to Olympius.
Letter concerning the Profession of a Christian.
A Treatise of the End that a Christian ought to propose to himself.
A Letter concerning Pilgrimages.
A Letter to Flavians.

BOOKS Lost.

Commentaries upon the Proverbs, and an entire Commentary upon Ecclesiastes.
Commentaries upon the Epistles of St. Paul.
Some other Books whereof we have no Knowledge.

Supposititious BOOKS.

A Latin Treatise containing the Passages in the Old Testament to prove the Divinity.
A Book of Philology written by Nemesis.

St. CÆSARIUS.

Supposititious BOOKS.

Dialogues upon several Questions in Divinity.

St. AMPHILOCHIOS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

A Synodical Letter, published by Cælestius.
Several Fragments quoted by Theodoret in the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and by several Authors.

BOOKS Lost.

Several Homilies upon the Scripture.
Some Letters.

Supposititious BOOKS.

Eight Sermons published by F. Combes.
The Life of St. Basil.

MAXIMUS.

BOOK Lost.

A Treatise concerning Faith.

EUSEBIUS

A TABLE of the Writings of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

EUSEBIUS VERCELLENSIS.

Genuine BOOK still Extant.

Three Letters.

BOOK Lost.

A Translation of Eusebius's Commentary on the Psalms.

MELETIUS.

Genuine BOOK still Extant.

A Homily upon these Words in the Proverbs, God hath Created me, &c. quoted by St. Epiphanius, Hæres. 73.

DIODORUS of Tarsus.

BOOKS Lost.

A Treatise of Destiny.
A Treatise of the Holy Ghost.
A Treatise against Hereticks.
Commentaries upon several Books of the H. Scripture.
A Treatise against the Jews, and against the Melchisedekians.
Treatises of the Trinity, of the Resurrection of the Soul, and of Providence.
A Treatise to Euphronius against Aristotle.

HILARY the Deacon.

BOOKS attributed to him.

Commentaries upon St. Paul, which carry the Name of St. Ambrose.
Questions upon the Old and New Testament which bear St. Augustin's Name.

PRISCILLIAN.

BOOKS Lost.

Some little Discourses.

MATRONIANUS.

BOOKS Lost.

Some Pieces in Verse.

TIBERIANUS.

BOOK Lost.

His Apology.

DICTINIUS.

BOOKS Lost.

Some little Treatises.

ITHACIUS.

BOOK Lost.

A Treatise in form of an Apology against the Priscillianists.

Supposititious BOOK.

A Book against Varimadus.

FAUSTINUS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

Seven Books against the Arians and the Macedonians, falsely attributed to Gregory of Nazianz.
His Petition to the Emperours Valentinian and Theodosius.

PHILASTRIUS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

A Treatise of Heresies.

TIMOTHY of Alexandria.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

Canonical Responses.

BOOK Lost.

A Letter to Diodorus.

NECTARIUS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

A Homily upon the Holy Martyr Theodorus.

GELASIUS of Caesarea.

BOOKS Lost.

A Continuation of the History of Eusebius.
Some Homilies and Treatises.

SIRICIUS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

A Letter to Himerius.
The Second and Third Letter to the same.
The Fifth to Anysius.
The Fourth is dubious.

SABINUS.

BOOKS Lost.

A History of the Councils, or a Collection of their Acts.

AMBROSE of Alexandria.

BOOKS Lost.

A Dogmatical Treatise against Apollinaris.
A Commentary upon Job.

THEOTIMUS.

BOOKS Lost.

Short and Sententious Tracts in form of Dialogues.

EVAGRIUS of Antioch.

BOOKS Lost.

Treatises, of which we know nothing.

St. AMBROSE.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

A Treatise of the Creation of the World, composed of Nine Sermons, and divided into Six Books.
Upon the Terrestrial Paradise.
Upon the History of Cain and Abel; divided into 2 Books.
Of the Ark and of the Life of Noah; not perfect.
Two Books upon the Life of Abraham.
A Treatise of Isaac and the Soul.
A Treatise of the Benefits or Advantages of Death.
A Treatise of forsaking the World.
Two Books of Jacob, and a happy Life.
A Discourse of the Life the Patriarch Joseph.
A Discourse upon the Benedictions of the Patriarchs.

The

A TABLE of the Writings of the Ecclesiastical Authors, &c.

The Book of *Ellas*, and of Fasting.
 A Treatise upon *Nabab* and the Poor.
 A Treatise upon *Tobias*.
 Four Books concerning the Intercession or the Complaints of *Job* and *David*.
 The first Apology for *David*.
 An Explication of Twelve Psalms, viz. Psal. 1. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40. 43. 45. 47. 48. 61.
 A Book upon Psalm 119.
 A Commentary upon the Gospel of St. *Luke*, divided into Ten Parts.
 Three Books of the Offices of Ministers.
 Three Books concerning Virgins, to *Marcellina*.
 A Treatise concerning Widows.
 A Treatise of Virginity.
 A Discourse of the perpetual Virginity of *Mary*.
 An Exhortation to Virginity.
 A Book of Mysteries.
 Two Books of Penance.
 Five Books concerning Faith, or of the Trinity.
 Three Books of the Holy Spirit.
 A Treatise of the Incarnation.
 Ninety two Letters.
 Funeral Orations upon *Valentinian* and *Theodosius*.
 Hymns for the Office and upon the Six Days of the Creation.

BOOKS LOST.

Part of the Treatise of the Ark and of *Noah*.
 A Treatise upon the Incarnation, whereof *Theodore* quotes a Fragment.
 A Treatise upon the Sacraments, and of Philosophy.
 A Commentary upon *Isaiah*.
 Infruition to *Priscilla*.
 Another Infruition to *Panophius*.
Cassiodorus mentions some Homilies upon the Book of *Wisdom*, a Commentary upon all the Prophets, and a Commentary upon the Epistles of St. *Paul*.
 A Commentary upon all the Psalms according to *Trithemius*.

Supposititious WORKS.

A Second Apology for *David*.
 Commentaries upon the *Camislas*.
 A Treatise of the Fall of a Virgin consecrated to God.
 Several Hymns upon *Festivals*.
 All his Sermons upon the Year and upon the Feasts.
 A Discourse upon the Dignity of Humane Nature.

A Sermon upon the Forbidden Fruit.
 The Treatise of the Forty two Manifestions or Encampments of the Children of *Israel*.
 A Commentary upon the Epistles of St. *Paul*.
 A Commentary upon the *Apocalypse*.
 The Harmony of the Evangelists St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke* concerning the Genealogy of our Saviour.
 A Treatise upon the Creed.
 A Discourse of the Divinity of the Son.
 A Treatise entitled, *Of the Mystery of Easter*.
 A Discourse to a Virgin consecrated to God.
 A Discourse of the Vocation of the Gentiles.
 An Epistle to *Demetrius*.
 The 29. 34. 35. and 55. Letters.
 The preparatory Prayers for saying of Mass.
 The Book of the Combat between Virtues and Vices;
 The Exposition of Faith.
 A Treatise of the Holy Spirit.
 A Book of Penance.
 A History of the Life and Manners of the *Brachmans*.

ST. EPIPHANIOS.

Genuine BOOKS still Extant.

The Book against Heresies, Entitled, *Penarium*.
 The Recapitulation or Abridgment of his Book of Heresies.
 A Discourse of Faith entitled, *Ancoratus*.
 A Treatise of Weights and Measures.
 The Physiologus.
 A Treatise of the Twelve precious Stones.
 A Book of the Life and Death of the Prophets.
 A Letter to St. *John* of *Jerusalem*.
 Nine Sermons, dubious.

PHILO CARPATHIUS,

Supposititious BOOK.

A Commentary upon the Canticles.

Q. JULIUS HILARION,

Genuine BOOK, still Extant.

A Chronicon or a Treatise of the duration of the World.

A TABLE of the Acts, Professions of Faith, Canons, &c.

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| Of Milan. | 345 | A Profession of Faith. | Of <i>Arles</i> . | 356 | A Synodical Letter confirmed by an Edict of the Emperor. |
| Of Cologne. | 345 | Supposititious Acts. | Of <i>Laodicea</i> . | 370 | A Letter and 20 Canons. |
| Of Sardica. | 347 | 20 Canons, Two Synodical Letters, one by the Bishops of the West, another by those of the East, and a Profession of Faith made by some Bishops. | Of <i>Rome</i> under <i>Damianus</i> . | 370 | 60 Canons. |
| Of <i>Sirmium</i> , I. | 349 | | Of <i>Rome</i> against <i>Ursinus</i> . | 360, and 370 | A Letter to the Bishops of <i>Illyricum</i> . |
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| Of Milan. | 355 | Doubtful Acts, taken out of the Life of <i>Eusebius Vercellensis</i> . | Of <i>Constantinople</i> . | 381, | A Profession of Faith and 7 Canons. |
| Of <i>Beziers</i> . | 356 | | Of <i>Aquilaia</i> . | 382, 383 | Acts of the Council, a Letter to the Bishops of the East. |
| Of <i>Sirmium</i> , III. | 357 | A Second Profession of Faith. | Of <i>Savagossa</i> . | 381 | 8 Canons. |
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 An Oration of *Constantine* to the Assembly of the Saints.

A Treatise of St. *Athanasius* against the Gentiles.
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 St. *Ambrose's* 17, 18. 40. and 58 Letters.
 The first Part of the Book of *Philastrius* and St. *Epiphanius* concerning Heresies.

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| Councils. | Years held in. | Acts, Professions of Faith, and Canons. | Councils. | Years held in. | Acts, Professions of Faith, and Canons. |
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Serapion's Treatise against the *Manichees*.
St. Hilary's against the *Arians*.
Lucifer's Books against *Constatius* and against the *Arians*.
Pillorinus against the *Manichees*.
— against the *Manichees*.
St. Pacianus's Letters against the *Novatians*.
Optatus's Book against the *Donatists*.
Tinus of *Boltra* against the *Manichees*.
A Fragment of *Didymus*'s against the same Hereticks.
St. Basil's Book against *Eunomius*, and other Dogmatical Treatises of his.
St. Gregory Nazianzen's Discourse of Theology.
— other Discourses of his.
— Two Letters to *Cledonius* against *Apollinaris*, and several other Dogmatical Treatises against the *Arians*.
— A Discourse against the *Manichees*.
Mabius's Homily and Profession of Faith.
Faustinus's Book against the *Arians* and *Macedonians*.
St. Ambrose's Book of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghost.
— Two Books of Penance against the *Novatians*.
Philastrius and St. Epiphanius's Treatises against all Heresies.

Discourses upon the Articles of Faith in general.

St. Cyril of *Jerusalem*'s Catechetical Letters.
The great Catechism or Instruction of Gregory Nyssen.
St. Epiphanius's Book against all Heresies.
— His *Anchioratus*.

Upon the Trinity.

Eusebius's Books of Divinity against *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*.
— His Letters to the Church of *Cæsarea*.
Alexander's Letter against *Arian*.
St. Athanasius's Discourses upon the Trinity.
— Four Treatises against the *Arians*.
— Homilies upon these Words: *My Father hath given all things, &c.*
— Letter to *Serapion*.
— Exposition of Faith.
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St. Hilary's Twelve Books of the Trinity.
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Lucifer's Books.
Pillorinus against *Arian* and his Tract concerning the Word, *Consubstantial*.
— His Hymns upon the Trinity.
Phobadius his Discourse against the Second *Sirmian* Creed.
George of *Ladicea*'s Circular Letter.
Didymus's Treatise upon the Holy Ghost, Translated into *Latin* by St. Jerome.
Damasus's Anathematism and Letter.
St. Basil's Dogmatical Letters; particularly the 41st. 63d. 64th. 65th. 74th. 78th. 111th. 203d. 204th. 325th. 343d. 344th. 387th. 399th. and 401st.
— Five Books against *Eunomius*.
— A Discourse concerning the Holy Ghost to *Ambrosius*.
— Homilies 9th. 12th. 15th. 16th. 17th. 25th. 27th. 29th. 31st. upon different Subjects.
St. Gregory Nazianzen's Discourses 25th. 31st. 32d. 33d. 34th. 35th. 36th. and 45th.
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Faustinus's Seven Books against the *Arians*.
Creeds and Professions of Faith of the Councils.
St. Ambrose's Five Books concerning the Trinity.
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— His 9th. and 42d. Letters.

Upon the Incarnation.

St. Athanasius's Treatises.
— His Treatise of the Incarnation.
— Epistle to *Adelphius*.
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St. Gregory Nazianzen's 46th. Discourse and the Two Letters to *Cledonius* which are entitled the 51st. and 52d. Discourses.
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— Sermon upon the Nativity.
St. Ambrose's Treatise upon the Incarnation.

Miscellaneous.

St. Optatus against the *Donatists*.
St. Gregory Nyssen concerning the Soul.
— Another Treatise of the Soul, and of the Resurrection.
— Of Destiny.
— Of the Death of Infants.
Siricius's Five Letters.
St. Ambrose's Discourse of perpetual Virginity.
— Two Letters concerning Penance.

Upon the Discipline of the Church.

Constantine's Letters and Edicts.
Peter of *Alexandria*'s Canons concerning Penance.
St. Athanasius's Letters to *Dracontius* and *Ammon*.
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Optatus's Books against the *Donatists*.
St. Cyril's Five Mystagogical Letters and some of the others.
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Siricius's 2d. 3d. and 4th. Letters.
St. Epiphanius's Letter to St. John of *Jerusalem*.
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Books of Morality and Piety.

Constantine's Prayer.
St. Athanasius's Letters to *Dracontius* and *Ammon*.
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE French Copy of this Book is so very uncorrectly Printed, that those who took Care of this Translation, found it necessary in great Numbers of Places to examine it by those Original Books which were quoted or epitomized: So that though very many Faults were amended in the Body of this Translation, yet upon a Review of the Work since it came from the Press. Several others were observed, which are here set by themselves, lest they should be imputed to the Printer's Carelessness.

ERRATA in the French Text

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Those likewise who are acquainted with the French Language, know what a Liberty the French Writers take in altering of Proper Names, and in bringing them to the Genius of their own Tongue: For which Reason they will easily pardon some Mistakes of that kind in so long and so various a Work as this. However, lest any should think that this has been neglected, which might occasion Confusion, when the same Persons Names otherwise turned occur in other Books, the following Catalogue was drawn up, in which those Names to which no Page is set, are several times to be met with, whereas the others are hardly ever mistaken any where else. Boltra (p. 9.) for Boltra. Eucherus (p. 24.) for Eucherius. Zofinus (p. 27.) for Zofimus. Eudoxus for Eudoxius. Cotelerius for Cotelierus. Verimadus for Virimadus. Tapia for Taplus. Emefia for Emilia. Rhebadus (p. 50.) for Phæbadus. Damascus (p. 33.) for Damafus. Docus (p. 51.) for Docius. Elpidus and Elpides for Elpidius. Poëmus (p. 135.) for Poëmenius. Narfes for Narles. Logothera (p. 158) for Logotheta. Fumanus for Fumancellus. Doaza (p. 169) for Doara. Florus Magister (p. 205) is not to be divided. Brughem (p. 233) for Beughem. Marcina (p. 179) for Macrina.

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